Placemaking in Practice

VOLUME 1

*Experiences and Approaches
from a Pan-European Perspective*

Editors-in-Chief
Carlos Smaniotto Costa, Mastoureh Fathi and Juan A. García-Esparza

Editors
Aleksandra Djukic, Conor Horan and Francesco Rotondo

Dynamics of Placemaking
Volume 1

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Introduction

Mastoureh Fathi, Juan A. García-Esparza and Carlos Smaniotto Costa

> Placemaking can be understood as an intentional process of situating, revealing, and creating meaningful environments.
>
> C. G. FREEMAN (2020)

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Placemaking in Practice – Experiences and Approaches from a Pan-European Perspective is a collective effort from multiple scholars in different contexts to bring Freeman's message into practice. It is the result of a COST Action, an interdisciplinary research network of researchers and innovators who spend several years investigating a topic together. The main aim of this COST Action was to analyse "how placemaking activities re-imagine and reinvent public space and improve citizens' involvement in urban planning" and to understand the role of "digital tools to record, transform, produce and disseminate a citizens' knowledge about the urban spaces throughout Europe's cities" (Dynamics of Placemaking, 2019, p. 2).

This volume addressing the above objective, uses case studies that were conducted in the European context to explore placemaking as a process, as a tool, as a methodology and as an innovative way to think about the past, present and future of cities. In this process, the contributors to this book have focused on different aspects of placemaking in relation to digitization of space, time and practices in cities that have contributed to different understandings of how space and place are experienced.

Placemaking is a multi-layered and multidimensional approach used in different disciplines engaged in urban planning and the involvement of people in the development of their environment. Firstly, placemaking focuses on the processes of understanding public open spaces that are shared among people, such as streets, neighbourhoods, parks, town squares, ports, quays, shopping malls, etc. Planning, designing and maintaining open public spaces are important in understanding practices of placemaking by actors such as young people, women, migrants, etc. (Fathi & Ní Laoire, 2021). These new forms of knowledge can be used to inform future plans.

This volume aims, first, to show the kinds of activities, processes and outcomes of living that use urban spaces in different European contexts. The cases offered in each chapter, amalgamated through variegated perspectives, provide insights for instigating more collaborative results in urban development.

The second element in placemaking that this book addresses is digitization (such as virtual, AR, mixed reality, Bluetooth, wireless beacons, surround sound). Digitization is an important aspect of the methods and tools used in placemaking. As has been argued, digitization can enhance the capacity, competitiveness and communication between users (e.g. tourists, visitors and citizens) (Smaniotto Costa et al., 2019). Most importantly, digitization can offer solutions that enhance and accelerate the experiences and practices of users, citizens, visitors, and agents that use a space. Digitization and development driven by information and communications technology (ICT) are gradual but widespread and they are changing the process of placemaking in the public and digitization can add value to the experience of placemaking in the public (Menezes & Smaniotto Costa, 2017).

1   What Is This Book About?

This volume draws on increasingly used digital tools, current approaches and theories through case studies in different projects and contexts. To highlight this, each chapter has utilized more than one placemaking method and digitization tool and across different European countries. Including more than one case in each chapter enables the reader to gain a broad insight on how these tools are applied comparatively and to understand the "meaning" of a place and the "making" of it. The practices of placemaking discussed here range from micro practices to meso and macro. All chapters address how placemaking is put into practice and how the practice/approach shaped the dynamics of making places.

This book is the first volume of a trilogy on placemaking and is a result of the COST Action "Dynamics of Placemaking and Digitisation in Europe's Cities" (CA18204). Under the title *Dynamics of Placemaking*, the trilogy aims to investigate the current practices of placemaking in order to increase shared knowledge across different countries to develop "a new agenda in placemaking" using digital technologies. The authors all belong to the COST Action's large transnational network (over 90 members) who have collaborated for almost three years. All chapters have gone through a double-blind peer reviewed process carried out by the editorial team and other colleagues. The first volume *Placemaking in Practice – Experiences and Approaches from a Pan-European*

Perspective is aimed at academics, practitioners and stakeholders who are interested in the concepts of space and place, city environments, urban planning and human interactions in social settings. Each chapter features specific lessons that were learned in each case as a way forward to understand placemaking.

2   A Brief Layout

The book is divided into two sections: "Cultural Heritage and Placemaking" and "Collaborative Processes for Placemaking". The first section consists of an introductory chapter to the topic and six thematic chapters on a diverse range of cases. The aim of this section is to show how individuals use public places and make sense of a place individually and/or collectively. This section offers novel insights into placemaking through cultural heritage, memories of the past and related current cultural practices. It is oriented to help to (re)construct a place from a cultural perspective (Altaba & García-Esparza, 2018; García-Esparza & Altaba, 2020).

The second section brings together an introduction and eight chapters that collectively address the role of different stakeholders in placemaking processes and discuss the outcomes of such processes. This section sheds light on a series of innovative and novel methods on placemaking in the public space. These chapters show "what" can be "done" collaboratively in order to make public spaces of cities more inclusive, participatory and engaging.

To conclude, the chapters in both sections expand our current knowledge about placemaking, the ways in which places are used and understood. Whilst this book is based on cases, the comparative aspect of each chapter offers novel insights into the dynamics of placemaking in these contexts. It is hoped that the book is used as a start of a comprehensive argument on placemaking that will be followed up in the next two volumes.

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PART 1

Cultural Heritage and Placemaking

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Cultural Heritage and Placemaking

Conor Horan and Francesco Rotondo

The role cultural heritage plays in our understanding of place and urban planning is underdeveloped within placemaking research activities. Placemaking Europe highlights that

> a placemaking project never starts from scratch, it is intimately linked to a specific context and to the cultural heritage of a place – both tangible and intangible. Whether tangible (key monuments, squares, statues) or intangible (social customs, rituals, expressions), this heritage needs to be embraced by placemakers along with the community to understand the "soul of the place". (Placemaking Europe, 2022)

Whereas the multifaceted concept of cultural heritage can be understood in different ways, this section offers insights into the role of both tangible and intangible elements and how they might contribute to, and impact on placemaking practices.

In Chapter 2, "Placemaking and Networking of Heritage for Sustainable Tourism", Aleksandra Djukic, Dina Stober, Piero Tiano, Mircea Negru, Jelena Maric, Marichela Sepe and Agisilaos Economou use case histories drawn from Romania, Italy, Croatia, Greece and Serbia to investigate how emotional connections can create a common community identity across various communities. The focus is on how this might be harnessed to improve sustainable tourism. This chapter also analyses the relationship between digitalization and the networking of cultural heritage. It discusses how digital tools can help preserve community identities. Here the networking of heritage represents a goal to improve sustainable tourism between small- and medium-sized towns.

In Chapter 3, "Cultural Heritage as an Inspiration for Placemaking in the Historic City: A Transversal Approach", Juan A. García-Esparza, Carola Hein, Ljiljana Rogac Mijatovi and Mircea Negru focus their attention on tangible historical artefacts as starting or reference points to reclaim what might otherwise be lost identities. The authors investigate how cultural heritage regulation can provide new forms of appropriation and integration in permanent scenarios of the past. They also discuss how placemaking and cultural heritage serve to delineate new forms of heritage-making in historic cities. The chapter also asks

how we might define and further explore ethical forms of culture-based place-making practices.

In Chapter 4, "Placemaking at a Time of Changing Port City Relations", Carola Hein, Juan A. García-Esparza and Lucija Ažman Momirski illustrate three examples of the preservation, transformation and adaptive reuse of historic water- and port-related structures. The authors investigate the role of placemaking concepts in a historic port environment, with emphasis on the linkages between a working port and a living city. How this might inform policy and design approaches are explored.

In Chapter 5, "Memory and Placemaking: Competing Memory, Forgetting and Distorted Rediscovery in Eastern European Cities", Emina Zejnilović, Erna Husukić, Nika Đuho, Tatisiana Astrouskaya and Edmond Manahasa highlight the role of memory in placemaking. The authors discuss how identity in place-making activities is inherently linked to the concept of memory or memorization (as, for example, already illustrated by Choay, 1992). Placemaking activities that are sensitive to the concepts of memory and memorization are inherently linked to identity. Placemaking tools can help to capture and preserve "memory". This presents an interesting challenge around the relevance of historical references. Conflicting or competing interpretations of such artefacts can be a source of tension which may need to be managed.

In Chapter 6, "Placemaking within Urban Planning: Open Public Space between Regulations, Design and Digitalization", Branislav Antonić, Despoina Dimelli, Francesco Rotondo, Alexandra Delgado Jiménez and Agisilaos Economou highlight how open public spaces in urban design can represent core aspects of a community's identity. As many authors have shown, urban spaces in themselves can be understood as complementing the knowledge communities hold of their own identities and many planned urban spaces provide a multi-layered and multifaceted understanding of these identities. The authors warn against ignoring urban relationships and connections – even if they are less prominent or poorly understood. Whereas capturing this complexity represents a challenge for placemaking practitioners, it is important for sustainability. Five case histories from Bari in Italy, Chania and Trikala in Greece, Estepona in Spain and Smederevo in Serbia are drawn upon. These reflect countries sharing the Southern European experience of vibrant public open spaces. In addition, how urban planning has become more complex in the digital age is highlighted.

In Chapter 7, "The Use of Digital Technologies in Improving the Quality of Life: ICT-Supported Placemaking in Urban Neighbourhoods", Matej Nikšič, Cor Wagenaar, Gilles Gesquiere and Kinga Kimic describe how capturing

and maintaining memory alongside historical references contributes to our understanding of identity. Three case histories from Groningen, Ljubljana and Lyon are presented. Similar to other chapters addressing how digital tools and digitization can improve sustainability, the quality of life of local communities (safety, health and well-being) as well as creating a common language is highlighted. How such tools help to reclaim aspects of cultural heritage across urban regeneration processes in Europe between 1950 and 1980 where hundreds of neighbourhoods were rebuilt is used to illustrate this point.

1   Conclusion

Three interrelated themes can be found across the chapters in this section. The first addresses how intangible elements of cultural heritage ("community identity", "memory" and "emotional connection") can contribute to placemaking activities. The second theme focuses on using tangible historical references to reclaim intangible elements of cultural heritage, such as lost identities and issues of memorization. The final theme considers the role of digitization and blurring the boundaries between tangible and intangible elements in capturing and/or rekindling different aspects of cultural elements that might have previously been underutilized.

1.1   *The Intangible Elements of Cultural Heritage*
The first theme evident in the chapters focuses on the role intangible elements of cultural heritage can play in improving placemaking activities. Here cultural heritage represents the emotional connection people have to place. Intangible elements such as "emotional connections" (Chapter 2), "memory" (Chapter 5) and "community identities" (Chapter 6) play in understanding the importance of cultural heritage in placemaking activities. Across these chapters we see how emotional connections, memory and community identity can be seen as essential intangible resources that have previously gone under-researched.

1.2   *Using Tangible Historical References to Reclaim Intangible*
         Elements of Cultural Heritage
The second theme evident across the chapters focuses on using tangible historical references as a basis for reclaiming intangible elements of cultural heritage, such as lost identities. Tangible elements are important for sustainable development (Chapter 2). Historical artefacts can be seen as reference points to reclaim lost identities (Chapter 3). Industrial spaces can be used to

reclaim a lost heritage as in the example of a port city (Chapter 4). The relevance and meaning of historical artefacts can become the subject of much debate (Chapter 5).

1.3   *The Role of Digitization and Blurring the Boundaries between Tangible and Intangible Elements*

The final theme that plays out across the chapters in this section refers to the role digitization plays in capturing and representing cultural heritage, memorization, building emotional connections and community identities. Here we see how digital tools can combine both intangible and tangible elements to help enhance the historical significance of a site, improve our understanding of cultural heritage and, in turn, improve the quality of life of local communities. As digitization represents an ambiguous ontological status, we see a further blurring of the boundaries between both tangible and intangible elements (Chapters 2, 6 and 7).

By way of conclusion, this section offers various case studies to illustrate how both tangible and intangible elements when combined in various ways have the potential to improve placemaking practices. As digitization improves, various layers of cultural heritage will become increasingly important for experiential engagement with place. Placemaking activities can benefit greatly from a comprehensive review of the role cultural heritage plays in influencing how multiple stakeholders, involved in and influenced by placemaking activities, engage with a given intervention.

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Placemaking and Networking of Heritage for Sustainable Tourism

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Abstract

Heritage as an emotional investment of the citizens is an essential resource for the communities affirming their local identity and establishing the great potential for tourism development. This chapter focuses on how towns in Europe can enhance their heritage by increasing competitive, sustainable tourism by using different tools (digital, collaborative, design) in the networking of heritage sites and placemaking. In this chapter the overall tangible and intangible cultural heritage in small- and medium-sized towns is considered under the term "heritage". The networking of heritage is represented as a goal for connecting towns through heritage. Digitalization is a useful tool for better networking and placemaking. Networking and overall connection among cities and countries are rather important from different perspectives of tourism development. Small- and medium-sized towns are the focus of the research because they have been shrinking during the last few decades as a result of depopulation and socio-economic factors. Developing small- and medium-sized cities through their heritage promotions enhances tourism as a milestone for urban development and advancement. Sustainable development of tourism can be achieved by strengthening the ties between different actors in the process of placemaking and by enhancing the relations and interactions between tourism, cultural heritage, and local inhabitants using digital tools. One of the goals is to try to depict the connection between physical heritage networks and linked digital tools. Cultural assets are of great importance for revitalizing small cities and endangered towns, but these are not enough if investments are missing. It is necessary to attract investments in order for them to live again, rebuilding the lost commercial activities and public services. Heritage and tourism are closely connected; on the one hand, heritage is one of the significant stimuli for cultural tourism and, on the other hand, heritage sites can improve their preservation by tourism. But the relationship between the two can be conflictual due to a possible overuse and consequent deterioration of heritage sites due to different needs and strategies between the two fields. A new placemaking strategy must be developed that considers how tourism can influence (positively or negatively) the sustainability of cultural heritage as well as the role of heritage in the local identity. One of the specific aims of this chapter is to analyse the relationship between digitalization and the networking of cultural heritage and placemaking and tourism development in small- and medium-sized towns. This chapter highlights the findings and lessons learned from examples around the world, taken from the literature as well as from selected case studies from Romania, Italy, Croatia, Greece and Serbia. By engaging in a critical analysis of the literature and the selected case studies, we hope to present proposals for strengthening heritage potentials for sustainable tourism in small- and medium-sized towns, focusing on the junction of scientific theories and practical experiences. The final intentions of the chapter are to present the variety of possible ways to use networking of heritage sites as a medium

for placemaking but also for the socio-economic redevelopment of towns, in favour of both the local population and prospective tourists.

Keywords

cultural heritage – networking – small- and medium-sized towns – tourism – placemaking – digitalization – sustainability

1   Introduction

The significance of heritage represents an essential resource in the modern age of city redevelopment. The values of cultural heritage and historical assets represent one of the most important resources of European cities. The intelligent, efficient and innovative usage of heritage can, directly and indirectly, lead to tourism development and the overall prosperity of the city or a town. For the purpose of this chapter, the analysed heritage is going to be focused on the cultural heritage as a tangible and intangible type of heritage connected with local context, history, art, science and architecture (McCain & Ray, 2003). Heritage has a strong connection with the local identity of the place, as well as the identity of people, representing an important genius locus, especially for small- and medium-sized cities. Therefore, it is rather important, not only for tourism but for the local community, to strengthen the network of heritage and to identify all of the intangible heritage and search for the potential of the forgotten heritage. An additional problem that these cities are facing is the decline in the population, and they need to work on their attractiveness in order to prevent more people from emigrating. Due to a problem of shrinking in the last few decades, these cities are in need of new and innovative solutions that could enhance tourism development.

Heritage itself plays an important role in the city's identity and value, but without smart approaches and funding, the cities are facing serious stagnation in this field. This can be addressed through the innovative heritage presentation and promotion via information and communications technology (ICT) and various methods of digitalization. The existing heritage represents the first step, while the digitization of heritage could enhance heritage networking and placemaking for boosting tourism in the cities. Additionally, the issue of negative effects of tourism should be addressed. Therefore, sustainable tourism is the optimal choice for small- and medium-sized cities. Sustainable tourism is closely connected to the local community and their ability to collaborate in the

process of placemaking. One goal is to depict the possible connection between physical heritage networks and linked digital tools. This chapter reflects on theoretical research, including a focused literature review in the domain of tourism development, heritage, digitalization and placemaking. The main part of the chapter is focused on presenting case studies from small- and medium-sized cities and towns in Romania, Italy, Croatia, Greece and Serbia. One of the main goals of the chapter is to analyse different approaches and present proposals for sustainable tourism strategies and methods.

Theoretical background research relies on the previously mentioned topics of heritage and the development of sustainable tourism in small- and medium-sized European cities. Also, concepts such as heritage networking and place-making are considered in the context of tourism improvement. Considering one of the main underlined topics of this chapter, the innovative and contemporary methods of heritage utilization and presentation using ICT and digitalization are discussed.

1.1   *Heritage and Its Importance for Tourism of Small- and Medium-Sized Cities*

Living in an urban environment, whether it is a small town in Europe or a big one in China, being part of a society implies recognizing the importance of its past and valuing its heritage as one of the main foundations of national identity (Ott & Pozzi, 2011). Heritage is a collection of tangibles, but also intangible resources inherited from the past as an expression of knowledge, skills, unique natural and cultural values, and traditions. In modern times of destabilization and pandemics, it is crucial to increase understanding and promote the value of heritage among citizens as a part of their legacy (Ezz El-Din, 2019). Heritage may include connections to history, art, science, lifestyles, architecture and scenery (McCain & Ray, 2003), and especially small- and medium-sized European cities are full of different and significant heritage that is often rather neglected or even forgotten by the majority of the population, and the enormous potential is not used.

Cultural tourism, based on the promotion of heritage, plays an important role in what Europe has to offer to tourists. It covers all kinds of visits to cultural attractions (built monuments, places, manifestations). During the last decade and according to UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) reports, cultural tourism has been seen as a prospective factor to boost the overall socio-economic development of cities and regions in Europe. Furthermore, it is a crucial element to the attractiveness of European space, equally contributing to all spatial levels: cities, towns, rural areas and regions (Europa Nostra, 2015). Cultural tourism goes hand in hand with intangible heritage, which has been recognized as a key element of market utilization by UNWTO (Qiu

& Zhang, 2021). According to the UNWTO report from 2019 (before the Covid pandemic), Europe had 710 million tourist arrivals in 2019, as many as all the other continents together. The most popular places were cities and towns that possess a unique heritage and cultural values. Small- and medium-sized cities, which have valuable cultural resources and heritage sites, have often lacked the economic and technical resources for their promotion, maintenance and supportTherefore, the role of tourism is even more important for these cities because it has the power to reverse the state of population decline that they are going through and to make them attractive not only for tourists but also for the local citizens and potential investments.

However, another problem regarding tourism is that its growth could be incompatible with sustainability goals. The authorities continue to promote tourism growth despite the arguments that such a trend eventually leads to unsustainable tourism. The development and planning of cultural tourism in small- and medium-sized cities should be planned carefully and, according to the UN Sustainable Development Goals 2030, seek to achieve efficient and eco-friendly goals. Small-scale approaches and bottom-up projects and initiatives could be the solution for a more sustainable tourism redevelopment. Connecting residents to their local heritage and providing their active participation through the placemaking of open public spaces is one of the main methods for tourism redevelopment on the local levels. "Placemaking can be understood as an intentional process of situating, revealing, and creating meaningful environments" (Freeman, 2020). Local communities and their identity depend deeply on the unique ecological features and built structures as well as open public space, and placemaking can be recognized as an important tool in the area of discovering the potential of the local heritage and its promotion.

1.2   *The Role of Digitalization in Heritage Representation*

In the modern era, the usage of ICT has become present in almost every part of city development areas. This refers to heritage and tourism. Digitization of heritage can have multiple benefits regarding the development of tourism: (1) to make a unique and interesting presentation of local heritage and attract more users and tourists, (2) to make local heritage more visible to a wider audience, (3) to help identify forgotten or marginalized heritage in small- and medium-sized towns and, finally, (4) to help towns connect on the basis of similar heritage. Countries and towns that share the same history, historical characters, culture, tradition, art or architecture also share the same heritage. The digitalization of this heritage enables networking among cities. Today, more than ever, we are witnessing the innovative approach in tourism development and branding using digitalization and ICT tools. The modern era of technology

has influenced almost every aspect of our life; ICT enables people to share personal experiences and to draw up new forms of learning, gathering and communication across multiple contexts (Pérez-Sanagustín et al. 2013; Smaniotto Costa et al., 2018). Technologies have enabled and facilitated the creation and consumption of digitized materials that contain information about tangible and intangible heritage. The overall growth of ICT usage led to the development of the term "digital placemaking". Digital placemaking is an evolving research topic, as well as a practice that focuses on the integration of digitization methods within placemaking (Toland et al., 2020). It can increase and boost social and environmental values, spatial values and heritage assets while deepening and strengthening the connection (Morrison, 2018).

Furthermore, the digitization of heritage is proving to be a useful tool for heritage democratization and the promotion of tourism. When it comes to heritage and tourism, ICT and digitization can have an important role in the process of heritage branding and presentation, as well as social media. Digitalization can enhance the capacity and competitiveness of cultural and historical sites with different forms of presentation (virtual, AR, mixed reality, Bluetooth, wireless beacons, surround sound), as well as communication with different users (tourists, visitors) and shared activities. This can be achieved through creative technological solutions which are capable of facilitating, teaching and accelerating different groups of users (Smaniotto Costa et al., 2018). The future of sustainable tourism in small- and medium-sized cities depends on digitalization and digital placemaking in the context of heritage presentation and mutual collaboration of local stakeholders.

2   Cases

This chapter is focused on analysing the small- and medium-sized cities in Europe that are undergoing the process of population decline (i.e. shrinking cities). The examples are cities in selected case studies from Italy, Croatia, Romania, Greece and Serbia. By critically analysing the literature and selected case studies, we hope to present innovative, unique and digitalized proposals for strengthening heritage potentials for sustainable tourism in small- and medium-sized towns in favour of both the local population and prospective tourists.

2.1   *Golubac, Serbia*
Golubac is a small town located within the bounds of the national park and on the entrance of the Iron Gate (Djerdap), the longest gorge, with probably

the most attractive scenery, along the Danube. It is a shrinking town, established along the Danube waterfront on the border with Romania, with a lack of economic resources and limited accessibility and infrastructure. For Golubac, the heritage network and connection with not only Romanian but also other Danubian cities is of great importance in the process of tourism development. The medieval Golubac Fortress, a structure of national importance, is certainly the most important heritage asset in the vicinity of the town. Since it has been recently renovated by a EU-Serbian joint fund, it became one of the most visited sites in the Serbian part of the Danube riverfront. The town of Golubac is an associated town partner in the Interreg Danube projects: DANUrB and DANUrB+ (Danube Urban Brand), intending to build regional and local resilience through the valorization of the heritage of the Danube. The main goal of the project is the reactivation of underused heritage and resources in shrinking settlements of the Danube river's peripheral and border regions while creating new possibilities to make the town and its regions attractive again. One of the results of both projects is the development of the digital DANUrB Platform for the local stakeholders as well as for the tourists and citizens.[1] The platform has open access enabled through the internet and provides contextual information about the tangible and intangible heritage (site, including photos, maps, locators [GPS], descriptions), stakeholders, action plans, projects, good practice, municipalities, partners, etc. (fig. 2.1).
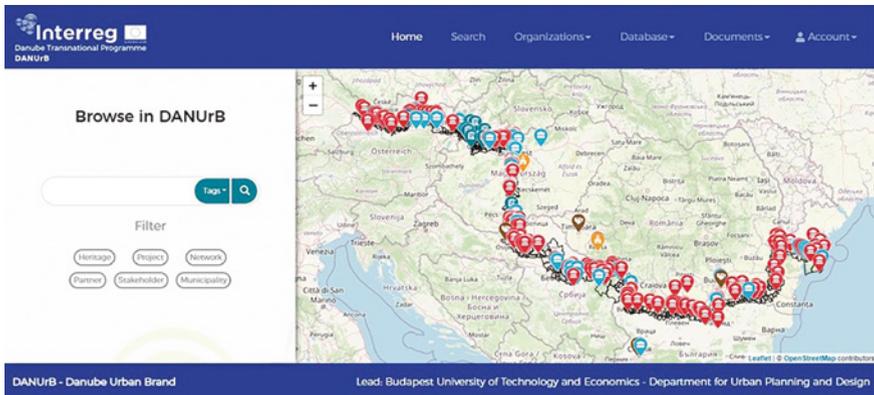
FIGURE 2.1   The DANUrB platform with tags and filtersf. Developed by Istvan Shandor
(PocketGuide) and BME
SOURCE: HTTPS://WWW.DANURB.EU/#/

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1   https://www.danurb.eu/#/.

Objectives of the DANUrB platform are: (1) to reactivate underused heritage and resources; (2) to create new possibilities for town development (investments, infrastructure, better social conditions); and (3) to increase local prosperity and international tourist attractiveness.

The platform is primarily designed for networking of small- and medium-sized towns along the Danube; for networking of heritage sites (tangible and intangible) between different cities, regions, and countries; and networking of stakeholders and good practices that enhance the potential of heritage. This platform connects towns with similar origins and that share heritage related to history, tradition, arts and crafts. The digital platform is based on QGIS (an open-source cross-platform desktop geographic information system application) and has information and exact location of heritage, stakeholders, good practice, action plans, towns and municipalities (fig. 2.2).

Two kinds of problems were recognized during the design and use of the platform. The first one was regarding different technical issues, and the second was the limitation of working with the local community and stakeholders. The first problem was about unstable servers and coding and the second one was about missing data (information about the ones which were not project partners) and regarding stakeholders who are not motivated to learn how to use the platform. The series of changes and improvements of the platform eliminated operational uncertainties, and the results are reliable operation and continuous availability of the data on the platform. Regarding the second problem, academic partners collected missing information for municipalities and towns and tried to organize several workshops with stakeholders together
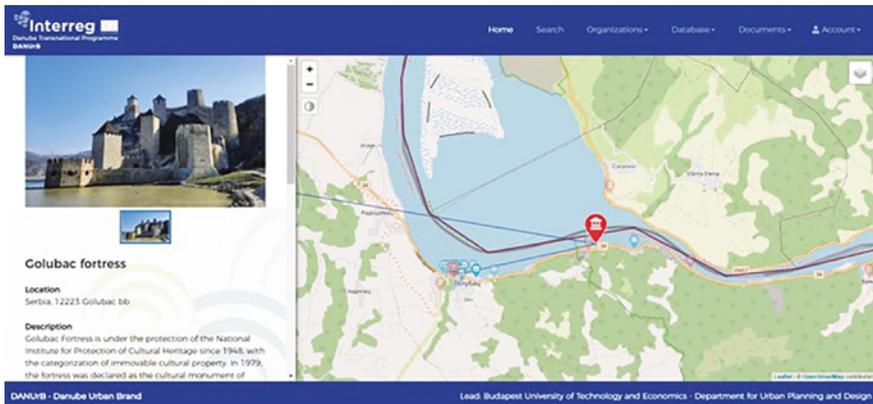
FIGURE 2.2　The DANUrB platform with information about heritage – a medieval fortress in Golubac

SOURCE: HTTPS://WWW.DANURB.EU/#/

with NGOs to inform and educate them about the opportunities and benefits they could have if they actively participated in the platform.

Improvements in placemaking and the innovative approach mentioned above are providing the exchange of information and good practice between stakeholders not only in one city but from different towns and cities along the Danube. Additionally, learning about well-known (as well as forgotten) examples of tangible and intangible heritage and improving their visibility is valuable for the promotion of tourism and could interest future investors. As a part of the DANUrB platform, Golubac has joined a heritage-based network of the cities and towns on the Danube River. Henceforth, this digital platform will represent a network and a good base for collaboration between the towns through the mutual cooperation of stakeholders and local municipalities, and the development of joint strategies and action plans. It is a good way of exchange of knowledge and good practice.

2.2   *Osijek, Croatia*

The city of Osijek, the regional centre of eastern Croatia, located along the Drava River, is the fourth-largest city in Croatia. It has gone through a dynamic cycle of historical formation, upgrading, diminishing and rebuilding. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Osijek was Croatia's largest city and had a robust manufacturing and industrial character, qualities that marked its culture and identity. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, industrial architecture represented a progressive component in the physical development of the city, but the contemporary loss of the productive capacity of the old factory buildings initiated a period of restructuring. The industrial architecture of Osijek belongs to European modern architecture, which covers the period from the beginning of the twentieth century until 1945. Today, Osijek can be defined as a shrinking city due to its declining demography and structural changes, with scattered brownfield locations in the urban tissue and the undervalued industrial period of the city as part of its identity. Osijek has a rich history and therefore has a variety of heritage and potential for tourism development. The digitalization of its heritage has been presented through the VIRAL project.

The VIRAL project promoted the idea that "the factories may have closed, the machines may have gone, maybe the buildings have been demolished, but the stories can still be collected and retold". The project has gathered five archives from five cities – Dornbirn (AT), Wuppertal (DE), Osijek (HR), Torres Novas (PT) and Coventry (UK) – to develop social learning materials and methodologies in order to create new competencies for adults in the field of virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) for the promotion of local

industrial heritage. The aims and objectives of the project is to promote local industrial heritage, increase access to archived heritage, use digital tools for the promotion of the heritage and, in the end, raise capacities and competencies of low-skilled adults in non-formal learning.

Results from activities on digitizing heritage sources are structured in several fields: 360° interactive views and augmented reality sources of industrial products with linked commercial posters, story texts and other graphical presentations (Osijek, HR), eTutorials, 360° videos (Wuppertal, DE) and a case study on post-industrial heritage (Torres Novas, PT). Experiences gathered during the design of the digitized materials were used to produce educational materials. All educational materials address the thematic area of industrial heritage within eight fields: STEM, languages, digital competencies, literacy, cultural awareness and expression, entrepreneurship, civic and personal, social, and learning. Materials are equipped with textual support, including an introduction, a set task, a description of a process, a conclusion and elaborated learning outcomes identifying the knowledge, skills and competencies to be acquired. For every task, the EQF level is assigned (fig. 2.3).

All these materials have a double purpose: to be educational materials and to promote industrial heritage in local communities. The Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, a partner in the project, focused research activities on the Osijek iron and steel factory, museum archive materials and the production of virtual
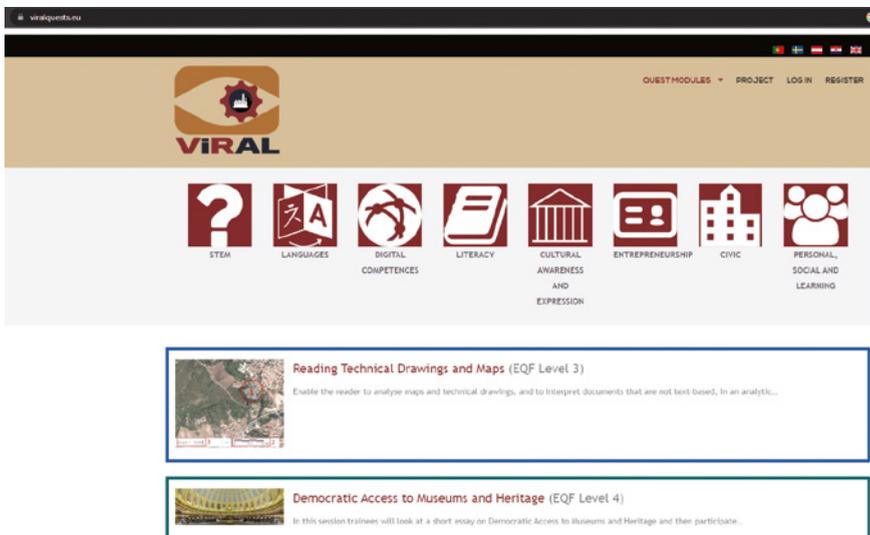
FIGURE 2.3   Educational materials for acquiring new competencies in the field of industrial heritage promotion
SOURCE: HTTPS://VIRALQUESTS.EU

museum tours. They gathered a project team and established a network, including employees of a company that produces 3D and virtual materials, researchers from a university and members of NGOs that promote local heritage values. They hold activities that gather together community members. The local network produced materials for 360/AR that introduced a virtual exhibition tour and a virtual inspection of products made at the iron and steel factory (fig. 2.4).

The VIRAL project enabled archived industrial heritage to become visible and to be connected to its place of origin while recreating past stories based on scientific methodologies and existing documents. New technologies and innovative methods of surveying and presenting heritage were introduced and all educational materials are available in all project languages, thus making them more visible for all the users and more suitable for creating heritage-based networks with towns sharing a similar heritage type.

2.3   *Sovana, Tuscany, Italy*

Sovana is a small town in the Tuscany region of Italy. The first traces of settlement in Sovana, according to archaeological excavations, date back to the Neolithic period and the Late Bronze Age. The site was then abandoned, to be repopulated between the eleventh century and the eighth century BC, when the Etruscan population appeared there. The current plan of Sovana dates to medieval times and was constituted by three longitudinal streets: Via del Pretorio in the middle, and Via dell'Oratorio and Via del Siviero on either side

FIGURE 2.4   Interactive 3D model of the Triumph kitchen cooker produced in the Osijek iron and steel factory
SOURCE: MUSEUM OF SLAVONIA

of it. These streets are connected to the surrounding area by the Sovana-Sorano provincial road.

The village of Sovana (fig. 2.5) is characterized by a low level of tourism despite its proximity to an Etruscan necropolis. The original PlaceMaker method and software were used both to gather identifying resources and to construct the project guidelines to (1) enhance place identity in an underused small city with heritage and resources; (2) identify new possibilities of sustainable regeneration; and (3) involve locals in the regeneration of the place to appeal to visitors. In this example, PlaceMaker was used to enhance heritage-based networking. The PlaceMaker method comprises eight phases – five of analysis and three of design. Different types of databases are created to contain the different types of data collected. These include data from anticipatory analysis; denominative and perceptive information, the graphical, the photographic, video surveys; elements deduced from the study of traditional planimetry; and questionnaires administered to visitors to the places. The result consists of two complex maps, one of analysis and one of design, which represent the identity of the place and the project interventions for its enhancement, respectively. The software, as required by the TECON@BC project, was created in order to connect and communicate the information contained in the complex map and strengthen the use of the method.

With the PlaceMaker software (fig. 2.5) it is possible to represent and interpret the places in an area by creating interactive, dynamic and multimedia

FIGURE 2.5   PlaceMaker software: a window displaying analysis
of surveys
SOURCE: ARCHIVE OF MARICHELA SEPE

maps. The platform is Adobe Flex/Air, which was used to implement the software, while the programming language is ActionScript 3.

The creation of the software, which represents both intangible and tangible characteristics of territory, was the main obstacle of the case study, which was resolved thanks to many scientific and graphic tests of the tool. Places are represented by inserting symbols and elements into maps, connected to multimedia schedules that can be continuously updated. The prime users of this tool are urban planners, administrators and citizens. The main objective, as aforementioned, was to use the identity resources of Sovana to increase local tourism, enhancing the medieval town and activating the roots of the new idea of territory in its inhabitants. The data collected in the previous phases were used to create symbols suitable to represent the peculiarity of the place and drew up a complex analytical map (Phase 5) (fig. 2.6). The symbols created specifically for this study designate places of archaeological interest, local craft shops, places for meditation, flower gardens, planned green spaces and uncultivated green spaces. The complex map of analysis shows that the identity of places in Sovana is based on a combination of factors, including the town's very ancient history, in which the Etruscans and, later, the Aldobrandeschi family are especially prominent; its medieval layout and tuff architecture; nature in its various forms; and the peaceful atmosphere of the town.

The nearness of the Etruscan necropolis does not seem to contribute directly to the identity of Sovana, although Palazzo del Pretorio does serve as an information point for visitors of the necropolis. In general, the place seems to be scarcely frequented, visitors spend little time here and tend to concentrate only on the main streets with the monuments of historical interest. The place is predominantly calm, while the open spaces are not used as places for socializing.

In the final phase of the PlaceMaker project, the complex design map with the project interventions was constructed. The main improvement in placemaking consists of the identification of actions, aimed at enhancing and promoting Sovana's identity-related resources in an integrated and sustainable way, following a logic of network among local people, administrators and visitors. Out of the seven actions, the first three consist of the creation of thematic itineraries, namely: the Landscape Itinerary on Via dell'Oratorio; the Art and Craft Itinerary along Via Pretorio and Via del Duomo; and the Itinerary of the Senses on Via del Siviero and Piazza della Cattedrale. The other four actions are related to the construction of the network of cultural resources for both locals and visitors: Enhancing Public Spaces and Monuments; Differentiating Activities; Organizing a Network of Artisan Shops and Creating Information Points. PlaceMaker software was useful to show both the project interventions
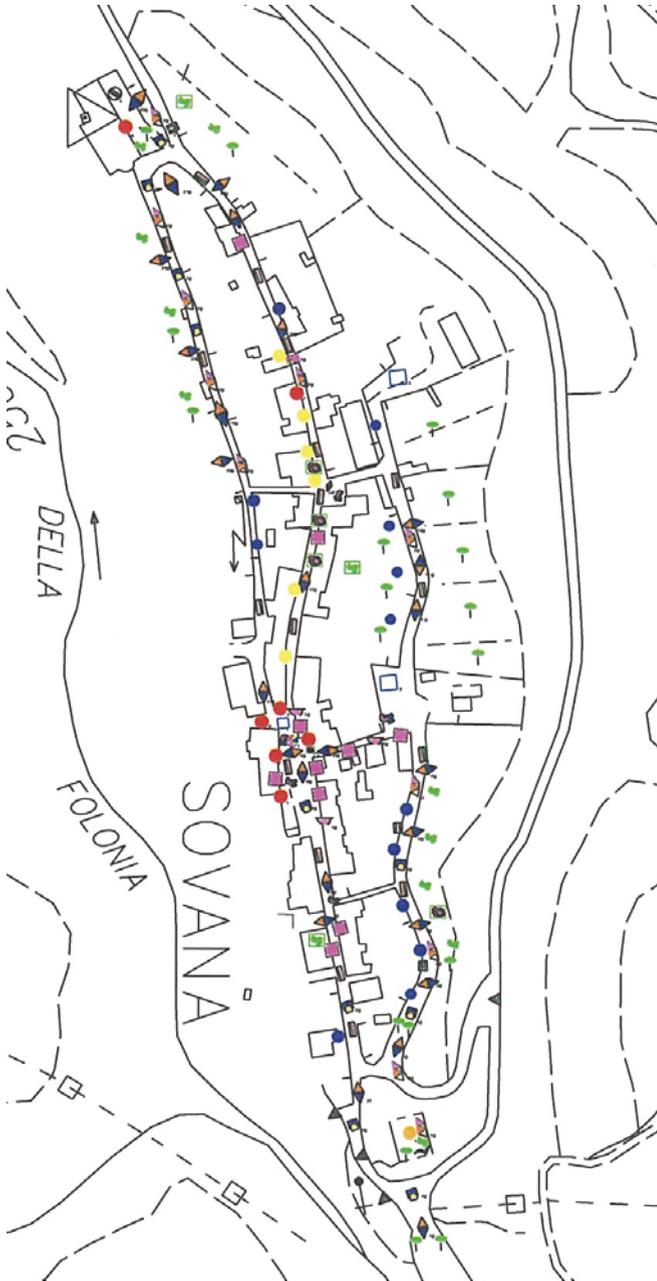
FIGURE 2.6 Map of Sovana (place identity). Within the legend (see facing
            page): a place of historical interest, commercial places, empty
            places, a place with multiple values, places of archaeological
            interest, local craft shops, places for meditation, flower
            gardens, planned green spaces and uncultivated green spaces,
            visual-tactile-smell-sound perceptions, and peace
            SOURCE: ARCHIVE OF MARICHELA SEPE

LEGENDA

luogo di interesse archeologico
1- rovine etrusche 2-Rocca Aldobrandesca

luogo di interesse storico-artistico
1-Palazzo Bourbon Del Monte, 2-Chiesa di S. Maria,
3-4- loggia del Capitano e Palazzo del Pretorio, 5-
Palazzetto dell'Archivio, 6-fontana, 7-Casa di
Ildebrando, 8-Cattedrale

luogo ad uso commerciale

luogo ad uso residenziale rurale

luogo ad uso commerciale per vendita souvenir locali

luogo ad uso commerciale per vendita souvenir locali e non locali

luogo a valore multiplo
1- Piazza del Pretorio

luogo di socializzazione casuale

luogo vuoto
1,2- slargo, 3-Piazza del Pretorio

luogo di limite
1-muro in pietra basso, 2-ringhiera-limite

luogo di commercio artigianato locale

luogo di meditazione

percezione visiva permanente
1- viale alberato, 2, macchine, 3-prato, 4 paesaggior con prato fiorito e
colline, 5- paesaggio collinare, 6- vista alberi, 7- esposizione ceramiche,
8-scale fiorite, 9- arco con panorama, 10-vista alberi, 11-prospettiva
vigneti sui due lati, 12- prospettiva uliveti, 13- prospettiva case con vasi
fioriti e botteghe artigianato, 14-prospettiva case in pietra, 15-
panorama, 16-facciata decorata con fiori, 17-uliveto, 18-prospettiva
con muro basso di pietra e verde incolto, 19- verde incolto, 20-
Cattedrale

percezione tattile permanente
1-pavimentazione in pietra, 2- pavimento storico, 3
pavimento in pietra con verde incolto, 4- salita

percezione olfattiva transitoria
1- odori pizzeria a taglio

percezione gustativa permanente
1- specialità gastronomiche locali, gelateria artigianale

percezione sonora transitoria
1- versi uccelli, 2- passaggio trattore, 3- passaggio macchina

ritmo tranquillo

ritmo moderato

ritmo sostenuto

alberi e verde

verde disegnato

piante fiorite

verde incolto

passaggio colombi

**dimensione del simbolo
piccola = presenza del dato in
percentuale lieve**

**dimensione del simbolo
media = presenza del dato in
percentuale media**

**dimensione del simbolo
grande = presenza del dato in
percentuale notevole**

i   **percezione ininfluente**

g   **percezione gradevole**

f   **percezione fastidiosa**

and the itineraries, supporting both participation between people and improving the sustainable use of underused heritage.

2.4   *Celei-Sucidava, Romania*

Located on the left bank of the lower Danube, Corabia is a small city in the southern part of Romania. In the western part of Corabia, there is a Roman and early Byzantine settlement and fortress. This was a small prosperous Roman settlement in the second and third centuries AD.

In the early Byzantine period, there was a small fort (around 30,000 m²) at the head of bridge to the north of the Danube River. Also, a bridge was built there between Sucidava and Oescus in the reign of Constantine the Great in 328 AD. This is the longest bridge in Roman and Byzantine Europe. A structure with a hypocaustum (heat installation) from this period has been preserved.

Also, there is a foundation of a Christian basilica dating to the sixth century AD, and the strong walls of a Byzantine fort, built in stone and brick (fig. 2.7). Additionally, the Secret Fountain, reaching 18 metres underground and built during the Justinian period in the middle of the sixth century AD, is a unique monument in the Danube region (fig. 2.8).

The Rehabilitation of the Historical Monuments of Sucidava project established a tourist route through Corabia city in Olt County between 2013 and 2015. It was financed by European regional development funds and national funding. A modern museum was built at the site, and some tourist routes were laid inside the site (fig. 2.7, fig. 2.9).

The Sucidava Research programme was developed by the University of Craiova. It takes place at an excavation site used by the students of the university who carry out archaeological excavations each summer in partnership with the site museum and the local city council. The major results from these excavations have been published in books and scientific journals (Gherghe et al., 2018; Toropu & Tătulea, 1987; Tudor, 1974). One of the primary aims was to improve the long-term tourist potential of the archaeological site and to include it in national tour routes. The main objectives were to increase the visibility of the site and its notable features, while increasing the number of visitors and establishing connections with other similar sites on the Danube in the network based on mutual heritage. Also, this archaeological site is an exceptional case study for the insertion of archaeological and architectural heritage in the Danube landscape.

The archaeological heritage of Sucidava involves the University of Craiova, as an academic research institution, the site museum, as a depository and exhibition institution, and the city council of Corabia, as site owner and administrator. All these actors are open to cooperation and networking with similar institutions all over the EU.

FIGURE 2.7   Sucidava. Western Gate, fourth – sixth centuries AD (2020)
SOURCE: MIRCEA NEGRU

FIGURE 2.8   Sucidava. Secret Fountain, sixth century AD (2021)
SOURCE: MIRCEA NEGRU
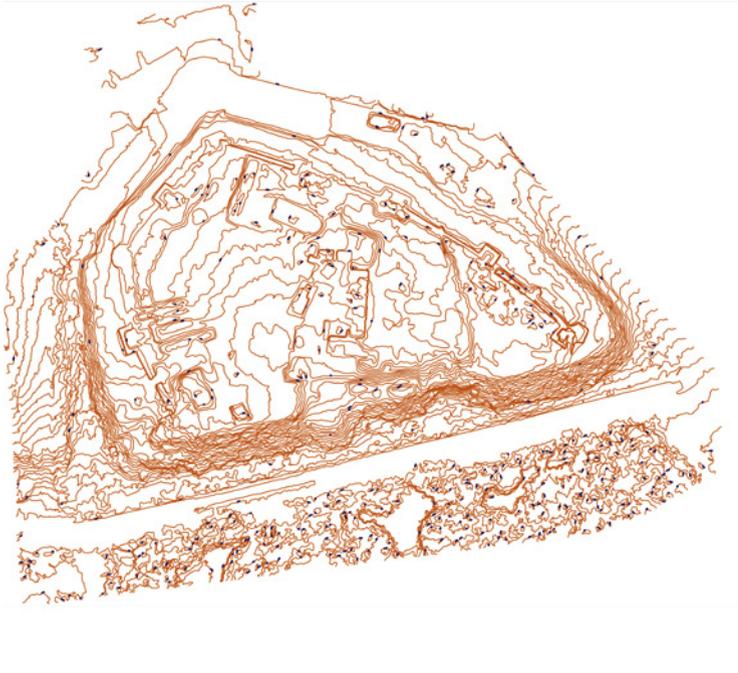
FIGURE 2.9   Sucidava. Topographic plan and tourist route (2021)
              SOURCE: FLORIN NACHE, MIRCEA NEGRU

The information about this archaeological site is available on the web pages of the city council and mayor of Corabia and also on the European project for restoring the site. Additionally, a Facebook page, Arheo Sucidava,[2] provides unique information about the archaeological site and the artefacts that were discovered there. Also, the digitalization of the discovered heritage started a few years ago and it is being constantly upgraded and developed. In recent years new forms of gathering information about the site have been employed, such as aerial viewing with a drone. The digitalization features over 100 million topographic points, topographic maps and a 3D image of the fortress.

2.5   Nafplio, Greece

Nafplio is one of the most picturesque cities in Greece (fig. 2.10). In Greek mythology, Nafplio was the son of Poseidon and was known for his naval skills. A prehistoric settlement has been located in the acropolis of Nafplio and parts of ancient polygonal walls of the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods have been preserved. The heritage of Nafplio also includes important buildings dating

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2   https://www.facebook.com/arheo.sucidava.

FIGURE 2.10   Cultural routes in Nafplio

role in the place identity of a city. It is connected to the past, the history, the traditions, the habits, the material and abstract elements of the city. The importance of heritage is especially visible for small- and medium-sized towns. These towns are threatened by population decline and shrinkage, while they are often full of the variety of heritage that can enhance the development of tourism and thus help these towns deal with the problem of decline.

The presented case studies represent five small- or medium-sized cities with different types of heritage, different types of heritage digitization and different levels of networking and placemaking. Digitalization helps us better understand, visualize and imagine the heritage. Additionally, the variety of ICT, with its endless possibilities and opportunities to be creative in terms of presentation, enables heritage digitization development to follow unique paths. In the

from the period of Venetian rule (1359–1540) and Ottoman rule (1540–1686 and 1715–1822). The old city was built on the north side of Akronafplia, and then it expanded north on Palamidi's Hill. It was the capital of the modern Greek state during the period 1829–1834 and the seat of the first governor, Ioannis Kapodistrias (MN, 2001). The historic city centre has been characterized as a traditional settlement and is an important tourist centre with tourists visiting continuously throughout the year (UPD, 1989). Nafplio is classified as a small town (it has 14,203 inhabitants) with an area of 33.6 km² (HSA, 2011). The history of the area is reflected today in the points within the residential area and in the architecture of the buildings that have been saved.

Cultural routes were proposed to disseminate and promote the heritage of Nafplio, from the Middle Ages until 1828, when it was chosen as the capital of the newly formed Greek state. These routes involve the visitors and the school students in the discovery of the cultural values of the area. The cultural routes were designed through the digital means of GIS (geographic information systems). The four cultural routes that were proposed connect the cultural elements of the area and include the special features that compose the city's physiognomy (fig. 2.10). Digital cultural routes can be disseminated on different websites (internet), including social media (Facebook, Instagram).

The routes are thematic, and they connect the different spaces in the town, places of historical interest, historical monuments, buildings of architectural significance, churches and museums. Cultural and natural features that attract the visitor's interest are the main elements used to form the cultural networks. In these routes, the visitor has the opportunity to experience the authenticity of the locale and to discover the special features of the area through experience (walking). Therefore, such routes represent the example of heritage digitalization and are the basis for creating placemaking and the adequate platform for initiating heritage-based networking.

3 Discussion and Lessons Learned

The social, economic and urban implications of industrial decline and deindustrialization offer some of the biggest challenges facing post-industrial societies. The physical effect of underused industrial territories for the urban tissue is most often negative, but brownfield strategies are today so very well elaborated and implemented that territorial issues can be resolved by knowledge. Less well appreciated problems are the fading of the identity of the place, the losing of stories connected to industrial and other aspects of local culture and the disappearance of memories formed by past generations related to earlier stages in the life of that society. Heritage plays a rather important

five cases discussed in this chapter we can see five different approaches regarding the digitization of heritage, and therefore five different outcomes regarding placemaking and networking. They show how heritage digitalization and heritage networking can be strongly interconnected.

The example of Golubac showed us how the visibility and presentation of local heritage can be done through digitalization and how a simple workshop can educate locals to use ICT to their advantage, and to improve what the city has to offer to tourists while branding its otherwise forgotten tangible and intangible heritage. ICT plays a very important role in introducing heritage to tourists, educating visitors and connecting stakeholders from different communities along the Danube to Golubac. By being part of the DANUrB platform, Golubac joined a heritage-based network linking cities and towns on the Danube River. Henceforth, this platform will be a good base for collaboration between the towns through the mutual cooperation of different local stakeholders. Strategic cooperation between countries and towns is a way for them to share knowledge and good practice.

The case study of Osijek's industrial heritage was focused on the Osijek iron and steel factory and within the project, interactive virtual reality for the products of the factory was designed and included in the museum's virtual exhibition. Furthermore, the project developed forms of social learning and networking for the development of competencies of adults in the field of virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) for the promotion of local industrial heritage. New technologies and innovative methods were introduced through the VIRAL project, thus making them more visible for all the users and more suitable for creating a heritage-based network with neighbouring towns and countries.

The case study of Sovana is very interesting and full of heritage potential. Interesting usage of ICT and digitalization were represented in this case study. Furthermore, it shows that PlaceMaker can support the idea of heritage networking by creating networks of small cities with cultural resources, networks of good practices for experiential paths in heritage towns, and networks of stakeholders involved in the enhancement of local products and cultural resources. With the PlaceMaker software, it is possible to represent heritage in a new, modern and interesting way, through interactive multimedia maps.

In the Celei-Sucidava case it is clear that the local ancient structures (such as Sucidava Fortress) have a huge tourist potential that will increase over the next few years. The ancient Roman and Byzantines structures – the Secret Fountain (unique in the Danube region at least), the strong surrounding walls and tours, the early Byzantine church (basilica), the building with the hypocaustum, and many other ancient buildings – are important assets in relation to archaeological placemaking and increasing the attractiveness of this Danubian settlement.

The existing partnerships between the research programme at the university, the site museum and the city council of Corabia guarantees the development and valorizing of this archaeological site over the long-term. The digitization of the archaeological heritage of Sucidava combines academic, private, and public stakeholders, connecting them in the specific network and via collaboration. This model of internal cooperation is open to collaborating with similar international institutions all over the EU, especially with those that research and administer archaeological sites on the Danube riverfront.

In Nafplio, Greece, digital cultural routes were developed with natural and architectural elements together with its intangible heritage and were made visible for different categories of users via digitalization tools and social media. In this way, such routes represent an informative and creative platform for initiating heritage-based networking and for creating the sense of place and placemaking.

In this study, the starting hypothesis focused on the possibility of obtaining, preserving and presenting the heritage assets in multiple cases and in a sustainable manner, using innovative approaches. After analysing the integrated results, it can be stated that there is a lot of potential in European cities to introduce modern methods of digitalization in order to brand the identity of local heritage and enhance the placemaking in these cities. In the research presented, considering both theoretical and practical inputs, we can connect the heritage potentials with concepts of placemaking and heritage-based networking (fig. 2.11). With the creative application of digitization to heritage, the same heritage is becoming more visible and more recognizable – not only for local audiences but also for visitors from other cities and countries. Furthermore, digitization makes it more convenient to connect with cities that perhaps share the same or similar heritage or share geographical and natural characteristics.

However, it is also clear that to achieve this aim it is not necessary to follow a single methodology. The subjects of each case study, whether it is a small town in Serbia, or one in Romania, all have specific, unique characteristics that require custom-made research and methods to identify the most appropriate solution, depending on the predefined objectives. One of the first aspects to assess is the location and the specific spatial features of heritage. Another important aspect is the type of heritage and the current condition it is in. Of course, methods for digitalization and possibilities for collaboration with other towns and countries on the basis of heritage can be numerous and are very important in this process.

Finally, the technical difficulty of each method must be assessed, corresponding to the environmental, social and cultural context and the protection measures in each country. As for the innovative means of heritage presentation,
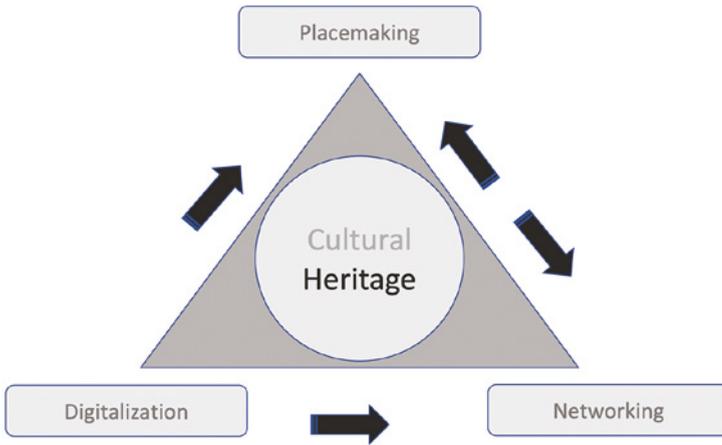
FIGURE 2.11   Diagram showing the relationship between cultural heritage,
digitalization, networking and placemaking

and the use of ICT and digitalization, considering the characteristics of the case studies, it has been verified that the best option always involves a method combining modern techniques. If, in addition, the limited economic capacity of those responsible for protecting the property is introduced as a condition, although the options are reduced, there may be alternatives that allow such a capture in a sustainable manner with reduced resources and in a short time. The starting hypothesis focused on the possibility of obtaining fast and accurate digitization of heritage in multiple cases and in the context of tourism redevelopment. Another precondition is the sustainability of the applied methodology. After analysing the results, it can be stated that there are several examples of rather simple and efficient techniques for heritage promotion that are in line with concepts such as placemaking and at the same time are not financially demanding and time-consuming.

4   Conclusion

The importance of heritage in every way, shape or form is unquestionable. Heritage represents one of the biggest assets of cities in Europe, because of their long and important history. The richness found in their heritage and in their historic layers is one of the main characteristics especially of small- and medium-sized cities and towns.

Heritage and tourism are in close relation. Many European towns depend on culturally based tourism as the main income source. There are several issues

regarding tourism development in these cities. The first one is connected with the possible misuse or overuse and weakening of certain heritage sites. In these cases, specific elements of sustainable tourism should be implemented. Sustainable tourism is closely connected to the local community and their ability to collaborate in the process of placemaking. With community-based participation as its focus, the concept of placemaking inspires people to reimagine and reinvent public spaces, in order to maximize the added value that heritage poses. Placemaking can be a useful approach for improving a neighbourhood, city or region. The second issue is the traditional presentation of heritage that can be customary, predictable or ordinary, and therefore it has to be re-invented. It should be original, advanced, fashionable and even futuristic. Several concepts can be implemented in this process, like the digitization of heritage presentation. Regarding heritage presentation and innovation in the field of tourism, the direct usage of ICT proved to be an important method with desirable results in gathering tourists and making heritage more accessible, visible and, overall, better preserved. Additionally, heritage digitization enables better and more efficient interconnection among different stakeholders and different towns, and even countries. It can be observed as a base for networking, thus improving placemaking and local tourism, and overall city regeneration.

Therefore, one of the main aims of this study was to present the possible solutions, strategies and connections between heritage networks and the process of digitalization. In this chapter, we presented several examples, both from literature and from selected case studies from Romania, Italy, Croatia, Greece and Serbia. These case studies presented innovative forms of heritage networking as well as tools and digitalization used in the process of culture-based tourism redevelopment. Often, these processes are implemented as a part of EU-funded projects. The Golubac case presented an online platform developed as a part of the DANUrB project, which identified all the intangible and not well-known heritage in the area, as well as created an international network of heritage while connecting real people as stakeholders from local communities. Osijek used to be an industrial town, but today it could be classified as a university town. With its dynamic and rich history, Osijek could build its identity on its multi-layered history and especially its industrial heritage story to develop sustainable tourism. When it comes to Sovana, the development of software to identify place-identity and project interventions helped to point out the underused heritage and potentials and different possibilities of sustainable regeneration and to involve locals, and increase the overall attractiveness of the place. Using new tridimensional technologies, and social media platforms as a preview of the archaeological heritage, the Celei-Sucidava example showed us the importance of archaeological heritage for creating its network of the

museums, universities, and local authorities and stakeholders in promoting the Roman Danubian heritage. These networks are also present in the example of Nafplio, Greece, where digitization was used to form a unique cultural route that represents all the important heritage sites in the town. Being part of a heritage network and mutual collaboration with different sectors, connecting the local stakeholders with the public and private sectors, under the authority of Europe-funded projects proved to be a sustainable and efficient way of tourism development. The aforementioned studies showed in several new approaches how the usage of ICT and digitalization tools and social media can improve the process of presenting, branding and preserving local heritage, making the platform for heritage-based networking and improving placemaking and tourism in small- and medium-sized towns.

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Cultural Heritage as an Inspiration for Placemaking in the Historic City: A Transversal Approach

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Abstract

Many European cities are in crisis since most of them are struggling to socially and culturally move forward from the historic and recreational values that made them of interest to the global visitor. In 2011, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) started assessing new forms of placemaking in the historic city through the UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape Approach. The same year, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) highlighted the importance of developing innovative and transversal approaches to examine cultural development in historic human settlements. Within this context, this chapter analyses placemaking in four European historic cities. Transversal approaches on how relational dynamics impact on the historic context will be scrutinized from the realm of the site-specific arts in the city of Belgrade (Serbia), for archaeology the case of analysis is in Bucharest (Romania), for architecture the context is Ávila (Spain) and for urban planning it is Hamburg (Germany). This transversal approach involves using different disciplines to comprehend placemaking from a polyhedral point of view. Therefore, it

brings together complementary forms of heritage appropriation – including the construction of the heritage concept over time – methods and strategies that help integrate cultural expressions, practices and products as potential relational dynamics. To do so, we will define stakeholders such as minorities, communities and powerful entities and target groups. Methodologically, approaches will deepen the understanding of phenomenological, dynamic-relational and contextual notions of placemaking that help clarify how historic cities, tools and communities are all interconnected. The discussion will establish parallelisms between the experiences to clarify the implications of placemaking according to the field of approach and the prospects for those places. Cultural expressions and heritage regulation can provide new forms of appropriation and integration in permanent scenarios of the past. Accordingly, contemporary mutable relationships between places and society are at stake in the context of urban planning and the UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape Approach and in defining the future of historic cities. In conclusion, we point towards (1) imagining how placemaking and cultural heritage serve to delineate new forms of heritage-making in the historic city, and (2) to what extent this requires defining ethical forms of culture-based placemaking practices.

Keywords

cultural heritage – historic city – mutable places – heritage futures

1   Introduction

1.1   *Developing a New Understanding of Cultural Heritage*
Many European historic cities are in crisis since most of them are struggling to socially and culturally move forward from the historic and recreational values that made them of interest for the global visitor. In this regard, the Faro Convention (Council of Europe, 2005) recognized the value of heritage for society and promoted cultural heritage protection as a "central factor in the mutually supporting objectives of sustainable development, cultural diversity and contemporary creativity". The convention came to alleviate tourism pressures and habitation conditions. Since then, heritage is no longer purely a cultural objective but rather it is an essential tool to facilitate a more equilibrated transition for cities at the economic, social and environmental level. Since the early 2000s, several important innovations in cultural policies have come about, from the adoption of new international conventions, particularly

for intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2003) and the diversity of cultural expressions (UNESCO, 2005, 2011). The dimension of culture was later briefly referred to within the International Development Agenda adopted in 2015 by the UN General Assembly, the Agenda 2030, and expanded in the UNESCO Culture 2030 Indicators. Two important UNESCO reports focused on the relationship between culture – in all its forms – and sustainable development: *Re-Shaping Cultural Policies* (UNESCO, 2017) and the *Culture Urban Future* report, which was prepared in view of the Habitat III conference (UNESCO, 2016a), where it is recognized as a category linked to people, environment and policies.

The *Culture Urban Future* report particularly focuses on peace and tolerance, creativity and innovation, inclusivity, identity, local development, governance and finance for sustainable development. ICOMOS already endorsed this approach with the Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas (ICOMOS, 2011) and the Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values (ICOMOS, 2014). Both the Principles and the Declaration explicitly recommended linking heritage conservation and sustainable local socio-economic development by ensuring that heritage contributes to sustainable development objectives (ICOMOS, 2014, art. 4.3a). Heritage practitioners and academics now consider approaches between preserving tangible structures – buildings, urban forms, landscapes – together with the intangible – emotions, feelings, values, power, and justice. The analysis of how contemporary discourses, practices and uses of the historic city integrate (or not) its society, and how to understand them all fitting in previous forms of an imposed protection, as highlighted at the very beginning of the chapter, is a challenge for the contemporary historic city. These legacies and the role they play today in historic cities intersect and clash with local vitality and creativity.

The objective of the transversal approach exposed in this chapter is to deepen the understanding of phenomenological, dynamic-relational and contextual notions of placemaking that help clarify how historic cities, tools and communities can be interconnected through a set of practices and interests. Nonetheless, the problem of engagement with past and present forms of legacy depends on stakeholders and the methodological challenges, that is, governance and digitization to engage them in placemaking. The chapter addresses those challenges from a transversal approach. To do so, the cases bring to the fore the social value, understanding it as culture-based appreciations that often lack the methods to engage with the iterations of the diverse and the heterogeneous – concepts closer to the dynamic realm of the intangible.

1.2   *Scope of the Research*

Complementary forms of heritage appropriation can encourage the development of governance structures that promote the materialization of a full spectrum of local-neighbourhood values, and in turn make local actors be active members of the process. Governments could establish strong governance mechanisms in the face of city development structures and their eventual social and urban imbalances. In a context of governance with weak authority structures and limited institutional structures, possible new directions for cultural heritage and placemaking in the historic city is to establish and encourage alternative and transversal approaches, such as the ones presented here for an adequate or perhaps more ethical management[1] of the historic city. In recent years, placemaking has become a widely institutionalized strategy for public policies and an approach for the management of public places in many European cities. In the four cases that the authors bring forward, placemaking is not yet sufficiently recognized as a tool of urban development or cultural policy in particular. This means that not only city public spaces as such, but cultural heritage sites as an integral layer of the city landscape and identity face the challenges of being on the agenda within these discourses. In this context, the recognition of potential artistic, archaeological, conservation and planning practices in harnessing cultural heritage for placemaking in the city becomes a crucial task for the transversal approach to the diversity of related policy areas, instruments and stakeholders. Digitization and, particularly, maps and mapping allow public and private stakeholders to understand spatial contexts, environmental changes, institutional settings and cultural implications and possibly help us understand placemaking. Recent innovations involving big data, GIS-based research and digital datasets offer new opportunities to use maps and mapping to study spatial and cultural elements. Few geospatial tools or research methods currently exist to analyse and represent spaces, social interactions and cultural practices (Hein, 2019). Historical geospatial mapping can help us understand how people have changed cities and institutions over time and in conjunction with complex economic, political, social and cultural transformations.

2   Methodology

The first case explores the possibilities of engaging site-specific artistic practices on historical sites with the local communities as an approach to local

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1   A critical review of the term "adequate" is necessary in light of the above.

knowledge production about/on particular places in the historic city. Taking an interdisciplinary interpretative approach, based on the examination of discourses in the respective research fields, the focus is set on the classical and digital ethnographic analysis of the artistic practices and how they could be used for development of placemaking approaches in the city of Belgrade. The second case uses digitization in musealization processes to reveal a historical legacy from a fourteenth-century cultural heritage. The case uses a relevant architectural and archaeological site from Romania and refers to the very late scientific archaeological excavations and museal valorization, which started in the late twentieth century. Contemporary placemaking practices entail re-valorization plans with new modern exhibitions based on virtual reconstructions, holograms and 3D images of objects. The third case uses digitization in the form of GIS techniques, digital photo-elicitation and in-person and online interviews. A GIS database evaluates the different options to characterize the historic urban cores. What the experimental study seeks is to develop cohesive and inclusive activities in historic centres by analysing the attributes and values of the built environment. Therefore, it implies the application of a range of traditional and innovative tools adapted to the local context. The fourth case study explores Hamburg as a case of port city relationships and development since the medieval period using historical digital geospatial research to better understand the changing relationship between water and land, port and city actors over time. Researchers chose to start the case study in 1300, when the Hanseatic League helped sustain the urban development of cities around the North Sea. The authors convey the historic roots of urban planning and contemporary heritage sites, including the UNESCO World Heritage Site of the Speicherstadt and Kontorhausviertel in this long-term approach.

3   Cases

The cases the authors put forward in relation to the use of cultural heritage as an inspiration for placemaking in the historic city comprise the realm of the site-specific arts in the city of Belgrade (Serbia), archaeology in the case of Bucharest (Romania), architecture in Ávila (Spain) and waterfront redevelopment in Hamburg (Germany).

The case of Belgrade situates an artistic site-specific project, "In S(p)ite of Fire", set in the historic district of Kosančićev venac[2] within the Belgrade city

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2 According to the oldest reliable archaeological sources, the area of Kosančićev venac was already inhabited in the Neolithic.

centre on the site of the old National Library. The site is analysed in relation to the possible changes in public space and the activation of cultural memory of heritage sites with the contribution of the local community for creation of meaningful places. Bucharest, particularly the Old Court in the historical centre, was the residence of Vlad Tepes (the historical Dracula, prince of Transylvania), built in the fourteenth century. The case is relevant because recent archaeological findings reveal a historical reality different from previously held beliefs. The approach to the project on Ávila highlights the relevance of the idealistic World Heritage Site scenarios. It interprets parallel and alternative placemaking practices about the cultural appropriation of informal elements. In doing so, it critically reviews how historical values can accommodate untold pasts and other contemporary architectural and anthropological informalities. The case of Hamburg is an example of the way in which UNESCO World Heritage nominations are framed in regard to specific practices, such as shipping, and select materials such as water. The transformation of the HafenCity over more than two decades exemplifies the multifaceted ways, including challenges and opportunities for planning, architecture and heritage, in which a former port can be transformed in a multifunctional urban district while maintaining a certain waterfront flair.

3.1   *Belgrade, Serbia*
3.1.1   Presentation
Belgrade is one of the oldest cities in Europe, tracing its first urban settlement to the third century BC. As a result of its turbulent history, Belgrade has for centuries been built and rebuilt, retaining the influences of diverse inhabitants and their cultures. Today, as the capital of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade has multiple historic layers in its city fabric and important cultural heritage sites, such as the Belgrade Fortress. Within the historical city centre, there are also many districts, streets and plateaus that contribute to the cultural diversity of Belgrade's cultural heritage.

3.1.2   Placemaking
Artistic practices are an important element of the cultural life of the city, acting as platforms for a conscious dialogue of artists with the city in public spaces. Furthermore, art in public spaces has been used to contribute to collective memory and to the creation of meaning of the city spaces, mostly through public festivals and initiatives originating from the independent cultural scene. However, the engagement of public art in improving public spaces with cultural, historical and natural values in Serbian cities has been present

FIGURE 3.1   An artistic performance in Belgrade by Dragan Stojcevski (2021)

only recently through specialized urban design education programmes and projects, which aimed at awareness-raising and integrating public art into the process of urban planning and placemaking (Đukanović & Živković, 2015). It has been recognized that there is a need for place-based, culturally sensitive and integrative approaches to public places through small space interventions and events, with a goal of enhancing their meaning, use and value (ibid.). Additionally, there is a need to integrate cultural heritage into the public spaces of the city as an asset to its sense of place and as a culturally sustainable form of action (Fairclough et al., 2015). As Christine Boyer reminds us in her critical examination of visual and mental models by which the urban environment has been recognized, depicted and planned, "We are forced to create new paths of the city's memory, new maps that will help us resist all the overly programmed and all-encompassing messages of our consumer culture" (Boyer, 1996, p. 64). Through artistic actions, the purpose and role of particular sites in the historic cities are being re-actualized and animated in a specific artistic way, thus contributing to the new possible uses of public spaces. Such participatory site-specific artistic actions use architecture as scenography, by including the whole ambience of streets and buildings in the artistic installation, and also involving the local community.

3.1.3   Results and Added Value

The case of the artistic site-specific project "In S(p)ite of Fire", an interactive process of re-examining collective memory and the research of the local community of the Kosančićev venac district within the historical city of Belgrade conducted in relation to this artistic project (Kraguljac Ilić, 2012), are selected aiming to show how this kind of artistic practices can be harnessed for place-making by activating collective memory and local knowledge of the community. The "In S(p)ite of Fire" project was conducted as a multimedia art installation, its title functioning as a kind of metaphor, suggesting that – regardless of the fire that took place on that historic location – it nurtured the memory of the past of the site. The idea was to revive the memory of the burned library,[3] and for this purpose the author Dragan Stojčevski created a scenography of scaffolding in the dimensions of the former building of the National Library and in this way created a virtual library inside and around which numerous artistic actions by artists from the country and abroad were performed. Within this artistic project, public space was used as a kind of public forum, attended both by artists, visitors and the residents of this historic district. The research which was conducted in the framework of the aforementioned project, included the analysis of inhabitants' relationship to the historical site in the evocative discourse of the bombing of the National Library (1941). The aim of the research was to establish a correlation between the historic and living environment through the artistic practices and storytelling, that is, experienced and retold memory, connecting memories, life attitudes and visions from the life of the inhabitants of Kosančićev venac. Furthermore, the focus was on examining the possibility of a new interpretation of the heritage site and its collective memory – creating and assigning the meaning of place, that is, placemaking.

3.2   *Bucharest, Romania*

3.2.1   Presentation

The Old Court is one of Romania's most relevant medieval heritage sites. It is located in the historical centre of Bucharest, the most visited city of Romania, placed between Selari, Lipscani, Baratiei and Calea Mosilor Streets. This case study is a relevant example of heritage placemaking in Romania, serving the legend of Dracula and one of his residences as an example. The first systematic archaeological excavations in the area of the Old Court started in 1953 and continued until 1972, when they were stopped due to the construction

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3   The National Library of Serbia was one of the first buildings to be destroyed in the bombing of Belgrade by the Germans on 6 April 1941. It was a treasury of movable cultural heritage that originated from across the entire territory of Europe and which covered a chronological period of almost a thousand years.

FIGURE 3.2   Old Court archaeological site in Bucharest (2021)
SOURCE: MIRCEA NEGRU

of the museum. The archaeologists uncovered the long evolution of the main building, starting from the late fourteenth century to the last decade of the eighteenth century. In the previous decades, new archaeological excavations were carried out (Negru, 2001; Sandu-Cuculea, 2009; Clesiu, 2020). In the middle of the fifteenth century, in 1458–1459, Vlad Tepes, the prince of Wallachia, well-known as the inspiration for the character of Dracula in the Bram Stoker novel, built a castle by covering the wall of the previous one with stones from the river. Through time, other princes of Wallachia restored and modernized the structure to serve as their official residence. The palace experienced its golden era during the reign of Prince Constantin Brancoveanu, who was killed in Istanbul in 1714 with his sons. Foreign travellers have appreciated the magnificent stone columns, pictures and garden (Almaş & Panait, 1974, pp. 14–16). In 1972–1974, during the regime of Nicolae Ceauşescu, the Museum of Curtea Veche (the Old Court) was erected. The Old Court Museum has a tourist track from the underground to the first level. There, visitors can view the different periods of the palace stratigraphically, from the late fourteenth century to the eighteenth century, and relevant artefacts discovered in this place. A few years ago, the museum started a new project. It will present new materials, including items from the medieval period through the use of new technologies, such as virtual reality and views of 3D objects, to engage visitors in a more approachable manner.

3.2.2   Placemaking

Under the Old Court, archaeologists discovered historic structures and objects from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. These findings tell the story of one of the most well-known palaces of the Walachian princes. The archaeological excavations under the Old Court offer visitors a possibility to see the restored construction phases of the palace. Many of the discovered archaeological objects, such as pottery, tools, coins and so on, are on exhibit. The Old Court is the most famous promenade place in Bucharest. Every week, thousands of tourists visit the historical city, and the Old Court is a compulsory part of the journey. This area is the most attractive place for evening leisure activities due to its restaurants and souvenir vendors. The downside of this heritage-led intervention is evidenced by tensions between stakeholders' interests. Visitors' "placemaking" has affected inhabitants across the whole area. Perhaps this has been due to a lack of an ethical, or a largely agreed, form of community-based placemaking practice.

3.2.3   Results and Added Value

This example of heritage placemaking is regarded as the most relevant historical objective for Bucharest. Many of the Wallachian princes lived in the Old Court. One of them was Vlad Tepes, the historical Dracula. However, the presence of a great number of tourists could be considered an invasive presence to the inhabitants in the area, especially those living in the historical centre. The late-night bars and the noise visitors generate could be a disturbance for the inhabitants. Also, the interdiction of cars on the streets surrounding the Old Court could be a problem for the people that live there. In fact, the number of inhabitants in the surrounding area of the Old Court have decreased significantly during the last few decades, since the municipality started a programme of restoration of the whole Old Court area. This is an example of reconversion from an inhabited area to a heritage placemaking area. Curtea Veche (The Old Court) has become a brand and is the best known example of placemaking based on archaeological and historical heritage in the city of Bucharest. There are cultural and gastronomic enterprises, such as pastry shops, restaurants and a famous publishing house.

3.3   *Ávila, Spain*
3.3.1   Presentation

The Old Town of Ávila was founded in the eleventh century to protect the Spanish territories from the Moors. This "City of Saints and Stones" has kept its purity of form as it can still be seen in the Gothic cathedral and the fortifications. This case study critically explores the evaluation of a city to establish

FIGURE 3.3 Twentieth-century clothing store in the Old Town of Ávila (2021)
SOURCE: JUAN A. GARCÍA-ESPARZA

new perspectives for the management of values and attributes. The unconventional interpretation of this city reviews the UNESCO Operational Guidelines to achieve new perspectives to the cultural diversity of this place. At this point, it is important to refer to the cultural heritage laws from Castilla-León (2002). Regional laws make no mention of the intangible nature of historic cities or *conjuntos históricos*. The law makes reference to values linked to the second and third criteria: "the conservation of ethnographic and anthropological values [and] the landscape and the general characteristics of its environment".

As a scientific contribution to the research study, the "DocPlaces" project recognizes the value of local urban narratives as rich stories in information on socio-spatial practices, perceptions and expectations of citizens. The research links the literary field with those of architecture and urban planning. Thus, this project addresses narrative interpretations, both of inhabitants and visitors, as forms of behaviour, expressions and adaptations that result in idiosyncratic innovation and experimentation in the urban fabric. The project is based on four assumptions related to the transformation of the historic centre through cultural processes, where wider and more inclusive alternative areas of great importance for sociocultural and architectural diversity may emerge.

3.3.2 Placemaking

The methodological approach complements the proposals of English Heritage (Historical Area Assessment) and UNESCO (Historical Urban Landscape), which aim to integrate the social and cultural aspects of places. In this sense,

the project analyses how the eventual cultural, architectural and social stratification depends on the ability to select and assimilate different visions of heritage through assessment activities (Altaba & García-Esparza, 2018).

This objective has been developed by sharing periods of bibliographic research with some fieldwork employing traditional and digital ethnography. The fieldwork entailed open workshops that has allowed the research team to delineate and spatially classify the results to eventually understand their theoretical implications. The office work consists of data analysis through mental mapping and the use of a geographic information system (GIS).

On-site actions allowed the establishment of porous relations between the past and the present, exposing informalities and the different ways in which individuals and societies experienced and desired the place. In this regard, the Spanish cultural policy barely interprets this *conjunto histórico* as a living habitat. The historic town hardly hosts relations of sociocultural superposition, succession and continuity; it mainly hosts static phenomena that break up and cross temporal discontinuities.

3.3.3   Results and Added Value

The final aim of the case was to correlate the generated knowledge within World Heritage Site policies and to offer the scientific reasoning to evaluate the contemporary historical city as a result of appreciating and experiencing urban cultural specificities. Therefore, the first goal accomplished of this project was to analyse the interdependencies between physical conservation, social awareness and cultural vitality by defining what is essential, distinctive and unique to its community. The second objective of the project lies in the need to create an inclusive procedure to better understand the evolution and conservation of medium-sized historic cities of Europe.

To do so, researchers decided to carry out what was initially called the "Historic Centres and Cultural Routes' Meetings and Interviews". In these interviews, locals, led by an expert in sociology and cultural heritage, asked questions about the town's architecture conservation. Inhabitants themselves explained some of the features of the buildings, and some peculiarities related to the past use of spaces. Fieldwork provided researchers with one more relevant result: the retrieval and storage of common information. Its importance relied on making it open access, online through a full range of formats, from audio files, to images, videos, panels, routes and songs. The mapping support allowed researchers to connect the historic city to alternative spaces with complementary cultural sources. The final aim of the sources and the results was to promote activities for a low-density form of tourism (Altaba & García-Esparza, 2021).

Accordingly, maps and linked datasets allowed data storage about events, attendance and other supplementary material. Connecting the map to social media information available online may serve townships in the future to know what is most appreciated, what places or tours are more in demand, and to prevent over-attendance at certain events or even propose alternative events to disperse the attendees (García-Esparza & Altaba, 2018; 2020).

3.4 *Hamburg, Germany*

3.4.1 Presentation

Founded in the ninth century as a fortification, the Hammaburg, Hamburg has for most of its history been a port. For centuries, the city's long-distance waterway and major shipping lane was the Elbe River. Historical views of Hamburg, such as those by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (1572) or that by E. Galli (1680), show the city from the south. Ships occupy the foreground of a fortified city dominated by churches and houses. Harbour activity here was physically associated and integrated with the city for many centuries. The Braun and Hogenberg map of 1588 shows how port functions effectively integrated the city's different urban landscapes. Ships and barges would transport goods by canal to warehouses connected to the offices and houses of traders. Merchants with global connections have traditionally held the main political positions in Hamburg. While the urban form largely developed in response to local needs, Hamburg's leaders have always taken into account international technological and design concepts and borrowed or modified them as necessary to supplement innovative local developments. While the port and its traders historically shaped the city, a range of international actors connected with them made large-scale changes in the urban fabric.

3.4.2 Placemaking

Parts of the city's larger strategy for rethinking its water and land, port and city relationship are the reuse of the city's landmark warehouse district, the Speicherstadt, and the transformation of a 157-hectare (388-acre) former harbour area next to it into the HafenCity. Labelled Europe's largest urban renewal project, it had its roots in the 1990s. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reopening of Hamburg's traditional hinterland, the city leadership, through the city-owned Hamburger Hafen und Lagerhausgesellschaft mbH (today HHHLA Hafen und Logistik AG), purchased firms and land in the area with the view to making it into a central European node. After an international competition, the winning design by the Dutch-German team Hamburgplan with Kees Christiaanse | ASTOC became the basis for the master plan of 2000. The plan presents HafenCity as an extension of the inner city, almost doubling its

FIGURE 3.4   Hamburg HafenCity (2021)
SOURCE: CAROLA HEIN

size. In contrast to other waterfront redevelopment projects and to Hamburg's history of separating urban functions into distinct zones, the new district is designed to be multifunctional and socially integrative, including office buildings, housing, educational and cultural facilities, and is designed to include various income groups. Through extensive design competitions, city planners are carefully monitoring and controlling the area's architectural and urban design. Building on the examples of large-scale urban restructuring in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the construction of the HafenCity stands in context with other examples of urban transformation. Next to the HafenCity are the Speicherstadt and Kontorhausviertel areas that have since been recognized as UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

3.4.3   Results and Added Value

Through historic geospatial mapping we have explored the underlying reasons for the close connection between port and city through the centuries. The case of Hamburg is a situation in which port and city have remained intertwined and have been governed together. As the city grew, so did the port. In 1937, Hamburg incorporated the ports of Altona and Harburg to become a large urban port city region with shipping, port and administrative capacities (Hein & Schubert, 2020). Based on these maps, we can posit that a city in the vicinity

of a port benefits from having control over the port's space and development for environmental, social and safety reasons. A better understanding of the temporal and scalar development of port city territories from a comparative perspective and of the intersection between spatial and social development can inspire better planning for port city territories. For example, one might argue that Rotterdam's striving to increase its standing in the ranking of maritime capitals (Späth, 2019) and to catch up with Hamburg would entail a closer collaboration among port and city stakeholders. Collaboration among port and city actors has thus both facilitated economic growth, heritage preservation and placemaking in a unique way.

4 Discussion on Outcomes and Results of the Four Cases

Cultural expressions and heritage regulation can provide new forms of appropriation and integration in permanent scenarios of the past. Following this, contemporary mutable relationships between places and society are dependent on how transversal approaches boost relational dynamics by engaging stakeholders with cultural heritage and in defining the future of historic cities. Accordingly, placemaking practices today behold a set of values that enhances the social and communal spectrum when referring to heritage caring and appreciation. This has been stressed recently by the historic urban landscape (HUL) approach through the notions of diversity, collectivism and creativity (UNESCO, 2011; UNESCO, 2016b).

The four cases have made explicit how the preservation of cultural heritage inspires placemaking methods. Therefore, the valorization of cultural structures, artefacts and expressions, all as a fundamental part of the historic city, implies reflecting on the potential transdisciplinarity of approaches and the likely values of stakeholders. All cases engaged in one form or another a pluralistic view of places, from those of neighbours to the ones of authorities, and without disregarding the eventual saying of public and private organizations as well.

The ICOMOS (2011, art. 3h) view on this matter is reflected in the Valletta principles, found in the section on governance:

> Good governance makes provision for organizing broad orchestration amongst all stakeholders: elected authorities, municipal services, public administrations, experts, professional organizations, voluntary bodies, universities, residents, etc. This is essential for the successful safeguarding, rehabilitation and sustainable development of historic towns and urban areas.

Eduardo Rojas (2016) has recently referred to stakeholders as

> those that traditionally promote the conservation of the urban heritage – members of the cultural elite, scholars, philanthropists, conservation boards and international organisations – there are other stakeholders – such as property owners, real estate investors, informal producers and local users – that at different points in time, and under different incentives, can either promote the conservation effort or oppose to it.

And finally, the UN's New Urban Agenda (2017) defines stakeholders in paragraph 48:

> We encourage effective participation and collaboration among all relevant stakeholders, including local governments, the private sector and civil society, women, organisations representing youth, as well as those representing persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples, professionals, academic institutions, trade unions, employers' organisations, migrant associations and cultural associations, in order to identify opportunities for urban economic development and identify and address existing and emerging challenges.

Regarding the target groups, the authors classified them according to geographic origins and age, mainly. All cases dealt with locals and foreigners, elders, adults, teenagers and children, the most prominent being adults and youngsters. As visitors and guests, placemaking practices involved local and foreign tourists without distinction. As shown in the four cases, transversal approaches that deal with diverse institutional settings, policy and legal tools need stakeholders to be engaged at different levels through a set of adaptive strategies provided by a combination of analytical and digital methods. The results in Belgrade point to the added value of such participatory artistic practices on the historical sites in their reactivation for the placemaking. The artistic intervention involved citizens and the local community in the process of re-examining their attitudes towards the historical site of the old National Library at Kosančićev venac. This artistic intervention stimulated the imagination of the inhabitants and visitors, opening new ways of perceiving their local living environment, and also aiming at finding culturally sustainable solutions to the future of this historical site in the city of Belgrade.

The outcome in Bucharest employs the context of the archaeological and musealization programme. The experience suggests that town inhabitants may lobby for a mobiliary development project in the Centre of the City. The

project would help enhance the Old Court appraisal. Accordingly, placemaking activities that favour recognition and knowledge dissemination are the decisional factor that may impose the valorization of the archaeological heritage in the historic centre of Bucharest.

In the case of Ávila, one of the most valuable findings of the project is the intellectual reconstruction of specific parts of the historic city. The fieldwork exercise helped locals re-enact the unconventional practices in the urban fabric as valuable "objects" to be explained to others. The reading of traces, symbols and signs enriched forms of recognition, attachment and pride. The history of Ávila, through its legends and gossip, gave fieldwork a special ambience supported by ancestral knowledge. In-person activities found a way to accommodate authentic and meaningful experiences for outsiders.

The case of Hamburg shows the importance of long-term planning and conceptualization through mapping, used here as a gap finder, to allow for richer investigations, denser methodological inquiries and multidisciplinary exchange as a means to facilitate comparative research, and of applying approaches (such as the UNESCO historic urban landscape approach) in diverse spatial settings.

5   Lessons Learned

Placemaking activities around the architecture of the historic city of Ávila have served to understand that buildings, objects and spaces evoke stories, ranging from remarkable events or people to everyday practices and uses. Most objects are designed and placed for interaction and are recognized as of relevance or mundane.

– The scope of the architectural approach to placemaking is precisely about the mundane details of architecture that speak of a continuous dialogue between epochs, people and places. For placemakers, materials can be attractive or just informative, but the two inform memories and events. Buildings, objects and spaces in the historic city appeal to psychological comfort because they help satisfy the intellectual and emotional appropriation of a shared space and, subsequently, to recognize cultural expressions, even those that are mundane and contemporary, that help integrate, appropriate and provide meaning to the place.

– Placemaking activities that move far from pre-established notions of heritage revolve around the idea of ethical appropriation of space, and to confront the heritage conservation paradox when evidencing the differences and complementarities of historical and contemporary, formal and

informal, cultural expressions in the historic realm. The final aim of this approach is to corroborate to what extent spatial and architectural transformations have occurred over time and how neighbours perceived them.

– According to this experience, objects are valued when appropriately explained and contextualized, just because many times, objects and practices are not recognized as historical but as informal expressions of alternative and contemporary appropriation of space. Researchers have learned, through this case, how online interviews and digital photography, and all material elements steaming from fieldwork as well, have been entangled in the re-conceptual making of the historic town.

In the case of Belgrade, the site-specific art project at the historical site of the old National Library has been taken as a point for recognizing the importance of participatory arts practices in placemaking processes. The research conducted in relation to the artistic project has shown that this vision of the place is also shared by the local community and residents of the Kosančićev venac district.

– With the artistic intervention, the historical site was presented in a new light – it contributed to a new meaning of this place including a reconstruction of the past – collective memory and integrating local community narratives and knowledge in new forms of heritage-making in the city.

– The interdisciplinary approach with the focus on artistic practices as an integrative tool in placemaking is positioned in opposition to the linear process of designing public spaces that ignores the multiple symbolic layers and meaning of cultural memory at historical sites. Furthermore, this approach calls for a critical ethical consideration of the regulation of heritage and involvement of both citizens and professionals in the processes of respective public policies in the city.

– The intersections of arts-based strategies and community engagement at historical sites, as this case indicates, open up possibilities for development of participatory cultural governance contributing to placemaking as a grassroots process of place re-creation.

The Old Centre of Bucharest is the first destination for tourists and also a key place for the inhabitants. This area is small and quiet, without cars and other transport. The studies show that the historical centre is the most valued destination in Bucharest. Nevertheless, some things may be improved.

– The scope of the archaeological excavations in the Old Court in Bucharest is to provide new structures and information about medieval daily life at the palace of the Wallachian princes. The archaeological excavations and the associated research unfolded several pieces of information where placemaking enablers such as archaeologists, architects, chemists, ethnographers

and sociologists conveyed new insights from almost contemporary archaeological excavations.

– The ethical way forward has to do with the exposition of a series of facts open to multiple interpretations. The paradigmatic case of the Old Court in Bucharest has a well-known story. Nonetheless, the Bram Stoker story was missing essential pieces of information. Being accurate is relevant for both inhabitants and those who have Bucharest as a temporary destination.

– The interconnection between hotels, restaurants and the cultural industry is essential. However, these stakeholders are barely connected to support a plan for archaeological and architectural heritage placemaking. The food service and hotel industries in Bucharest are still not communicating enough in the creation of the Old Court to make it fit for national and international tourism.

Former port sites in Hamburg have been redesigned as part of a large urban renewal intervention. The focus was creating a multifunctional urban district at the edge of the water. The presence of the cruise ship port allows tourists to step off the boat into the HafenCity district.

– The coordinated planning on a large piece of land, centrally controlled by the HafenCity GmbH provided a unique opportunity for urban development with respect for public spaces and multifunctional use by a diverse population. Architectural competitions aimed at guaranteeing an aesthetically meaningful approach. The use of parking lots at the ground floor level and the construction of footpaths and foot bridges allows for the evacuation of the district in the case of flooding.

– Carefully controlled planning also laid the foundation for respectful and sometimes novel engagement with heritage elements while making sure that water management challenges and economic interests were considered.

– Extensive open access publications and an exhibition site, the Kesselhaus, provided information to citizens and tourists throughout the construction period.

– The UNESCO World Heritage Site application was only put into motion after the project was almost complete and after the local authorities had made their choices. Such an approach also holds many challenges.

6   Conclusions

Bringing to the fore a transversal approach of cultural heritage practices as an inspiration for placemaking in the historic city has allowed the authors to reveal the added value of doing it in a common ground. While the artistic

and architectural intervention focused on the importance of citizens and the local community to be recognized in the process of re-examining attitudes and expressions towards pre-established historical sights, the archaeological and musealization programme has revealed its importance as a successful branding enterprise for the historic centre of Bucharest.

Belgrade and Ávila provoked stimulation of inhabitants and visitors through on-site workshops and related events. Hamburg also opened a visitor's centre and published extensively on the project and the planning. All cases opened up new ways of perceiving their local living environment, and also aiming at finding culturally sustainable solutions to the future of the historical sites. The three cases agree on the recognition of parallel places, untold stories that only unfold when decision-makers recognize the realities of particular views and contexts. All cases ascertain how culture-making processes have occurred over time and how now stakeholders have a different perception about the elements and stories of the past that populate their landscape. A more open interpretation of sites exists, recognizing them as valuable objects, elements and expressions of historical and contemporary uses of space. The four cases offered stakeholders alternative forms of appropriation and integration as a framework for a contextualization of social interactions and the arts in relation to daily life.

The research findings demonstrate that transversal approaches to the values of heritage confront what preservationists have not previously acknowledged. Arts and humanities multidisciplinary placemaking practices have allowed academics to approach unspoken emotions. Past academic heritage analyses, understood as aesthetic judgements, often lacked the methods to engage with the iterations of the alternative, diverse and the heterogeneous, concepts closer to the popular appropriation of space. Today, it is recognized that these multispectral forms of valuing space offer innovative insights on more ethical placemaking practices. Precisely, because there is an increasing understanding that elements in the historic city are complex and multidimensional.

Accordingly, digitization has been the driver of change to convey the placemaking methods more democratically. The first case explored arts through an interpretative approach focusing on the ethnographic analysis of artistic practices and how they could be digitally used for development of future plural placemaking approaches. The second case used musealization technologies to reveal untold and parallel stories from a medieval heritage. The digital tools comprised exhibitions based on virtual reconstructions through holograms and 3D images that fostered engagement. The third and fourth cases used GIS techniques, digital photo-elicitation and in-person and digital interviews.

A digital platform allowed researchers to characterize the historic centre by registering the attributes and values of the built environment.

Acknowledgements

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Placemaking at a Time of Changing Port City Relations

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Abstract

Former port areas can host diverse urban uses, including maritime ones, providing space for new forms of placemaking at a time of multiple transitions (energy, digital, social) while paying homage to or even taking advantage of former maritime structures and historic access to the sea. This chapter argues for comprehensive approaches to heritage preservation and sustainable development in line with the UNESCO historic urban landscape (HUL) approach and its New Urban Agenda. It explores three examples of policy and design approaches to the preservation, transformation and adaptive reuse of historic water- and port-related structures in light of placemaking concepts at the edge of sea and land, between a working port and a living city. The three case studies explored here include Hamburg (Germany), Koper (Slovenia) and Valencia (Spain) and showcase, respectively, planning-led, urban design-inspired, and community-led approaches for heritage preservation as forms of ethical forms of placemaking. In conclusion, we point towards: (1) imagining how heritage practices that include urban scales in UNESCO heritage sites and other port cities allow us to develop sustainable futures in terms of the economy, the environment and society; (2) understanding that the dynamic relationship of ports and cities and the inherent risks in terms of preservation, reuse and sustainable development requires ethical forms of placemaking to accommodate the New Urban Agenda commitments and

the UN Sustainable Development Goals; and (3) emphasizing, selecting and designing equitable forms of transformation in port cities that embrace culture, the environment and the economy sustainably.

Keywords

adaptive reuse – port structures – port transformation – world heritage – historic urban landscape (HUL) approach

1 Introduction: The History of Waterfront Heritage

Cities around the world, from New York, to London and Hong Kong, lost much of their shipping functions within decades after the opening of new container terminals on their outskirts. Many port authorities and city governments adapted their ports rapidly to maintain their city's edge in a tight competition. Over the last five decades, as public and private decision-makers around the world built new ports and facilities for the increased transhipment of goods and people, responding to similar challenges and opportunities, developing new ports, dredging waterways, transforming storage and transhipment in response to changing ship sizes, new containers or new commodity flows, the old waterfronts in New York, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Philadelphia and Sydney lost their leadership function as global ports. They became ghost districts, challenges to urban development. Spaces that hosted port activities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contain heritage buildings and industrial structures on a scale that can be repurposed for urban functions that are often well connected to urban sites and infrastructure. In recent decades these sites have become hubs of urban growth and tourism. Many cities had to develop new strategies for the inner-city ports that had fallen empty and for the large number of people who had lost their jobs in packaging, transportation and storage.

An extensive body of literature focuses on the planned revitalization of former seaports turned inner-city waterfronts in the United States and Europe (Baltimore, New York, Vancouver, Boston, Portland, Seattle, Miami, London, Hamburg, Barcelona, Genoa, Lisbon, Seville, Helsinki, Bilbao, Liverpool, Dublin, to mention just some) as well as in Asia (Shanghai, Sydney, Osaka, Melbourne) and occasionally on other continents that faced similar challenges of revitalization and transformation, so extensive that only a few

sources can be indicated here (e.g. Hein, 2011, 2016b, 2019). Researchers have studied Baltimore as the model for waterfront regeneration around the world; they have also considered its impact (or the lack thereof) on the city as a whole (Ward, 2006). The revitalization of the Docklands in London has similarly seen celebratory and critical scholarship (Brownill, 1994; Brownill, 1993; Edwards, 1992; Foster, 1999; Schubert, 1993, 2002). Scholars raise questions about the role of exhibitions in the redevelopment of waterfronts, such as in Seville, 1992, Barcelona (1992, 2004), Genoa (1992, 2004), Lisbon (1998) (Wilson & Huntoon, 2001; Carnevali et al., 2003). Economic, social and cultural themes are often in the foreground, rather than environmental or ecological ones.

Waterfront renewal in the proximity of historic cities has already seen many different approaches and development steps. New initiatives continue to emerge around the world. *Portus* recently published two special issues (numbers 37 and 38) showcasing contemporary waterfront renewal projects in Europe and the Americas with a focus on heritage (De Martino, Hein, & Russo, 2019; Hein, 2019). In recent years, city governments around the world have started to experiment with new approaches for inner city redevelopment, creating multifunctional and transitional spaces, and including a greater diversity among stakeholders. The success of the redevelopment depends largely on local governance and the relation between ports and cities. The ways in which historic and heritage structures are being reimagined and repurposed plays an important role in both redevelopment of the former maritime spaces and the development of urban sites.

2   The Role of Heritage

Professional and local presses have often touted the revitalization of local waterfronts, the commodification of historical heritage and the creation of new commercial interests – whether focused on business, leisure or multifunctional development – as models of urban renovation regeneration of brownfield areas, historic adaptation, and the creation of new urban districts that distinguish themselves for their traditional port heritage facilities and their water views. Recent research has focused on the role of these sites as hubs of maritime mindsets (Hein et al., 2021a, 2021b). Understanding, defining and reusing "port city heritage" has recently gained more scholarly and professional attention. Yet, many questions remain in terms of terminology, characteristics, constituents or applicability of such a group of heritage objects and their role in placemaking. A recent article (Dai et al., 2021) has pointed to the importance

of understanding and defining port city terms to better understand what citizens and institutions deem valuable and choose to preserve and use in everyday practices.

2.1   *Heritage, Ports and Placemaking*

The nature and extent of conservation and reuse of the port heritage and historic environment surrounding ports vary and depend on the historical connections between ports and cities. Listed buildings and other infrastructure that connect the port emotionally with the city tend to be significant assets (Giovanna, 2019). There are a series of strategies to revitalize connections between citizens and ports. Activities such as open access days, heritage walks and maritime museums stem from resolutions such as the Faro Convention (Council of Europe, 2005), which promotes "a new vision of the relationship between cultural heritage and the communities that preserve it" (Moretti, 2019). UNESCO enhanced the social character of heritage with the historic urban landscape (HUL) approach in 2011. The HUL approach aims to raise awareness of the role of heritage in sustainable development. It thus extends the relevance of a heritage building to its larger environment and connects to diverse local planning initiatives with the goal of strengthening the heritage component.

Today, the HUL approach supports the implementation of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aimed at attaining more equilibrated, adaptable and inclusive developments in urban environments (UNESCO, 2015). In terms of the regeneration of the waterfront, including fishermen's districts and related infrastructure, many strategies have followed the cultural-tourist model that focuses on consumption and is led by policymakers (Pinassi & Silenzi, 2019). Heritage-making practices have shifted towards developing knowledge frameworks and integrated systems with the HUL approach, as it put together conservation policies, the management of inhabited cities and cultural landscapes, values-based conservation and placemaking processes (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012, 2015; De Rosa & Di Palma, 2013; Fusco Girard, 2013; HUL Forum, 2017; Potter, 2020; Colaviti & Usai, 2019). Such an approach requires awareness of water- and port-related activities, which are often future oriented and can conflict with heritage needs.

Connecting maritime and urban interest around shared heritage through placemaking can help facilitate sustainable development. UNESCO did it with the idea of considering the urban ensemble as a whole, including the surrounding territory looking at the conservation of an urban ecosystem, and understanding those zones as areas of ecological interest too (Airoldi et al.,

2016; Rey-Pérez & Pereira, 2020). Accordingly, heritage and culture are incorporated into urban governance processes that place society at the core of heritage-making and sustainable developments (UNESCO, 2011; Jones & Leech, 2015; ICCROM, 2015). The New Urban Agenda 2030 established the reasons for a new urban conservation approach in which conceptual transitions are still underway. Heritage is now perceived as a cultural ecosystem and as a system of values subject to be analysed by indicators linked to social, environmental and economic categories. However, the implications of this are not yet thoroughly investigated. They will mark the nature of heritage in the twenty-first century, particularly in cities where the critical drivers of development occur (Bandarin, 2019; García-Esparza & Altaba, 2020).

Labadi and Logan (2016) have exposed the need for heritage to reduce poverty, mitigate social inequalities and increase security and health. ICOMOS already endorsed this approach with the Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas (ICOMOS, 2011) and the Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values (ICOMOS, 2014). The Principles and the Declaration explicitly recommended linking heritage conservation and sustainable local socio-economic development by ensuring that heritage contributes to sustainable development objectives (ICOMOS, 2014, art. 4.3a; ICOMOS, 2019a, 2019b). Accordingly, both ICOMOS and the HUL approach by UNESCO lay responsibilities of implementation on local governments to lead the needed reform in urban governance. In similar terms, the New Urban Agenda focuses on concepts such as innovative governance and open cities. Port cities are places at the edge of the sea and the land and – not unlike industrial sites – they have long histories and extensive heritage. They provide a particular challenge and opportunity for ethical forms of placemaking. It means adhering to a consistent set of stakeholders' concerns that correspond with an agreed set of development objectives.

Three case studies of waterfront transformation and placemaking show the challenges and opportunities of redevelopment of social and urban-led transformations of former maritime sites towards forms of innovative governance and placemaking. The three case studies highlight the unique development of the three cities as port cities. They respectively show different ways of placemaking at the waterfront, focusing respectively on planning based multifunctional development in Hamburg that preceded the UNESCO World Heritage Site application, on urban design interventions in Koper aimed at connecting sea and land, and on an urban planning development contested by community-led struggle in a port neighbourhood of Valencia.

3   Cases

3.1   *Hamburg (Germany)*

The case of Hamburg shows a situation where port and city have remained intertwined and have been governed together. Founded in the ninth century as a fortification, the Hammaburg, Hamburg has for most of its history been a port. For centuries, the city's long-distance waterway and major shipping lane was the Elbe River. Historical views of Hamburg, such as those by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (1572) or that by E. Galli (1680) show ships occupying the foreground of a fortified city dominated by churches and houses. The harbour constituted a large portion of the entire city and influenced built form throughout the urban space. In the nineteenth century the traders adapted the port and its neighbouring areas to modern steamships. In order to set up a tax-free harbour (in what is today the HafenCity area), the city evicted some 24,000 people from the harbour zone of the Kehrwieder and Wandrahm islands and demolished both elite and workers' housing. The creation of the warehouse district as a new mono-functional unit signalled the creation of other single-function areas – an office district and new housing areas. As the city grew, so too did the port. In 1937, Hamburg incorporated the ports of Altona and Harburg to become a large urban port city region with shipping, port, and administrative capacities (Hein & Schubert, 2020a; 2020b).

3.1.1   Placemaking

To shore up its status as a leading European metropolis, Hamburg turned to other activities that are only partly linked to the port. Notably in the 1980s, the city established itself as Germany's leading media centre, home to publishing houses, newspapers and publicity firms (Kirsch & Schröder, 1994). Despite the overall detachment of port and city, the port remained symbolically connected to the identity of the city, through its economic power and financial importance, through harbour festivals and other events (including the fish market), and as an always-changing scene to be viewed during a promenade. As shipping companies abandoned their former warehouses and withdrew to the southern side of the Elbe in the 1990s, the city reclaimed the area along the waterfront for the creation of new multifunctional spaces for offices, housing, leisure and urban icons. Waterfront regeneration was already a well-established tool for the revitalization of urban centres, and Hamburg – eager to defend its spot as a leader among European regions and as an innovative growth centre – added its own version, reflecting waterfront revitalization in Baltimore, London, Rotterdam and Sydney, opting notably for a multifunctional redevelopment.

Under the slogan "Metropole Hamburg – wachsende Stadt" ("Hamburg Metropolis – growing city"), the city government decided to expand the city itself into its southern industrial and harbour areas beyond the Elbe River. This was a district that it had largely abandoned during the container revolution. Parts of this larger strategy are the reuse of the city's landmark warehouse district, the Speicherstadt, and the transformation of a 157-hectare (388-acre) former harbour land area next to it into the HafenCity. Labelled Europe's largest urban renewal project, the project has its roots in the 1990s. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reopening of Hamburg's traditional hinterland, the city leadership through the city-owned Hamburger Hafen und Lagerhausgesellschaft mbH (today HHHLA Hafen und Logistik AG) purchased firms and lands in the area in view of its transformation as a central European node. Based on an international competition, the winning design by the Dutch-German team Hamburgplan with Kees Christiaanse | ASTOC became the basis for the master plan of 2000. In comparison to other waterfront redevelopment projects, the HafenCity district was designed to be multifunctional and socially integrative with office buildings, housing, educational and cultural facilities, and it was designed to include various income groups. Through extensive design competitions, city planners carefully monitored and controlled the area's architectural and urban design. HafenCity has already become an attraction for citizens and tourists alike, earning it a review in the Travel Section of the New York Times (Williams, 2010). This has led to a certain control over the port's space that has facilitated the heritage development (and UNESCO nomination) of the Speicherstadt and Kontorhausdistrikt next to the HafenCity.

3.1.2 Results and Added Value

Some of the warehouses are listed buildings in municipal or state ownership. These structures are difficult to reuse and preserve. In 2011, the free port status of the Speicherstadt ended under EU law. In 2014, the Chilehaus and the Kontorhausviertel historic office district were declared UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The heritage status of the UNESCO site is somewhat ironic, given that it is the result of the displacement of the former population. Step – by-step strategies for the preservation of the historic buildings and the sustainable development of the area need to go hand in hand. The case of the HafenCity Hamburg shows a careful plan-led restructuring with a meaningful reuse and adaptation of the historic buildings. The accommodation of cruise ships next to the HafenCity area allows tourists to access the district and contributes to its development. The construction of a new vertical cruise ship terminal with shore power connections is a major contribution to decarbonizing the port.

FIGURE 4.1   Historic warehouses and new additions in the HafenCity Hamburg
PHOTO: CAROLA HEIN

3.2   *Koper (Slovenia)*

Several well-secured harbours around the island of the medieval town of Koper enabled the city to hold the monopoly of a salt port under the auspices of the Republic of Venice from the twelfth century onwards. In the sixteenth century, Koper gradually began to lose its importance and central role and became more and more provincial as the political and economic power of Venice declined and large galleons and cargo ships could not enter the city without problems because of the low seabed (Ažman Momirski, 2021). Currently, Koper is part of the Slovenian coastal conurbation, together with Piran and Izola, and a centre of national importance because of the seaport. The port of Koper surrounds the north-east corner of the medieval town, while the cruise ship docking in the almost historical centre of Koper (the central northern part in front of the medieval town walls) has been the added value of a new, attractive and undiscovered tourist destination since 2005. The seaport is the physical, visual and programmatic landmark of the port city territory (Ažman Momirski, 2004), although it is spatially a closed and segregated part of the city. Several architectural and urban design proposals suggested permeable connections between the old town, the surrounding landscape and the port, some of which were included in the new port master plan (2011).

3.2.1   Placemaking

The old town of Koper experienced a social and cultural process in the 1950s that stands in contrast to what we call placemaking (e.g. authenticity, quality, public participation, community engagement, etc.) today. "Destroy the old, build the new" was the motto of Yugoslav policy. In the name of building the new, the existing spirit of place and the heart of the city were destroyed in many places throughout Yugoslavia (Tahiri & Ažman Momirski, 2018). The demolitions in the old town of Koper had symbolic intentions: the erasure of the identity of the former city inhabitants (most of whom had emigrated) and the very rich historical multi-ethnic places in the town, as well as the construction of a new mono-national reality of a communist state (Čebron Lipovec, 2012). The north waterfront of the old town centre of Koper has undergone an intensive transformation since World War II, with large-scale spatial transformation processes taking place in a short period of time (Ažman Momirski, 2015). Historically, port and city were intertwined. Following the construction of the northern bypass around 2006, the port and the old town became clearly separated and the Koper old town started rediscovering its waterfront.

After 2006, the municipality used public urban and architectural competitions to find new spatial solutions for further developing Slovenia's only port and three adjacent squares (Vergerio Square, Museum Square and Nazor Square). These squares are still among the undervalued areas of the city, yet, they are key to urban identity. An integrated redevelopment of these squares could contribute to the integration of town and waterfront by creating attractive entrances to the city, emphasizing the guiding historical significance of Verdi Street and Belvedere Tower, and combining the design of buildings, landscapes and infrastructure in such a way that they turn into something new: the urban scene (fig. 2). Near Museum Square, where the museum, primary school, post office and residential tower blocks are located, archaeological excavations clearly highlight the presence of numerous stratigraphic layers of the city of Koper. In particular, a revitalized platform at Nazor Square with vantage points, rest areas and renovated square building sides could link the old town centre and the waterfront. The space of the square would remain introverted but would preserve the magnificent views of the port from the square platform.

3.2.2   Results and Added Value

The ideas and project proposals for redesigning the squares on the edge of the old town, directly on the waterfront, offer residents the opportunity to reflect on the quality of the spatial platforms, which today are mainly parking spaces

FIGURE 4.2   Vergerio Square provides an attractive entrance to the city. Verdi Street is
             connected to the waterfront via the Bastion building by a vertical link or via a
             representative staircase linking the city centre and the waterfront, which can be
             used as a passageway, a resting place or a summer theatre. Projects for renewal
             in 2007
             SOURCE: LUČKA AŽMAN MOMIRSKI, MARCO VENTURI, CO-AUTHOR ROK
             TRILLER, PERSONAL ARCHIVE

for residents. The awareness of such improvements empowers residents and
fosters democracy. There is a continuity of urban lab projects as experiments
that bring the unheard voices of Koper's citizens into the public space. These
voices are given the space to speak and reveal their relationship to the water-
front, the port and the city through a sound installation (The International
Summer School Koper Informal City: Temporal-Autonomous Utopias). Active
community participation generates new ideas on important urban develop-
ment issues. Furthermore, the city administration, which changed a couple
of years ago, is more attentive to citizens' efforts to improve urban spaces. It
seems that years of collecting ideas have led to a kind of birth of circular think-
ing about the city: from visions to goals, citizen participation and implemen-
tation of projects. Citizens are waiting for the circle to close with an important
development (like the Bonifika Central City Park in the south) also on the
northern waterfront of Koper's old town.

3.3 *Valencia (Spain)*

Valencia is one of the oldest cities in Spain. In medieval times, it was famous across the Mediterranean as a location for the importing and exporting of raw materials, as well as for its shipyards. The urban centre of Valencia, established along the Turia River, about 3 km from the coast, had a fluvial communication with the sea in the fourteenth century. The old port of the city is today La Marina de Valencia, a public space located next to the promenade of El Cabanyal Beach. La Marina has become an emerging sociocultural focus of the city where culture, training and entrepreneurship coexist with sports, tourism and gastronomy.

3.3.1 Placemaking

In the case of Valencia, there is a sociocultural phenomenon that is worth further description. In its recent history, Valencia has become a port city due to its enlargement. By the end of the twentieth century, the port area of El Cabanyal, a historic fishermen's district, was subject to a new development plan. According to a city council decision, the neighbourhood was to be divided because of the extension of one of the main avenues of the city. The intention behind this plan was to better connect the city with the sea.

In 1998, several entities created the Salvem El Cabanyal (Save El Cabanyal) platform. The project to extend Blasco Ibañez Avenue meant the demolition of 1,651 homes, destroying a great part of the urban fabric and dividing an area that had already been granted national protection as a Site of Cultural Interest. The platform was an open space where anyone who wanted to defend the integrity of the neighbourhood of El Cabanyal could participate (García-Esparza, 2011, 2019). The objective of the platform was, from the first moment, opposition to the municipal project. At the same time, it asked the city council for a revised plan that would allow a sustainable, rational and respectful development with human, social, historical and architectural characteristics. An area rehabilitation plan with real citizen participation was sought (Altaba & García-Esparza, 2021).

Salvem El Cabanyal began to organize annual open days to help make the case visible. Through a collective of artists who demonstrated their commitment and involvement in the struggle for the survival and development of the neighbourhood, the days consisted of two weeks in which the theatres and the most emblematic houses opened their doors. All kinds of artists participated, ready to demonstrate against the policy of generating new neighbourhoods and real estate speculation. Around 200 music, photography, plastic arts, performance, theatre and dance projects were carried out. It was a voluntary, spontaneous initiative financed by the residents themselves and it involved them opening up their own houses to visitors so they could discover

the neighbourhood and see for themselves how the locals lived and worked (García-Esparza & Altaba, 2018; 2020).

3.3.2 Results and Added Value

After almost 20 years of struggle, the Spanish Supreme Court rejected the last appeal filed by the city council and forced it to revise the El Cabanyal renovation project to respect the integrity of the neighbourhood. In Valencia, after the creation of Salvem El Cabanyal, other neighbourhood platforms emerged in response to the degradation of other districts. For example, the Salvem l'Horta platform arose specifically because of the expansion of port infrastructure over the fertile land surrounding the city. Currently, the El Cabanyal district is a focus of tourist and professional activities thanks to its proximity to the beach and thanks to the neighbourhood struggle. El Cabanyal today is highly valued for its quality of life, its special essence and its proximity to the beach and the sea. It is a charismatic and cosmopolitan neighbourhood in Valencia.

Today, heritage places such as Valencia and Koper suffer from several urban pressures. In the case of Hamburg, the city is large enough to benefit from tourists, such as ones coming from cruise ships. The historic character of these three port districts exposes them as places of cultural tourism. Social interaction happening in this kind of urban neighbourhood means that, despite historic areas remaining socially active, there are social and cultural unbalances

FIGURE 4.3   A street in the El Cabanyal district (2020)
SOURCE: JUAN A. GARCÍA ESPARZA

that need painstaking study. The analysis of imbalances between districts and cities might be useful to comprehend dynamics through which adapt them to new social, economic and mobility-related needs according to their character and local-based management. Contemporary tendencies associated with ports and cultural tourism, might dissociate culture and consumption from other essential aspects of neighbourhoods, separating them semantically and spatially from the surrounding setting.

4   Discussion and Lessons Learned

The New Urban Agenda focuses on innovative governance and open cities. At the same time, the HUL approach requires policymakers and planners to include diverse context factors that always influence the strategy implementation. In this regard, UNESCO and ICOMOS identify the elements and layers that enable policymakers and urban planners to outline processes of ethical placemaking when attending to a balanced set of stakeholders' interests that align with sustainable development objectives.

The case studies expose the dynamic relationship of ports and cities and their inherent risks in preservation, redevelopment, regeneration and sustainable development. It denotes how they require ethical forms of placemaking to accommodate the New Urban Agenda commitments and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In this line of thought, target 11.4 of the SDGs focuses on the cultural sustainability of the heritage of historic cities. SDG 11 was promulgated to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable, and target 11.4 is the only one that explicitly refers to the protection and safeguard of cultural and natural heritage. Moreover, the target unambiguously refers to the investment capacity of states in that task so that the accomplishment of the target touches the integration of the three dimensions of sustainable development: environmental, economic and societal or sociocultural.

Based on the cases under study, ports and cities have individually shown an interest in rethinking space, the economy and the environment. Nonetheless, boundaries between ports and cities, and the conservation policies that lay in between, fail to interact with and consider the interests of several stakeholders: citizens, companies, local municipalities and minority groups. These stakeholder groups desire more people-based solutions that are rooted in an ethical form of placemaking towards a spatial, institutional and socially integrated development of what at present can seem disjointed strategies for port city territories. The disassociated evolution of ports and their surrounding environment has prevented their common interests from tackling socio-economic,

spatial, and environment strategic development. This situation is an issue to tackle with new technology-enabled placemaking processes and hybrid forms of connecting indicators, interests and real challenges.

4.1   Lessons Learned from the Hamburg Case

Comprehensive spatial planning can provide the foundation for ethical placemaking. Spatial planning for the HafenCity redevelopment in Hamburg relied on master planning and competitions and has included diverse functions. The harbour, relocated to the southern side of the Elbe, no longer provides large amounts of manual labour. Nonetheless, the relation between port and city development remains alive; the port needs the city and its citizens' support. As a scenic view from across the Elbe from other offices, houses and restaurants, and even from an old-age home in the former Union-Cooling storage building (Union-Kühlhaus) in Hamburg-Ottensen (Neumühlen), it is part of the local mental image or imaginary. For ongoing and possibly increased harbour transformation and expansion that might destroy environmentally sensitive areas, for the dredging of the Elbe, and for other port-related developments, the port authority will need the support of citizens and local institutions. The port's image is thus essential to the future of the port.

4.2   Lessons Learned from the Koper Case

The expression of public interest enabled ethical placemaking activities in Koper connected with tight ecological planning conditions stipulated for the area around the north part of the port. Ethical placemaking included a "responsibility to put an end to conditions of deprivation […] and replace them […] with conditions of plenitude, ecological flourishing, and resilience" (Eckenwiler, 2013). Several detailed ideas for spatial interventions were ready for use in Koper, such as those in the Pier III port area. A proposal existed, where port activities and public urban uses (sports, leisure and nautical activities) would be intertwined with the partial preservation of coastal wetlands and shell dunes and the construction of a green embankment (Ažman Momirski, 2015). An attitude of empathy and solidarity towards the port city territory community and their existential places can be seen (at least) on the surface of the relations between the actors, but it is not self-evident. Recognition of local people remains difficult in the case of Koper and harmonious integration of the urban whole has failed so far.

4.3   Lessons Learned from the Valencia Case

Placemaking activities in the El Cabanyal district raised a contestation process that lasted several years. As a result, plans for reinvigorating the port-city relationship lacked a consensus precisely because it dismissed the principal

actors. The political process failed to meet stakeholders' interests and appropriately address the relationship between the port area and the surrounding neighbourhood. The urban development process assumed inherent risks when avoiding population. Place attachment, social engagement, identity and a sense of belonging were underestimated. Therefore, the process lacked an ethical placemaking appraisal that inhabitants demanded. The case demonstrates the extent to which the neighbourhood appeals to psychological comfort that revolves around the intellectual and emotional appropriation of spaces and, subsequently, to recognize a common cultural form of habitation that works on integrating, appropriating and providing meaning to the place.

5　Conclusions

This chapter has presented three distinct, but complementary, forms of placemaking. The pioneering work presented in the case studies – respectively, planning-led, design-inspired and community-based – can serve as international paradigms. Heritage protection, adaptive reuse and sustainable development are an essential ingredient to realizing the UN SDGs and the New Urban Agenda. The three cases show how both professionals and administrations intervene in the city from a more comprehensive, inclusive and participatory logic. The redevelopment of former port spaces is a global phenomenon that can serve as a foundation for connecting and sharing experiences across sea and land. As spaces of heritage and often future-oriented development, these territories at the edge of sea and land can provide a model for overcoming passive preservation through adaptive reuse and the dynamism of heritage sites. Placemaking makes it possible to influence methodological models and provide tools that enable decision-makers, professionals and citizens to acquire greater control over the places they inhabit and, at the same time, ensure that public spaces can have character, environmental quality, comfort, diversity and activity. The chapter demonstrates how it is possible to design and rethink transformation processes from different perspectives, starting from port-related structures, consolidated design and neighbourhoods.

Acknowledgement

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Memory and Placemaking: Competing Memory, Forgetting and Distorted Rediscovery in Eastern European Cities

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Abstract

As the relationships between individuals, groups and space fluctuates under the influences of cultural pressures, the development of cities and the accretion of its forms is subjected to unremitting alterations. Unlike the natural growth of urban tissue that develops through predicted events, major, and often unforeseen, chaotic happenings disrupt the urban development, causing omnipresent physical shifts with different levels of socio-spatial complexity. These manifestations can easily be associated with urban landscapes of post-socialist European cities that have been radically reconfigured and reinterpreted as national and transnational cultures and

identities of newly formed states were created. In parallel with Europeanization, and globalization, this shift caused changes in the social and economic structure that are strongly manifested in the urban fabric of cities in transition. Massive commercialization through growth of the retail and business sector, consumer services and entertainment, privatization of urban land and housing, as well as the disregard towards the existing urban and architectural fabric, attempted to transform socialist urban identity and portray the image of the Western model of spatial narrative. This resulted in disjointed city spaces and established spatial linkages that disrupt the totality of the city image, as well as the continuity of meaning through time and space. Existing sites of memories and city experience have been reinterpreted, triggering historical oblivion and remembrance distortion. Memories are competing with one another, while the existing forms of recollection are being transformed as new ones keep appearing in their place. Thus, dominant narratives of post-socialist urban environments are being increasingly based on discrepant spatial temporalities, creating urban areas that are progressively obtaining the character of nonplaces and heterotopias – worlds within worlds. This chapter explores this burgeoning field of research through selected case studies, relating to the influence of the cultural politics of space on collective memory and socio-spatial identity in post-socialist European cities. In specific, it offers a contemporary perspective on urban and social alterations, and their reverberation on the continuity of the memory discourse, presenting the cases of Sarajevo, Zagreb, Minsk and Tirana. It focuses on the spatial tensions between the memory of remembering versus the memory of forgetting, identifying major milestones that impact contemporary memory and city identity. The aim is to identify similarities and differences in the process of new identity creation and explore the complex links between time and space as fundamental categories of socio-spatial rooted perception, which are continuously deteriorating, imposing an emergent necessity for revalorization of both individual and collective memory.

Keywords

collective memory – collective memory – post-socialist cities – Eastern Europe – socio-spatial interventions

1   Introduction

Human memory is spatial and the shaping of space is the equivalent of the shaping of memory (Hebbert, 2005). Physical volume per se does not independently define place, memory or identity. It is the bodily experiences

of being and moving in material space that sets the ground for collective remembrance and identity creation. Therefore, space, in the obscurity of its ever-changing socio-temporal character, which is continuously revised, spontaneously or deliberately transformed, institutes the creation of the sense of place and collective memory discourse.

Regardless of opposing theoretical approaches vis-à-vis the fluctuating nature of the space narrative and its reciprocal social interpretation, the transformation of spatial order is continuous, and has been particularly obvious during the last century. Many cities have experienced the shift within the urban structure associated with social tensions, political transformations and contradictions. Forms evolve, are deformed, or neglected, adapted or eradicated, affecting the material organization of the city and the flow of urban memory. (Zejnilović & Husukić, 2020). This chapter is concerned with these continuous processes, which disjoin city spaces and memory, making them struggle to attain spatial coherence and homogeneity, while integrating the existing urban legacy in the new space identity.

In general, the cities and their architectural expression are shaped by their respective forms of economic organization, class formation and political structures. The socio-spatial organization of cities, their patterns of social interaction, are directly linked to city identity. The complexity of forming city identity is further burdened by the fact that these processes are not static, but are continuous, multiple and very often unpredictable. Particularly large-scale events and other extraordinary circumstances provoke paradigm shifts that leave strong physical traces, which are then collectively expressed and easily readable through urban and architectural form. The collapse of the political system in the Eastern Bloc countries during the 1990s was one such event, as its impact and magnitude affected the lives of close to a third of the world's population (including China) (Stanilov, 2007). The political, social and economic changes that followed in what was defined as the post-socialist era imposed changes to the lifestyles of those who lived under the system. Subsequently, cities and architecture needed to provide an adequate response to this change. Additionally, it was expected that a post-socialist city would be different from its predecessor, which caused cities across Europe to develop numerous rebranding strategies. Some of them were very aggressive and radical, others confusing and unclear about what they were transitioning into. Though the former socialist countries shared similar political ideologies, and the general intention of the post-socialist era was moving towards a Western-style democracy, they were still distinct in their socio-political and architectural context. Their roads to transformation were not the same either, thus the rebranding of cities, or how they were to set path for new spatial identities, and new

memories to be created was a question that each country had to figure out on its own.

The legacy of the built environment produced under similar socio-political conditions led to the construction of distinct architectural culture and spatial narratives. So, what succeeding socialist cities? What were the dynamics of these transitions? What was the role of the socialist urban legacy in the creation of collective memory dialogue, and what is its place in the new post-socialist city? What is the impact of the socialist legacy on the establishment of new spatial identity? These are some of the ambitious questions that this study aims to answer. The crises associated with the transformation in the societies and cities of former state socialism offer an opportunity to gain insights into the nature of collective memory and how it affects the accretion of a new sense of place.

2   Cases

This research explores the collective memory association in placemaking in the post-socialist cities of Sarajevo, Zagreb, Tirana and Minsk, from a contemporary perspective. The studies present spatial alterations prompted by the fall of the socialist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe that transformed the existing forms of remembrance and created the necessity for spatial reinvention and city rebranding.

2.1   *Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)*

The extremely heterogeneous character of Sarajevo, in terms of ethnicity, culture and history, affected the dramatic fate of the city and the production of its built environment. Like other capitals of former socialist Yugoslavia republics, Sarajevo was a testing ground for numerous, often opposing, political, and architectural philosophies.

The "between" character of the Yugoslav ideological context, that presumed continuous balancing between Western trends and inner contrasts (Mrduljas et al., 2013), resulted in a diverse and authentic body of architecture. The specific visual identity of socialist Sarajevo that created a strong sense of place and time is still visible through some of its most important socialist landmarks – from the very Mies van der Rohe-like Museum of the Revolution, the experimentation with residential patterns that combined Le Corbusier's concepts of machines for living and the reflection of the socialist idea of equivalence, to impressive representatives of brutalist architecture and massive city development for the 1984 Winter Olympic Games.

FIGURE 5.1 *Left*, the Museum of the Revolution. *Right*, RTV building
SOURCE: THE AUTHOR

The disintegration of the socialist state in the 1990s put Sarajevo in a unique and unprecedented situation. The city was subjected to the longest siege in modern history, a systematic and immense destruction of urban, cultural, and historical heritage. Unlike other East European cities, for Sarajevo, the primary task of post-socialist transition was not concerned with city rebranding, but was focused on reconstruction, migration and post-war trauma on a massive scale. Furthermore, the post-socialist Sarajevo became Sarajevo the divided city, with an administrative border, the Inter-Entity Boundary Line, dividing it into Sarajevo and East Sarajevo.

As contemporary Sarajevo struggles with the social production of space in the contexts of a divided city, it is affected by the dynamics between place and memory, remembrance and amnesia (Zejnilović & Husukić, 2020). The tension between remembering and forgetting, as a common denominator of many post-socialist cities, is in this case not directed towards erasure of the spatial and architectural layer of the socialist era. Quite the opposite, collective memory associated with the socialist period is reflected through empathic remembrance as it relates to the most prosperous development of the city that culminated with urban expansion aimed at facilitating the 1984 Olympic games.

But the sites of the rise are at the same time the sites of the fall of the city, as the majority of the Olympic locations were among the primary war battlefields, or were almost fully devastated. The Holiday Inn hotel that accommodated the members of the International Olympic Committee, the authority responsible for organizing the Olympic Games, was transformed into an international war media headquarters and was described as "ground zero" – a place where the war comes to you. The

Zetra Olympic Hall, the venue of the ice hockey and figure skating events and the closing ceremony of the Sarajevo Winter Olympics, was set on fire and destroyed in May 1992. Also destroyed were the Mojmilo Olympic Village in Sarajevo, the bobsleigh run on Mount Trebavić, the ski jump on the Igman
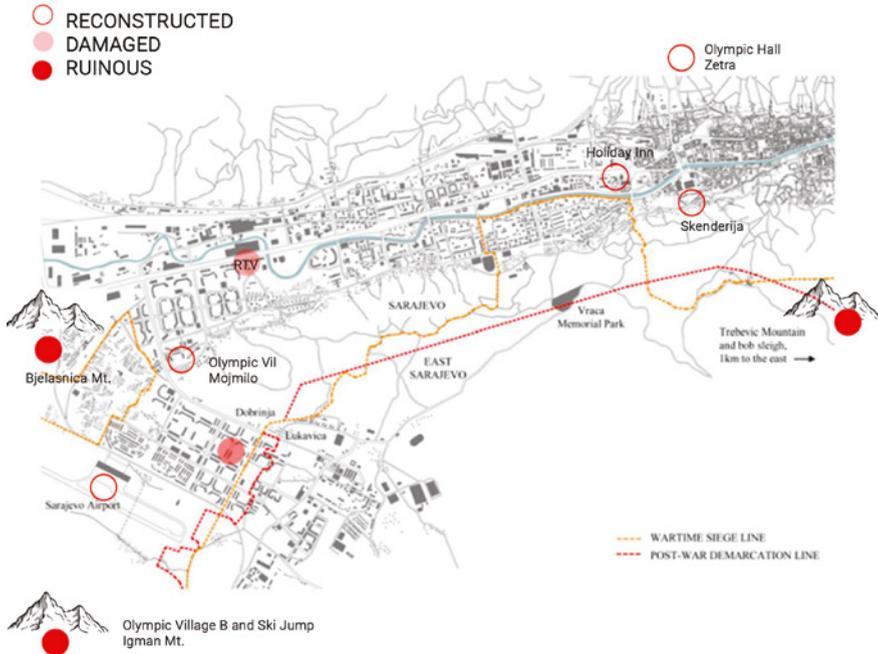
FIGURE 5.2   Post-war Sarajevo and the state of the Olympic legacy
                    SOURCE: BASE MAP RISTIC, M., AND THE AUTHOR

mountain plateau, the Famos hotel on Mount Bjelašnica, the Feroelektro hotel in Sarajevo, the RTV building and many others, turning most glorious examples of socialist legacy into a legacy of the devastation.

The resulting spatial nodes of the two sequential mega-events that marked the end of the socialist era in Sarajevo, the 1984 Winter Olympic Games and the 1992–1995 siege, create a competing memory dialogue, a perpetual overlap of interconnecting remembrance, and are recognized as the dominant factors that impact the contemporary city identity and its perception through memory association. Complex socio-spatial context creates a fertile ground for ambiguous contemporary spatial interventions that challenge the existing patterns and foster the establishment of new visual identity and memory discourse.

The struggle of the contemporary post-war divided city to find its proper contemporary visual genre, with its oversimplified architectural
vocabulary and continuous repetition of the same, is in fact the struggle to find a new balance between history, memory and the future. The dual, opposing, competing urban memory of the Olympic sites is continuously challenging

FIGURE 5.3 Collage: Olympic Hotel Holiday Inn turned into a war press centre
(1984/1992/2021)
SOURCE: THE AUTHOR

FIGURE 5.4 Collage: Olympic Hall Zetra during the Olympics, in 1992 and today
SOURCE: THE AUTHOR

collective remembrance, resulting in an uncertainty about which of the spatial memories will prevail and which will be forgotten. Strong memory traces of the golden era of Sarajevo, as the most important socialist legacy, with its connecting and integrative character, have the potential to be a positive drive for future socio-spatial development, which would reveal an empathy for lost totalities, and would even speak out in favour of a more coherent and homogeneous city.

2.2   *Zagreb* (*Croatia*)

Cities are like architecture – images and collage of different styles multiplied over time (Rossi, 1986). With the passage of time urban memory also multiplies. Cities are the central locus of urban memory that takes the form of symbols, monuments or public spaces. Urban memory is also associated with living experience that is revealed in the public space; therefore, it is based on spatial reconstruction. All cities are generally in the process of continuous

creation, degradation and adaptation. However, the urban transformation of the post-socialist cities is especially indicative.

Zagreb is known as a medieval settlement that was surrounded by bastions and towers, and whose remains are still preserved to this day. Zagreb began to expand in the nineteenth century, but a sharp increase in the number of inhabitants was recorded after World War I. Since the post-war years, the city has been continuously expanding (Čaldarović, 2011). However, the process of urban transformation of Zagreb is often called "post-socialist urbanism", which means strengthening processes of commodification, weakening the role of the state in urban planning and the indistinct attitude towards authenticity and sociocultural identity (Backović, 2005). The privatization and commodification of public spaces (seen through the rise of private and financial companies, hotels, shopping centres, telecommunications companies) are the most radical and visible changes in the urban structure of Zagreb (Čaldarović & Šarinić, 2017). In other words, the forms of placelessness become the dominant spatial narrative. It should be emphasized that the concept of placelessness indicates the spaces are without origins, lack social or historical roots, and are mostly oriented to instrumental purposes (Augé, 2002).

The rise of globalization, increasing foreign investment and the strengthening of local entrepreneurship are intrinsically connected with the concept of post-socialist urbanism. In Zagreb it is also often associated with wider processes of urban revitalization or urban renewal. The contradiction lies in the fact that urban revitalization as well as urban renewal are linked to the preservation of cultural and historical heritage, but often end with "expansion of the new urban forms". Contradictions can be seen through the growth of shopping oases (Cvjetni Centre, Importanne Gallery, Branimir Centre) and private buildings (Zagrepčanka, Cibona Tower, HOTO Tower) in the city centre, which obstruct urban memory and create the impression of duality (Horvat, 2007). The impression of duality is seen, on the one hand, through the processes of privatization, which benefit specific social groups, and, on the other hand, in the closure, state of disrepair and destruction of public spaces or cultural and historical heritage (Čaldarović & Šarinić, 2017). In addition, some parts of the city are still struggling with basic infrastructure, neglected public spaces or depleted standards of housing planning. Thus, the aspiration to preserve the urban memory of the city is inversely proportional to the increasing efforts and disruption of public spaces through privatization, which inevitably disrupt urban memory.

In other words, urban memory is now questioned because of new and unpredictable solutions in the public space that are often not sensitive to the

local, historical and cultural context. Although urban memory is multifaceted and layered, it is necessary to take into account the balance of the new and old temporality to ensure identity and memory of the city. In doing so, social values, social consensus as well as cooperation between different actors (including citizens) should be the guiding principles of contemporary urbanism.

FIGURE 5.5   Branimir Centre, renovated in 2019

FIGURE 5.6
Cvjetni Square in the very
heart of the city
SOURCE: BRANIMIR MINGLE
MALL; TZGZ

FIGURE 5.7   Abandoned oil factory
SOURCE: FLAMMARD

FIGURE 5.8   Neglected spaces – Paromlin
SOURCE: FOTOGRAFIJEZAGREBA.HR

2.3 *Minsk (Belarus)*

At the turn of the twentieth century, Minsk, then the centre of the Minsk Governorate of the Russian Empire, was a provincial city with the population of slightly more than 90,000 people, while its ethnic and religious composition was diverse. Jewish inhabitants constituted more than a half of the whole population (about 47,000 people), followed by some 23,000 Russians, 10,000 Poles and 8,000 Belarusians.

Minsk was proclaimed in 1919 to be the capital of the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR). The city started to grow and develop rapidly. The building of socialism led to a significant change in the city's landscape. In the 1930s, Minsk became one of the centres of the constructivist movement in Soviet architecture, represented in the BSSR by architect Iosif Langbard. During the decade before the start of World War II, Langbard designed and constructed, among other structures, the House of Government, the Red Army Palace, the Minsk Opera and the main building of the Belarusian Academy of Science, which defined the appearance of the city ever since (Shybeka, 2009). Simultaneously, Minsk cult architecture was exposed to destruction and annihilation.

The Minsk Jewish population peaked in 1939/1940 at the outset of World War II. It dropped drastically after the Holocaust and has continued to decrease since then, due to assimilation, migration and the unfavourable Soviet nationalities policies. The city was so devastated during the war that up to 80% of it had to be rebuilt. The reconstruction was triggered and adjoined by rapid industrialization and urbanization (Bohn, 2022). In place of baroque churches and synagogues, narrow streets, wooden huts and small shops, classic theatres and private residences, appeared big factories, trade union (*profsoiuz*), pioneer and railway palaces, broad avenues and numerous monuments built to commemorate the Communist Party leaders and World War II heroes. In 1972, the population of Minsk grew to 1 million, reaching 1.6 million people by the end of the Soviet era. Remarkably, most of the constructivist buildings of the 1930s were preserved during the war and blended well into the new socialist city landscape that appeared in the 1950s through the 1970s. The multicultural appearance of the city (including its Jewish heritage) as well as the very memory of it fell into oblivion by the end of the period of communist rule and its ethnic composition has continuously tended towards homogenization, with 86.6% of the population consisting of Belarusians as of 2019. Unlike most of the other post-socialist cities, the centre of Minsk was not essentially reconstructed from 1991 on and the street names did not undergo a significant renaming (Basik & Rahautsou, 2019). In independent Belarus, the political

elites have been saturated in Soviet nostalgia and the "socially oriented market economy", which the regime of President Alexander Lukashenka, in office since 1994, attempted to implement, allowed only a limited room for Western capital infusions into the city infrastructure. Thus, ironically enough, both dependency on the recent past and economic sluggishness turned out to be the effective instruments of preservation (or, rather, conservation). The city centre's unique appearance as it arose in the 1950s–1970s remained largely unchanged throughout the 30 post-socialist years.

The writer, designer and architect Artur Klinaŭ reintroduced Tommaso Kampanella's metaphor of "The City of the Sun" to grasp the peculiar landscape of Minsk (Klinaŭ, 2021). In Klinaŭ's interpretation Minsk is the city of both the "Sun" (сонца, pronounced SONtsa) and a "Dream" (сон, pronounced SON). Its architectural manifestations are the most literal embodiment of the socialist utopia with its aspiration to destroy the old world and to build the new one on the ruins. Simultaneously, Klinaŭ depicts Minsk as a city stiffened in space and time.
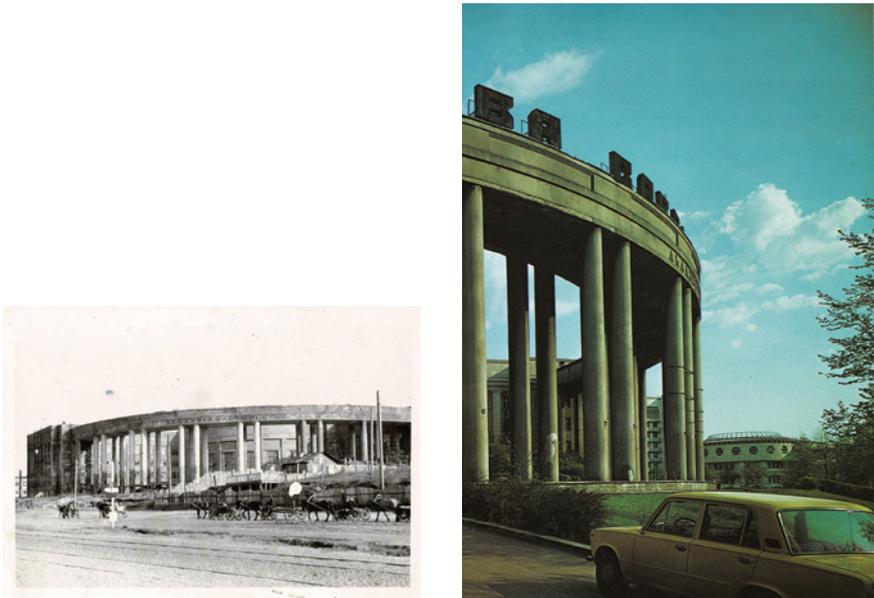
FIGURE 5.9   Minsk, the main building of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences (constructed in
                    1939, architect Iosif Langbard), in the early 1940s and in the early 1980s
                    SOURCE: ARCHIVE OF THE AUTHOR
                    SOURCE: LIKHATOROVICH & HRAKHOŬSKI, 1981

2.4   *Tirana (Albania)*

After the fall of communism, the post-socialist cities faced the new capitalist economic reality. In the case of Albania, the free-market economy caused the closing of most state-owned companies, resulting in cuts in employment and consequently triggering migration, mainly to the capital city of Tirana (Misja & Misja, 2004). Furthermore, the weakly managed urban development provided informality, which in Tirana appeared in terms of "semi-formal additions to legal buildings" and "invasion of public space by illegal constructions" (Aliaj et al., 2003). Although there was a process of "cleansing" the informal constructions by 2000, the urban texture of the city was densified at the expense of public and green spaces through "legally" based partial urban plans, whereas in the city centre permission was secured through international competitions for the erection of high-rise buildings (Manahasa & Özsoy, 2020).

The new post-socialist city urban texture is observed to be subject to a rapid change in building height from the socialist city, characterized by midrise buildings, to the high-rise buildings of today. Such rapid urban development resulted in the damage of the historical physical pattern of the city. The pressure placed by developers often led to the treatment of historic structures callously, including even very important buildings related to the collective memory of the city or ones which possessed valuable architectural or historical significance. Such dynamic development caused a very dramatic change in Tirana's urban identity and its built environment (Manahasa & Manahasa, 2020).

In the midst of this cacophonous post-socialist urban morphology, the iconic buildings of the socialist period were gradually adopted within the dynamics of the new liberal-capitalist realm. The undesired socialist heritage (Balockaite, 2013), according to Young and Kaczmarek (2008), was dealt with in three different ways: (1) it was subject to a process of "decommunization", (2) there was an attempt to return it to a pre-socialist golden age, and (3) it was Europeanized by infusing it with elements from Western architecture (Diener & Hagen, 2013). Such operations have produced a hybrid urban built environment (Light & Young, 2011) and created buildings with dual meanings.

In Tirana, an example of the first approach is the removal of the socialist star symbol from the mosaic on the main façade of the National Historical Museum. Similar actions were taken in other administrative and/or monumental buildings on Tirana's main boulevard, de-communizing them by purging them of communist symbols.

An example of the third approach is seen in the renovation of Hotel Arbëria, which was transformed into the Ministry of Justice by altering its original design and "Europeanizing" it through installing a curtain wall and a travertine

FIGURE 5.10   Tirana boulevard image during socialist period in 1990
SOURCE: TIRANA ALBUM

FIGURE 5.11   Tirana main boulevard in 2020 and high-rise buildings in its flanking sides
SOURCE: VISIT TIRANA

façade. These transformations can be considered to be modest when compared to the treatment of the National Theatre building, which was demolished and replaced after an international competition, a form of replacing old buildings in Tirana.

The building that housed the Museum of Enver Hoxha is an interesting example of controversial socialist architecture heritage. It has been the subject of continuous controversy and debate (Nientied & Janku, 2019; Manahasa & Manahasa, 2014). The structure, which was built to be a museum dedicated to the memory of Enver Hoxha, was called "The Pyramid" due to its shape. During the post-socialist period the democratic government used it as an international cultural centre. Furthermore, in 2010, the government decided to demolish it and to erect a new parliament building on the site. The architecture, urban planning, design and art firm Coop Himmelb(l)au won the international competition to design the new building. Although the government aimed to have it ready by 2012, the plan was never carried out. The socialist government removed the building's protected status as a monument of culture in 2017 (Çibuku, 2022) and through the Tirana municipality contracted the architectural firm MVRDV to transform the building into an information technology centre for children. This decision provoked different reactions, such as those who stated that the building should be conserved and transformed into a museum dedicated to the crimes of communism, whereas others supported the transformation of the building as a tool of revival. This project is in the realization phase.

The dichotomic post-socialist Tirana's urban pattern has strongly influenced its city image, resulting in a disproportional morphological character. Many of the older buildings have either been demolished or sit in the shadow of new high-rises. Another important element which has also created a cacophony of intertwined meanings is the transformation of buildings due to changes in their function. This enormous urban transformation of a post-socialist city has also influenced a loss of collective memory. While the citizens identify the socialist city with a regular and cleanly built environment, albeit for people with controlled lifestyles, the post-socialist city is seen as a chaotic, crumbling, dynamic built environment in which individuals live open and non-communitarian lifestyles (Manahasa, 2017).

3   Discussion on Outcomes and Results of the Four Cases

Post-socialist cities are one of the best contemporary examples of how radical political and socioeconomic changes cause dramatic reformulation of history, space and public memory at a variety of scales. Though each presented case

FIGURE 5.12   The former Museum of Enver Hoxha during the socialist period
                (*top left*), the post-socialist period (*top right*), as a Coop
                Himmelb(l)au project (*bottom left*) and as it appeared after it
                was transformed into a technology centre for children by the
                architectural firm MVRDV (*bottom right*)

has its particularities, the research indicates that the post-socialist cities strug-
gle with establishment of new spatial order, that would reconcile the past with
the future and be a true reflection of the contemporary identity, both on a local
and a global scale.

    As mentioned previously, debates around history, space and memory in
the post-socialist period have predominantly been focused on the tension
between remembering and forgetting. In the case of Minsk, both socialist and
post-socialist memory and identity are still closely linked together and hardly
separable from each other. After being torn down and rebuilt in the aftermath
of the socialist revolution and two world wars, the new Minsk holds on to its
socialist identity, which against the intention of its communist builders invokes
reflection about its past. In Tirana and Sarajevo, the urban tissue is the carrier
of opposing collective memory, which is associated with strong memory fluc-
tuations. In Tirana, socialism is associated with a positive depiction of the built
environment that reflects the communitarian ideas of socio-economic-cultural
values; while in the case of Sarajevo, positive connotations with the socialist
period come from the connection of that time with one of the world's largest

mega-events, the Olympic Games. In contrast, in Albania, a socialist dictatorial system resulted in negative views that still resonate in the urban and collective memory of the citizens, who remember socialist Tirana as a "controlled city"; while in the case of Sarajevo, negative links come from the way in which the socialist period ended, marked with the almost complete destruction of the city, its culture and heritage during the 1992–1995 siege, with spatial markers strongly present in the city structure.

These contradictions in collective memory discourse at the time of transition and search for new visual and social identity create fertile ground for spatial malpractice. Absence of sensitivity to the local and cultural context of the urban area, as highlighted in the case of Zagreb, has also been denoted in all the case studies. The external impact of "outsiders" in the process of creating a built environment is pervasive, which is why little, or no regard is given to the existing urban context or toThe focal point of the city life a new city identity. This is indicative of a strong gap that exists between experts (architects, urbanists, investors and politicians) on one side and the public on the other. Subsequently, contemporary impressions of cities and the establishment of new memory discourses are connected to the built environment and to socio-economic-cultural values in negative ways.

4   Lessons Learned

The cities presented in the case studies share a common trait: the struggle with finding the new social and visual identity because of the tension created by the discrepancies in the dialogue between collective urban memory and space of post-socialist cities. Some of the important findings of the studies that could potentially reconcile existing tension in the memory narrative and create positive base for future developments are:

– Acknowledgement of the potential of the past narratives and cultural heritage in urban development and memory in the making.
– Significance of valuing, respecting and encouraging balance between the existing context and tradition with contemporary needs and trends through innovation.
– Importance of building on the grounds of positive collective memory context of the past, transforming spatial and mental notions of their negative connotations. These interventions could establish new sets of memories and city experience, which would contribute to the development of new spatial identities.

– Recognition of the needs of inhabitants and everyday users of city space, within contemporary context and offer solutions that would reconcile the memory tensions through improving everyday use of space and life quality.
– Understand the role of public participants and their importance in the urban planning decision-making process.

5 Conclusions

The city, as a place of creative activity, is always "on the move", so it is not to be expected that it remains unchangeable. It develops, grows, is built, demolished, or renovated over time, therefore, it represents a process of continuous construction and destruction. Thus, temporality is one of the main features of the city, while the set of symbolic values make a place distinguishable and prominent.

To maintain the specificity of each city, valorization of the existing social and spatial heritage within a given local and cultural context is essential. In this sense, the role of urban memory narrated through spatial and temporal discourse is extremely significant. Previous spatial and social identities, in this case formed during socialist period, are unquestionable because of their role within the timeline of city's development, and because they have also been materialized in space.

Aside from dealing with the existing memory paradigm, contemporary post-socialist cities must also deal with global challenges: the city being a place of innovation, or a place that represents the spirit of the present times. It seems that the ideology of a cultural architecture prevails in modern cities, which is expressed by using globalized patterns, which form a space disembodied from the local and cultural context. The space is mainly viewed through and used for economic purposes, transforming them into a space of spectacles, rather than space for inhabitants. In order to overcome these challenges, decrease the tension between the opposing memory discourse and preserve urban memory, which enables the sense of community, memory and identity, it is necessary to alter the urban planning paradigm. Change in a dialectic between memory contradiction and spatial division is a process asking for passive acceptance of the present socio-spatial setting, to be turned into active, coordinated transformation. Current gaps in the continuity of thought and space must be challenged in creative ways, filled with ideas, images and thoughts that are altogether more pleasant and less doubtful (Zejnilović & Husukić, 2020).

It is particularly necessary to focus on the local and cultural specificities of a particular area, which support the sense of identity and continuity. The

city as a place of tradition and innovation must avoid unification in the sense of constant repetition of the same, as well as generalizations, over simplicity avoiding constant repetition of the same state of total homogeneity, and the reduction of phenomena to universal denominators. Architecture must allow development, but enable traditional narrative to thrive, thus maintaining the balance between the past and the future.

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Placemaking within Urban Planning: Open Public Space between Regulations, Design and Digitalization

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Abstract

Placemaking is generally considered as a multi-layer and multi-aspect approach in urban studies focused on public open spaces, such as streets, parks, town squares or quays. These places are the core of local community identity. In research and practice, placemaking is more related to concrete open spaces and their urban design. This means that they have been planned without regard to urban relationships and urban planning connections. However, these elements cannot be omitted even though they are less prominent and exploited within placemaking. Therefore, the main topic of this chapter is to explore the possibilities of the placemaking approach in the urban

planning process, which is a process to embrace creative and flexible strategies to design and manage public open spaces, with the ultimate aim to contribute to the development of both urban environments and local communities. From this perspective, placemaking-driven urban planning is close to community planning as a wider concept. In addition, urban planning is becoming more complex in the present-day digital age, which embraces digitalization as a tool to enhance the whole process. The practical aim of this chapter is to examine this complex relation by utilizing the eleven key principles of successful placemaking, which are critical for its in situ implementation, and to determine which part of these principles need to be adjusted to this perspective of the urban planning process in the digital age. The principles that properly address this aim are used as criteria to examine five case studies – the master plans and other planning strategies of five secondary cities from four Southern European countries: Bari in Italy, Chania and Trikala in Greece, Estepona in Spain and Smederevo in Serbia. All of the case cities share the Southern European experience of having traditionally lively and vibrant public open spaces, which is important for placemaking. Furthermore, the common scale of the cities versus different national regulatory frameworks enables the main purpose of this multi-case study – to identify the scope and local variations of the (potential) applicability of placemaking within the urban planning process. Also to be questioned is how their master plans as key planning documents support public open spaces and their importance for local communities. This challenge requires a comparative analysis, where both the selected cities and their main master plans will be compared according to selected principles of successful placemaking. The findings of this comparison are inputs for three sets of recommendations related to: (1) how to complement the current knowledge in the placemaking approach in the future to develop more integrated urban planning methods; (2) how to improve local urban planning to be more responsive to the local community, making them more liveable and distinctive places; and (3) how to apply digital tools, in the context of their current roles and perspectives, in order to facilitate the implementation of placemaking principles within the urban planning process.

Keywords

urban planning – community planning – digitalization – secondary cities – global versus local – master plan

1 Introduction

Placemaking is generally considered as a multi-layer and multi-aspect approach in urban studies focused on public open spaces, such as streets, parks, town squares or quays. In this sense, planning, designing and maintaining open public spaces are equally important (PPS, 2018). A prevailing stance regarding placemaking among many scholars and practitioners is that it is more attached to micro-scale urban design. This is probably related to everyday urban practice, where placemaking is more related to concrete open spaces and their urban design. Nevertheless, understanding placemaking within this approach is a significant limitation to embrace the essential aspirations of placemaking – to make better places for people (Palermo & Ponzini, 2015). Hence, urban planning with its macro-urban perspective cannot be omitted in these concerns, despite the fact that it obviously has a less visible role in placemaking than urban design. Generally, qualitative public open spaces cannot be "made" or created without planning inputs (Carmona, 2019). This means that these places have to be planned while taking urban relationships, social collaborations and urban planning connections into consideration, including regional and even global dimensions (Friedmann, 2010).

Therefore, the main topic of this chapter is to explore the possibilities of the placemaking approach in the urban planning process. The ultimate aim of the chapter is to understand the planning processes that embrace creative and flexible strategies to design and manage public open space, so they can contribute to both the urban environment and the local community. From this perspective, placemaking-driven urban planning is complementary to community planning. A key issue for both theoretical concepts is to position human capital and society as key elements for urban planning (i.e. it is more important than the built environment) (Hecht, 2014). In line with this stance, the expected improvement of public open spaces has to address a wide range of prospective users (Strydom et al., 2018). Healey (2010) therefore positions public open spaces as critically important for urban planning in the twenty-first century, as they are more socially susceptible today than ever before.

This intention is even more complicated today, as urban planning is becoming more complex in the rising digital age. The tools of digitalization and development driven by information and communications technology (ICT) are slowly, but completely, changing the whole process of "making" community-based public open spaces. Using these new opportunities, public open space has got an additional, digitalized dimension (Menezes & Smaniotto Costa, 2017). It can be utilized in various ways: virtual and augmented reality,

artificial intelligence, digital and online participation, the use of sensors to enhance urban life, etc. As a result, the proper use of digital and ICT-driven tools in a certain public open space can both facilitate the number of its users and their overall experience (Kuyper & Van Bussel, 2014). However, digitalization in urban planning and design has many challenges, as it requires significant organizational, professional and financial capacities and intersectional and multi-layer cooperation.

In this intricate research context, it is important to start with basics. Hence, the proposed research begins from the fundamentals of placemaking theory – eleven principles of successful placemaking. The main promoters of these principles, the group Project for Public Spaces (PPS, 2018), organized them into four groups, depending on their impact on placemaking in situ:

Group 1: Underlying ideas
1.   The community has the expertise. Take into account the inputs of the people who will be using the public space the most.
2.   Create a place, not a design. Mix all elements of urban life during the creating of a place.
3.   Look for partners. Placemaking is a group effort, one particularly embedded in the local community.
4.   People always say, "It can't be done". Be ready to deal with obstacles.
Group 2: Planning and outreach techniques
1.   Have a vision. Create the conception of the whole community.
2.   You can see a lot just by observing. Make observations and act on them.
Group 3: Translating ideas into action
1.   Form supports function. Understand the importance of urban function in forming a place.
2.   Triangulate. Place urban amenities strategically so they can encourage and intensify social interaction.
3.   Experiment to make it lighter, quicker, cheaper. Use simple and short-term improvements to make a great impact.
Group 4: Implementation
1.   Money is not the issue. Local enthusiasm and efforts can significantly reduce costs.
2.   You are never finished. This is an ongoing process, so include regular maintenance.

Further research analyses the suitability of these principles for local urban planning in a digital age through five case studies of the master plans of five Southern European secondary cities: Bari in Italy, Chania and Trikala in Greece, Estepona in Spain and Smederevo in Serbia. The findings from this comparative analysis are inputs for three sets of recommendations related to:

(1) how to complement the current knowledge in the placemaking approach in the future to develop more integrated urban planning methods; (2) how to improve local urban planning to be more responsive to the local community, making them more liveable and distinctive places; and (3) how to apply digital tools, in the context of their current roles and perspectives, in order to facilitate the implementation of placemaking principles within the urban planning process.

2 Methodology

This research is a multi-case study. This is a convenient method when general knowledge about a certain phenomenon is relatively scarce, such as the case with the chosen topic of the role of placemaking in urban planning in the digital age. As it was underlined, eleven principles of successful placemaking are the starting point of the research. They are first checked as not all of them are suitable to analyse urban planning; some of them refer exclusively to micro-scale urban design or the maintenance and management of open urban space. Those ones that adequately relate to urban planning level are accepted as criteria to analyse the five case studies in order to derive findings, conclusions and recommendations.

Knowing that successful placemaking implies a "place-based approach that can innovate and integrate planning regulations, strategic spatial visioning and urban development projects" (Palermo & Ponzini, 2015, p. 5), the five mentioned case cities were chosen by several mutual characteristics. First, they share the Southern European experience of traditionally lively and vibrant public open space, which is principal for placemaking. Second, all of them are secondary cities in their national urban networks. Hence, these five cities are not global nodes and they are not therefore profoundly researched as primary cities or national capitals. Nevertheless, they have a regional significance being a link in urban-rural continuum (Chen, & Kanna, 2012; Carrillo, 2014). The size of these secondary cities also infers less complicated urban planning than in bigger cities, which is important for a qualitative comparative analysis. In the end, all of them have master plans as the key planning-strategic documents of local urban development.

It is still questionable on how master plans in general support public open spaces and their value to local communities. This challenge again highlights the importance of a comparative analysis, where both the selected cities and their main master plans are compared by the selected principles of successful placemaking. Their suitability for the proposed research is given in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1   Eleven principles of successful placemaking

No.	Principle	Importance for the analysis	Research criteria	
1.	The community is the expert	Important	C1:	Does the plan facilitate the involvement of the community in local placemaking? Does the plan allow digital and ICT-driven participation?
2.	Create a place, not a design	Important	C2:	Does the plan recognize the importance of urban life and public open space in general? Does it rely on digital data in these matters?
3.	Look for partners	Important	–	(Already included in C1)
4.	They always say "it can't be done"	Less important	–	(Strictly implementation)
5.	Have a vision	Important	C3:	Does the vision of the plan support and/or suit placemaking? Does it clearly imply the use of digitalization and ICT-driven development?
6.	You can see a lot just by observing	Important	C4:	Does the plan recognize the importance of context? Does it rely on digital data, ICT-led analyses and pre-studies?
7.	Form supports function	Important	C5:	Is the plan position the functional aspect of placemaking before a physical one? Does it prescribe ICT tools to develop or determine it?
8.	Triangulate	Less important	–	(Micro level > urban design)
9.	Experiment: lighter, quicker, cheaper	Important	C6:	Does the plan highlight simpler and short-term improvements? Is this supported with digital and ICT-led tools?
10.	Money is not the issue	Less important	–	(Strictly implementation)
11.	You are never finished	Less important	–	(Strictly implementation)

To conclude, the principles 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 9 are clearly related to urban planning and they are suitable as criteria for the multi-case study analysis.

3   Cases

Five cases in this analysis are the master plans of five cities from four Southern European countries: Bari in Italy, Chania and Trikala in Greece, Estepona in Spain and Smederevo in Serbia. They will be analysed in the following order: a profile of the city; brief data about the case – the master plan of the city and how it concerns open public spaces, in general; the descriptive explanation of the elements of the master plan by the settled criteria; and the first findings from the case study as its results. The explanations by the settled criteria were valued with four possible options: the plan (1) does not support or it (2) partly, (3) indirectly or (4) directly supports the criterion. The last result is the most favourable one, as it does not mean just the relevance of this criterion for the plan, but it also highlights or alludes to a digitalization and the use of ICT tools.

3.1   *Smederevo (Serbia)*

3.1.1   Presentation

Smederevo is a middle-size city in central Serbia, 50 km east of Belgrade. The urban zone of Smederevo has approximately 80,000 inhabitants. The city is important in national history, as it was the last capital of medieval Serbia. Medieval Smederevo Fortress with a fortified court on the Danube (fig. 6.1) is the largest lowland fortress in Europe and is the most important heritage site in the city (Belij et al., 2014). Despite its rich cultural heritage, Smederevo is better known as an industrial city and it has the largest steelworks in the region. This dichotomy has shaped the recent history of Smederevo (Djukić & Antonić, 2019).

Many of the old industrial and port facilities along the Danube and around the city centre are brownfields today. On the other side, Smederevo Centre with its pedestrianized main square, main street and Danube Quay is the most vibrant urban part of the city (fig. 6.2). Hence, one of key challenges for local urban planning has been to enable the (re)development of the city centre and the gradual transformation of the brownfields into new central nodes. This is clearly visible in the operative General Urban Plan of Smederevo, adopted in 2009 (fig. 6.3). General urban plans in Serbia are strategic documents, which envision general urban development for 20 to 30 years and give guidelines for lower-level plans regarding physical and functional regulation. The analysed plan recognizes the importance of the main open public spaces along the aforementioned linearly shaped pedestrian zone (CS, 2009, p. 45) and the big concentration of green areas along the Danube Quay (CS, 2009, p. 47). One of the planning aims is to preserve open spaces as a "reserve" for the qualitative upgrading of the city territory (CS, 2009, p. 71). The pedestrian zone is planned

FIGURE 6.1　The view of medieval Smederevo Fortress
SOURCE: TOURIST ORGANIZATION OF SMEDEREVO

FIGURE 6.2　The focal point of city life is the main square
SOURCE: TOURIST ORGANIZATION OF SMEDEREVO
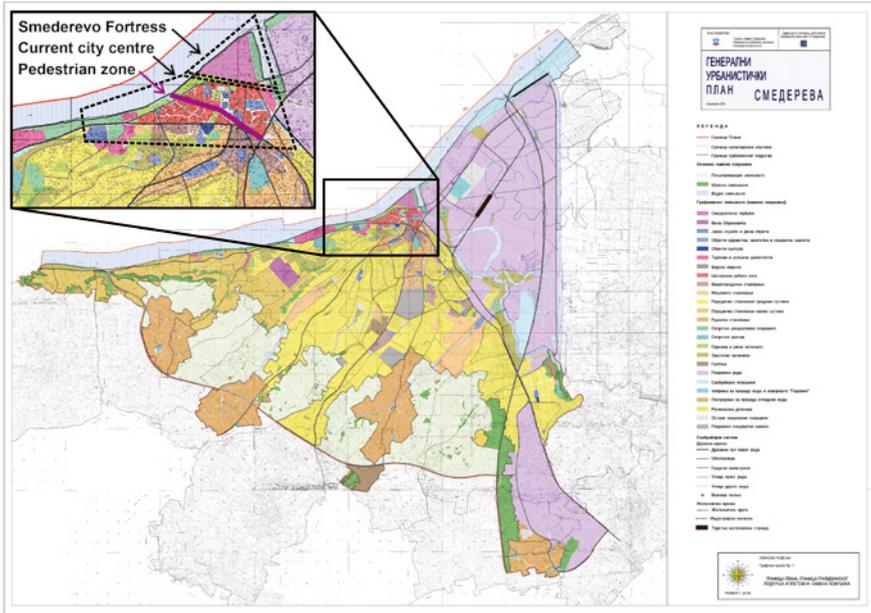
FIGURE 6.3 The General Urban Plan of Smederevo, a land use map with urban zones
                SOURCE: CITY OF SMEDEREVO

to retain its retail and leisure character through reconstruction (i.e. to remain
the core of urban life) (CS, 2009, p. 77). In contrast to this, Smederevo Fortress
as a key heritage location is planned for a total conservation with better con-
nections to the rest of the central zone, including the relocation of the obsolete
rail and port facilities (CS, 2009, p. 77).

3.1.2   Placemaking

Criterion 1: The plan partly supports this criterion. There are many places in the
plan which underline the general accessibility and proximity of public (pedes-
trian and green) places, as well as public services to the community. However,
the possible ways of community participation are not concretely mentioned.
One small plus is a separate section for urban design for physically disabled
persons.

Criterion 2: The plan indirectly supports this criterion, but it considers the
importance of urban life and public open space in a traditional manner. The
sections about central urban zones and local centres refer to the use and basic
standards of open public spaces. Some novel elements, such as shared spaces
or the formation of a green network, are given with basic design instructions.
Nevertheless, the plan does not mention the use of digital data or tools.

Criterion 3: The plan indirectly supports this criterion. One of 12 planning aims is to preserve and properly design open public spaces to serve citizens. However, the inclusion of digitalization development is not specified.

Criterion 4: The plan directly supports this criterion. In the last section of the plan about its implementation it is highlighted that all important urban zones and parts had to be further planned by lower-level detailed plans, respecting the specific elements of the local context. In relation to this, the plan affirms the inclusion of different and more accurate means of data.

Criterion 5: The plan indirectly supports this criterion. The functional aspect of the reconstruction of the zone around the pedestrian zone, the redevelopment of centrally located brownfields and the revitalization of the fortress is mainly described by discussion about new urban functions which should revive the city core. The physical aspect is also covered, but it is not well elaborated, in general. The plan does not prescribe any digital tool for these purposes.

Criterion 6: The plan does not support this criterion. The elaboration of urban improvements, including simpler and short-term ones, is transferred to subordinated detailed plans.

3.1.3   Results

First findings from the case study confirm that this plan supports placemaking elements, but mostly related to the central zones of Smederevo, in the old city core, along the Danube Quay and in local centres. Planning aims and measures usually imply which character of open public space is desirable (more or less greenery, with or without retail in the surrounding, reconstruction versus new construction, etc.). All these planning premises are given in a traditional way as digital elements are not distinctly presented, but covered by the promotion of innovative approaches and the importance of new technologies.

3.2   *Chania* (*Greece*)

3.2.1   Presentation

Chania is a middle-size city in southern Greece, in the western part of the island of Crete. It has approximately 110,000 inhabitants. The history of the city goes back to the Minoan period and through the centuries many civilizations have shaped the city as it is today. The Minoan, Byzantine and Venetian roots of the city have attracted many visitors over recent years. The economy of the

city is based on tourism, activity associated with the technical university and agricultural production that takes place outside the city's borders.

The city expanded around its historic centre during the last century (fig. 6.4), which is its most vibrant urban area. The main problems with the city's spatial development are that its urban areas developed over the last 30 years in a sprawl and that the development of tourism has exceeded the city's carrying capacity. The city has few open public spaces (there is only 2 m²/inhabitant) but a lot of land is available for development into open and green spaces, including an abandoned military camp and the moats in the historic city centre. The key planning challenges are the control of the urban sprawl, the definition of restrictions and regulations on tourism and the development of open public spaces through the transformation of the available urban voids.

The General Urban Plan of Chania was legislated in 1988 but a new version has been in public discussion since 2017 (Doxiadis Associates et al., 2017) and is supposed to be legislated by the end of 2023 (fig. 6.5). It is a plan that envisions the city's development for the next ten years and provides guidelines and regulations for the lower-level spatial plans. The basic aim of the plan is to increase public spaces, propose the upgrading of the existing open and green public spaces and develop sub-centres of public activities for the functional decongestion of the historic city.

FIGURE 6.4   The view of the historic centre and the new city
             SOURCE: GOOGLE EARTH

FIGURE 6.5
The General Urban Plan of
Chania, a land use map with
urban zones
SOURCE: MUNICIPALITY OF
CHANIA

3.2.2   Placemaking

Criterion 1: The plan partly supports this criterion. In the historic centre, open public spaces create a network combined with the pedestrianized zones (fig. 6.6). In the areas of the modern city, open public spaces are developed in a fragmented way. The accessibility is, in many cases, difficult as the city is designed mostly for vehicles. Recently, the municipality has been working on a sustainable mobility urban plan which is in many cases not in accordance with the General Urban Plan. Both plans promote participatory procedures with questionnaires about the citizens' vision for the city through e-platforms, but the participation of citizens is still limited.

Criterion 2: The plan recognizes the importance of public spaces, so it indirectly supports this criterion. It is based on the application of quantitative standards, and it proposes areas but not networks. Recently, the municipality's authorities have relied on architectural competitions to make decisions about the urban design of public spaces, but no plan has materialized. Another interesting effort was the use of the e-platform to make decisions about the use of the abandoned military base. Citizens were invited to propose ideas about how to develop it, but this appeal resulted in a low level of participation. Hence, although the plan does not mention any use of digital tools, the authorities indirectly promoted their use for its implementation.

Criterion 3: The plan supports the preservation of open public spaces to serve citizens, but it does not clearly imply the use of digitalization and ICT-driven development. Thus, it partly supports this criterion.

Criterion 4: The plan supports this criterion as it is based on statistical data analysis. In its last section it proposes the areas that must be prioritized and further planned in a more detailed way.

FIGURE 6.6   Two examples of open public spaces in Chania. The Venetian port
             of the city (*left*)
             SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA, COURTESY OF RUP11
             The historic market (*right*)
             SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA, COURTESY OF LAPPLAENDER

Criterion 5: The plan indirectly supports this criterion as it bases its proposals for the redevelopment of urban functions and the regeneration of the historic centre through its decongestion. The plan does not use or propose any digital tool for these purposes.

Criterion 6: The plan does not support this criterion. Simpler and short-term urban improvements are transferred to urban design plans in accordance with the urban plan basic directions. In many cases these proposed improvements are ignored.

3.2.3   Results
The General Urban Plan of Chania supports placemaking through its proposals for public spaces. Still, it is limited in its quantitative approach and its main aim is to propose new public spaces in available urban voids and to prioritize the upgrading of the existing ones and it does not include proposals for qualitative upgrading. The role of ICT is limited in the plan's elaboration and application. The recent efforts made by the authorities to enhance the participation of citizens with the use of ICT has not yet been effective and should be more strongly promoted.

3.3   *Bari (Italy)*
3.3.1   Presentation
Bari is one of the 14 Italian metropolitan cities and is located at the centre of the Apulia region in the south of Italy. It is a city of about 300,000 inhabitants and covers 116 km². It is characterized by a strong trade economy organized around its port, airport, railway and highway links. Even though Bari is the seat of the Apulia region and a developed tourist destination in southern Italy, the

city has fallen behind other metropolitan cities in Italy. Bari has lost nearby 70,000 inhabitants over the last 40 years (it had 371,022 inhabitants in 1981), which underlines the development challenges for the city. Comparisons using data from the 2011 census shows that there has been a progressive ageing of the population at a rate higher than the national average. The average age is 44.6 years against 45.2 in Italy. The unemployment rate is significantly higher (17.7% Apulia and 13.1% Italy).

The pandemic limited the possibility of using public spaces in a city like Bari, whose inhabitants were accustomed to conducting most of their public and private events in public outdoor spaces. During this period, as happened in other countries (Pradifta et al., 2021; Troy & Quentin, 2021), the city planned the use of tactical urbanism interventions in public spaces promoted by the municipality itself, after an online participation process. The city of Bari has a very old General Master Plan (fig. 6.7), designed at the end of the 1960s by the well-known architect Ludovico Quaroni (as annotated by Barbera, 2014). It has an interesting urban layout, but its zoning is rigidly monofunctional, which is anachronistic today. The city is developing a new plan, but there is still a long way to go. In this context, planning tactical urbanism interventions in open public spaces (Lydon & Garcia, 2015), the only areas where during the pandemic it was still possible for people to meet, appeared to be a possible alternative. The city has proposed a new strategic urban plan named "Bari Open Space" (fig. 6.8), a programme on sustainable mobility and public space for the implementation of distancing measures related to the Covid-19 emergency. It
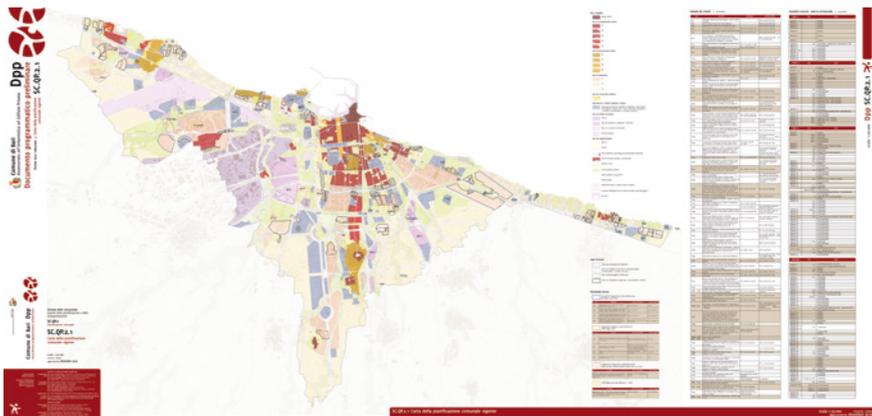
FIGURE 6.7   The General Master Plan of the city of Bari (approved in 1978), updated to the current state of implementation carried out by the design group of the new general urban plan (2014)
SOURCE: MUNICIPALITY OF BARI
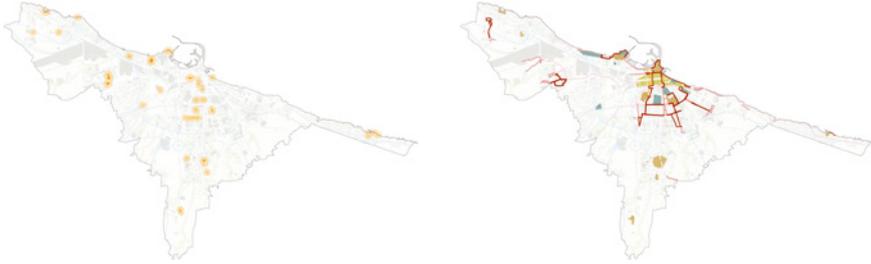
FIGURE 6.8   Strategic urban master plan named "Bari Open Space". Plan for 30 tactical urban
             planning interventions in the five macro *quartiers* of the city (*left*). Action plan
             for a network of cycle paths and zones (*right*) where cars cannot exceed specific
             speeds (10, 20 or 30 km/h)
             SOURCE: MUNICIPALITY OF BARI, HTTPS://WWW.COMUNE.BARI.IT
             /-/BARI-OPEN-SPACE-PRESENTATO-IL-PROGRAMMA-DI-INTERVENTI
             -SULLA-MOBILITA-SOSTENIBILE-E-SULLO-SPAZIO-PUBBLICO, ACCESSED 30
             JUNE 2023

is a redesign and redevelopment of the public spaces provided for by the old
General Master Plan.

The strategic plan had the objective of reconfiguring public spaces and
other areas for temporary use during the pandemic. In particular, with refer-
ence to spaces for mobility, it mitigates the risk of contagion on local public
transport vehicles through physical distancing favouring the diversification of
the movement towards cycling, electric and pedestrian mobility. Referring to
public spaces, it reorients the function of public space towards well-being and
physical activity, and it favours the function of public space as a support for
commercial activities lacking in confined space.

3.3.2   Placemaking

Criterion 1: The General Master Plan of the city of Bari (approved in 1978), does
not support the involvement of the community in local placemaking. The new
plan ("Bari Open Space") has the aim of facilitating the involvement of the
population in the use of new tactical urbanism public spaces. Neither of the
two urban plans allow digital or ICT-driven participation.

Criterion 2: The "Bari Open Space" plan recognizes the importance of urban life
and public open space in general. It was initiated for this reason. For the use
of some street furniture or sports equipment, it provides instructions through
QR codes.

FIGURE 6.9   Setting up of public spaces such as open-air gyms in Lungomare
             Starita in San Cataldo in Bari. The same place before (*left*) and
             after (*right*) the intervention
             SOURCE: MUNICIPALITY OF BARI

Criterion 3: The vision of the plan supports and suits placemaking, and it
clearly implies the use of ICT (with the use of QR codes), but it does not claim
to include an integrated use of digital tools.

Criterion 4: The plan recognizes the importance of context, but it does not rely
on digital data or ICT-led analyses.

Criterion 5: The plan supports this criterion. It changes the use of public spaces
to define new physical aspects through urban design. The plan does not pre-
scribe any digital tool for these purposes.

Criterion 6: The plan supports this criterion. All the interventions are made to
highlight simpler and short-term uses by the inhabitants. The plan does not
prescribe any digital tool for these purposes.

3.3.3   Results

"Bari Open Space" was created to provide an answer to the needs for the use
of public spaces during the pandemic through reversible interventions of
tactical urban planning. It has created new ways of using spaces tradition-
ally dedicated to cars (the streets) or without furniture or otherwise unusa-
ble. Most of them are still in force. People have discovered new ways to use
streets and open spaces. The challenge now is to transform these light urban
furnishing interventions into long-term changes capable of regenerating cities

and neighbourhoods by placing public space at the centre of urban dynamics (Carmona, 2019).

3.4   *Estepona (Spain)*

3.4.1   Presentation

Estepona is a middle-size city of the western Costa del Sol, 33 km west of Marbella (Málaga). The city has approximately 70,000 inhabitants. The economic engine in the last decades has been the sun and beach tourism, being one of the preferred destinations for second homes (fig. 6.10). The main challenges are the poorly diversified economy concentrated in coastal tourism with a strong seasonal nature and a tendency of the popular towards ageing, accentuated by the high rate of emigration of the younger population due to a lack of opportunities. Added to this is a dynamic of strong pressure on natural resources due to seasonality (Estepona City Council, 2016).

The urban space is very compact in the city centre, but that is not the case in the new neighbourhoods due to the rapid, low-density pattern of development followed over recent decades, which increased the need for the use of private vehicles. The city centre of Estepona, "The Garden of the Costa del Sol", is full of places of interest and has the typical Andalusian-style houses, whitewashed buildings, narrow streets full of charm and greenery. There are a lot of places of tourist interest in the area: the Plaza del Reloj, the Santa María de los Remedios church, San Luis Castle and the Plaza de las Flores. Beyond the city centre, there are also other iconic spaces, such as the Orchidarium of Estepona, the Paseo Marítimo, Los Reales de Sierra Bermeja and El Pinsapar nature park. In terms of the challenges related to public spaces (fig. 6.11), the urban centre has lost permeability, which has led to the degradation of some parts of the historic area. This has also led to a worsening of access and an increase in traffic and parking problems (Estepona City Council, 2016). The quality of the open spaces is high in the new neighbourhoods (gardens, services, etc.), but these areas are mainly private, so they do not constitute a network of public spaces.

3.4.2   Placemaking

Criterion 1: The plan of 2010 does not consider this criterion and acts only as a regulatory tool that has adapted the 1994 General Urban Plan. The Integrated Sustainable Development Strategy of 2016, the most recent tool, includes the promotion of citizen participation in the efficient and sustainable use of ICT. The urban centre and its complementarity with other nearby facilities represents an area of great potential for the creation of living spaces and coexistence and is a base for placemaking.

FIGURE 6.10   Two views of Estepona. The view on the long coastline as the archetypal image
                   of the city (*top*)
                   SOURCE: ANTONIO PERIAGO MIÑARRO ON FLICKR

Aerial view of the city (*bottom*)
SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA, COURTESY OF KALLERNA

FIGURE 6.11   The 2010 General Urban Plan of Estepona showing the south area, an
                   adaptation of the 1994 General Urban Plan
                   SOURCE: CITY OF ESTEPONA

Criterion 2: The 2016 plan indirectly supports this criterion, because the focus is a city in which the residents enjoy a good quality of life. It is a vision of a city with an identity, one that is efficient, green and attractive to live in, to visit and to invest in, a dynamic city that offers new opportunities, knowledge and innovation, and one that is cohesive and inclusive. There is no information in either the general plan or in the Integrated Sustainable Development Strategy about the use of digital data or tools for supporting placemaking. ICT is mentioned as needed for the city to take a step forward and turn its administration into a transparent electronic administration and to avoid a digital divide.

Criterion 3: The plan indirectly supports this criterion. There are 14 lines of action, and six of them are related to urban transformations to serve citizens. However, the inclusion of digitalization development is not specified. One programme aimed at the preventive conservation of cultural heritage through monitoring (Estepona Intelligent Heritage) is the most related to digitization, but it is diffused across the territory, and it does not identify specific actions to take in specific areas.

Criterion 4: The plan indirectly supports this criterion, including specific ideas for the parts of the cities, such as the historic centre, not specifically related to ICT-led analyses and pre-studies.

Criterion 5: The plan indirectly supports this criterion, as explained with an example in Criterion 3.

Criterion 6: The plan directly supports this criterion. The elaboration of urban improvements, including simpler and short-term ones, is included in its different objectives: Thematic objectives, specific objectives, strategic objectives, intermediate objectives, operational objectives and, finally, line of action. For instance, to promote the rehabilitation and recovery of public urban land for green areas, leisure and recreation, it identifies River Park. But the objectives are not supported by digital tools or led by ICT, such as would be included in a typical Smart City plan, but are focused on administration or tourism.

3.4.3 Results

First findings from the case study confirm that the plan of 2010 does not take placemaking into consideration and acts only as a regulatory tool that adapted the 1994 General Urban Plan. However, the Integrated Sustainable Development Strategy of 2016 – the most recent approach – promotes placemaking (directly or indirectly) as well as the use of ICT, but it does not use

digital tools for placemaking. The only exception is the Estepona Intelligent Heritage line, a programme for the preventive conservation of cultural heritage. The monitoring it proposes relies on digitization, but its application is diffused across the territory, and it does not identify specific actions to take in specific areas.

3.5   *Trikala (Greece)*

3.5.1   Presentation

The city of Trikala is a middle-size city in central Greece. The urban area of Trikala has 61,653 inhabitants. The city has a rich history. It was built near the ancient city of Triki. In ancient times it was known as the birthplace and main home of Asclepius, god of medicine in ancient Greek mythology. Three buildings dating to the times of the early Romans and another dating to the Byzantine period have been found in an archaeological site, Asclepieion of the ancient Triki, north of the present-day city. The central part of Trikala is an old urban core next to a central square, with uniform architecture (old shops) (fig. 6.12). This part of Trikala and the main pedestrian street – Asklipiou Street – is the city leisure zone with many entertainment centres, cafés, bars and taverns, and which attracts many visitors throughout the year. Trikala is the only city in Greece divided by a river. The Litheos River and the river grove of 500 acres are the city's green lungs and give a special physiognomy to the place. The main metal bridge across the river is also a declared historical monument (from 1996). It is an example of an early metal bridge and was built by French engineers in 1886 (Katsaros, 2009).

At the same time, the city of Trikala is considered a smart city due to its implementation of several electronic information systems. There is the wireless coverage of the shopping centre area, smart lighting and parking systems, and applications for informing citizens about the cultural events of the municipality.[1]

The operative General Urban Plan of Trikala dates from 1985 and had its most recent major revision in 2007. The new plan proposes the renovation of the traditional centre (Varousi) and the new historical centre of Trikala, by imposing more specific conditions and building restrictions, as well as morphological restrictions. The modifications of the road plan refer to the definition of the operation of the public space (common areas, roads, sidewalks, parking areas and others) as well as and the declaration of all its historic buildings as protected (fig. 6.13). It also proposes the renovation of the old Manavika Shopping Centre, and the determination of land uses and interventions to upgrade public spaces (fig. 6.14).

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1   https://trikalacity.gr/.

FIGURE 6.12   The view of the centre of Trikala
SOURCE: GOOGLE EARTH

FIGURE 6.13   The General Urban Plan of Trikala, a land use map with urban zones
SOURCE: MUNICIPALITY OF TRIKALA

FIGURE 6.14   Open public space in the city of Trikala
              SOURCE: A. ECONOMOU

3.5.2   Placemaking

Criterion 1: The plan supports this criterion. There is accessibility and proximity to sidewalks and open green spaces. In the central parts of the city, there are ramps for the disabled.

Criterion 2: The plan takes into account the quality of life and the public open space. The large common areas (central square), the zones on both sides of the River Litheos and the development of greenery, the pedestrianization of the main street as well as the renovation of the public market contribute to the improvement of the quality of the urban environment.

Criterion 3: The plan takes into account the maintenance and renovation of open public spaces for the benefit of citizens. The new plan proposes interventions for the city centre to upgrade the historic centre and aesthetic upgrades of dilapidated buildings.

Criterion 4: The plan supports this criterion. The plan relies on digital data and the analysis of statistical data. The existence of a large open space allows for the possibility of further development and organization of the space, according to the principles of sustainability.

Criterion 5: The plan supports this criterion. In the central urban area, renovation projects will be carried out, such as the upgrading of the central square of the city to increase the amount of greenery and water features, the installation

of shaded areas and the renovation of the riparian zone of the river. These projects will revitalize the core of the city by allowing for increased and new urban activity.

Criterion 6: The plan indirectly supports this criterion. The plan is supported by the results analysis of the users of the wireless network. While the decisions for the further upgrade of the centre takes into account mainly the analysis of the studies.

3.5.3   Results

The case study shows that the central area of the city (the old shops, the central square, the riparian zone of the Litheos River that crosses the centre of the city and the main pedestrian street) constitute the public space of the city and is where the social life of the city takes place. These areas contain placemaking elements, which enhance the development of human activities and the functional organization of the space. The connection of open public spaces, the construction of the sidewalks, the renovations, the increase in the green areas, are all carried out taking into account the physiognomy of the area (with an eye towards the preservation of the traditional elements). Digital data are used to better plan these urban interventions while ICT tools are used to inform the citizens.

4   Discussion of the Outcomes and Results of the Five Cases

The first results of the analysis of the master plans show a great variety on how they perform regarding placemaking. The creating process of master plans or similar documents follows the same logic and typology of urban planning systems in all the countries of the case studies and this common approach is useful to compare them. This comparison of the results by each of the six criteria extracted from the principles of successful placemaking also gives a better overview of the whole case study analysis.

First, it is obvious that the Bari master plan meets the criteria much better than five other cases. This urban plan is also the newest one as it was developed recently. The other plans, all older than ten years, scored almost identically.

A greater diversity is visible in checking the performance of the six cases by each criterion. The criteria with the best performance of the plans are C4 and C2. C4 is in the very essence of the urban planning process – the adaptation of planning rules to a certain urban context. A similar stance can be taken for the second-highest scoring criteria, C2. Public open space is a key public

TABLE 6.2   Comparison of the main results from five case studies regarding six selected criteria

Research criteria	Case 1 Smederevo	Case 2 Chania	Case 3 Bari	Case 4 Estepona	Case 5 Trikala	Sum
C1: Does the plan facilitate the involvement of the community in local placemaking?	1	1	2	1	1	6
C2: Does the plan recognize the importance of urban life and public open space in general?	2	2	3	2	3	12
C3: Does the vision of the plan support and/or suit placemaking?	2	1	3	2	2	10
C4: Does the plan recognize the importance of context?	3	3	3	2	3	14
C5: Is the plan position the functional aspect of place-making before a physical one?	2	2	3	2	2	11
C6: Does the plan highlight simpler and short-term improvements?	0	0	3	2	0	5
SUM PER CASE	10	9	17	11	11	/

1. The plan does not support this criterion
2. The plan partly supports the criterion
3. The plan indirectly supports the criterion
4. The plan directly supports the criterion

good for urban planning and ensuring a vibrant urban life that is inseparable from a successful public open space. Thus, these results have been somehow predictable. The worst-performing criteria are C1 and C6. The results for C1 show that the involvement of community in local placemaking, regardless of whether it was conducted in person or digitally/online, is unnoticeable in the selected plans. For C6, it seems that the plans are monolithically concentrated on complex urban issues and long-term urban actions, usually lasting for 15 or more years, not prioritizing simpler and short-term improvements thereof. During the analysis, some side results also emerged. First, historic cores are mainly in the spotlight of placemaking in studied master plans, dealing with

public open space more thoroughly. However, the other parts of the cities are not as well-represented. Second, all plans highlight the vibrancy of urban life in the related city, accustomed to the Southern European urban environment. Finally, the plans do not involve digital or vectorial information per se.

5   Lessons Learned

Several points are crucial:

First, the analysed master plans work well with the placemaking criteria that are, in essence, part of urban planning. Regarding the criteria that recognize the importance of urban life and public open spaces, the context and the functional aspect of placemaking are as relevant as the physical aspects.

Second, the age of the master plan really matters in the case of placemaking content in the present-day digital age. The new kind of plans, for example, "Bari Open Space" or the Integrated Sustainable Development Strategy of Estepona, are better at addressing this issue.

Third, it is very important to repeat that the involvement of the community in local placemaking is not properly presented by the plans, despite citizens being already involved through public audits and presentations during the planning process. Thus, this is one of the questions that have more room for improvement, and may be related to the way urban planning is carried out as a legal document that sets certain qualities rather than a flexible document with room for transformation.

Fourth, the Mediterranean and Southern European countries have a long path to contribute with master plans and other strategies to placemaking, although in an informal way and through bottom-up processes they are taking part in a significant way and as a part of a long tradition.

6   Conclusions

To summarize, master plans and other similar plans developed in urban planning support the postulates of placemaking that are related to place creation, such as to envision and create both functionally and physically public open spaces adapted for a certain urban environment. However, they are weaker relating to those postulates of placemaking which mainly refer to the process of forming a plan, such as community involvement in the process, or the implementation of the plan, such as the focus on concrete and simpler actions.

Several recommendations are important to facilitate placemaking processes though urban planning, especially concerning the use of novel planning instruments, supported by digital data and ICT-driven tools.

Urban planning documents usually target long-term planning interventions, lasting up to 20 or 30 years. This is a problem in the current, fast-developing digital age, where digitalization and ICT development has completely transformed urban life over the last ten years. Therefore, it is essential for urban planning to be innovative. For example, it could include vectorial information in the planning process and the implementation, develop in parallel the digital and analogue versions of a plan or customise WebGIS or WMS (Web Map Service) for the use of a planning document, which are already initiated in some countries (Italy, for example).

Community involvement should be properly covered by a plan, through an adequate explanation of the whole process, community members and groups involved, the steps and the achieved results. Already existing relevant activities with the community, such as public audits and presentations of a draft plan, are mandatory components of the final document or, eventually, the subordinated annex.

The master plans for cities are general documents and there is limited space for concrete actions, especially those that are simpler and short-term. Nevertheless, the plan can incorporate or, better, shape the section about priorities that can be easily implemented, such as the interventions of tactical or pop-up urbanism or micro experiments in urban acupuncture. In this upgrading, it is also important to expand these considerations to the entire urban territory, not just to historic cores or focal points, such as the main square or pedestrian zone, which are more in the spotlight of both planning experts and citizens.

Mentioned recommendations are a good starting point for further research on improvements in urban planning. Taking into account that both placemaking and digitalization are new processes in urban space, they can lead to a big step forward in transforming urban planning to be more open and flexible regarding the local community as its focal users.

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The Use of Digital Technologies in Improving the Quality of Life: ICT-Supported Placemaking in Urban Neighbourhoods

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on the use of digital technologies in urban regeneration processes at the scale of the neighbourhood. Between 1950 and 1980, hundreds of neighbourhoods were built all over Europe, and the planning principles underlying them were also used in urban regeneration projects of rundown historical areas. With few exceptions, the planned urban neighbourhoods started to face social and economic problems a few decades after their construction. They became the scene of reconstruction and revitalization processes that usually take the scale of the original neighbourhood as their starting point. Contemporary regeneration approaches proposed for those areas are not limited to the physical and functional improvements; they put much attention to the existing communities, their needs, and aspirations. Cooperation between professionals and residents has become of paramount importance. The

increased complexity of the neighbourhood-improvement programmes demands an interdisciplinary approach that addresses urgent issues, such as the ageing population, (un)healthy living environments, climate-change adaptation, etc. Where different professions get engaged with the residents, speaking a common language is crucial from the initial phase of setting the grounds. One of the major obstacles planners in neighbourhood regeneration processes encounter is how to connect citizen knowledge to their professional expertise. Interactions and visualizations based on information and communications technology (ICT) can help to create a common language, offering a realistic impression of the desired results of interventions and their impact on safety, health and well-being. This chapter offers insights into the case studies from Groningen, Ljubljana and Lyon.

Keywords

neighbourhood – quality of life – ICT – participation – urban regeneration – community-led placemaking

1 ICT-based Approaches to Improve the Quality of Life through Placemaking

Community-based placemaking has become a growing global movement based on citizens' involvement in improving the places where they live. It is a way of collaboration in which all possible actors come together to breathe new life into a living environment (Dargan, 2009; CoDesign Studio, 2018). Local citizens are invited to participate in these revitalization processes. For local governments, the involvement of citizen organizations and businesses is indispensable for understanding the needs of communities. Approaches based on information and communications technology (ICT) promise to contribute new methods to intensify the interaction between citizens, local governments and planners.

The use of ICT has spread extensively over recent decades and it has had a huge impact on everyday life. Despite some negative effects – for instance, the excessive lengths of time spent in the virtual world, a consequence of the omnipresence of the (mobile) internet (Katz et al., 2001) – the use of ICT may also bring social benefits. In recent years, scholars highlight how these technologies promise access to a higher quality of life (Nevado-Peňa et al., 2019; Oh, 2020) including creating and developing so-called good places – places that

incite social interactions and may induce inhabitants to start thinking about ways to improve their neighbourhoods. The use of ICT can uncover hidden local talent, ideas and capacities (CoDesign Studio, 2018). It is important to support and encourage common activities and place creation and inspire local groups of people to undertake the get-involved and do-it-yourself approach.

This chapter focuses on digital placemaking strategies at the level of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood frames people's every lives – it is where they find their homes as well as the shops they frequent, the schools they attend and the parks they enjoy. Neighbourhoods that have been planned and built in one go – notably those dating from the 1950s and 1960s–often share a common fate (though there are some notable exceptions): they represented a huge improvement in the living conditions of the people who first moved there, but within a few decades witnessed social decline, vandalism and criminal behaviour. That was the starting point of revitalization strategies that, since the 1970s, have continuously expanded their scope and ambition. These strategies now also inspire similar improvement campaigns in neighbourhoods from different periods. As the missions of urban planning all over Europe have moved towards urban regeneration and the improvements of existing urban structures, the concept of a neighbourhood has evolved too – it is more broadly related to any demarcated urban area with a recognizable community and distinct architectural and urban qualities, regardless of its period of origin or initial urban planning concept.

In that context, cooperation between residents and professionals has become of paramount importance even if the idea of designing cities for people dates back a long time (Walljasper, 2007) and was later expanded by other visionaries and practitioners (Gehl, 2011). At the same time, the increased complexity of neighbourhood improvement programmes demands the implementation of new tools. The question here is, How ICT can incorporate and further develop the array of methods and experiences accumulated throughout the years? Generally, ICT may be seen as an intermediate object for mediation (Ampanavos & Markaki, 2014). Social affection for a place can be successfully created using ICT by shaping physical elements in space and thus supporting the possibilities of carrying out various activities both individually and together (Kimic et al., 2019) as a form of the improvement of diverse elements of social infrastructure (Joshi et al., 2013). An effective way focuses on many forms of an active engagement with the environment where people interact with each other and with the space (Abdel-Aziz et al. 2016; Nikšič, 2021; Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021). Another important asset of the implementation of ICT in urban regeneration is its ability to help foresee the possible futures by visualizing them.

2   ICT and the Improvement of Neighbourhoods: A Variety of Tools for the Variety of Contexts and the Issues Encountered

This section presents three concrete case studies related to ICT-supported transformative placemaking in three different types of neighbourhoods – in relation to improving health-related conditions, citizens empowerment and the environmental performance of rising neighbourhoods. With the explorative research it offers new insights into the application of ICT in urban regeneration in different geographical contexts in Europe and in different urban contexts – two housing neighbourhoods of different densities that were originally conceptualized from scratch to accommodate the new living standards in the urban periphery, and one that has a more historic origin, is more centrally positioned and has developed mainly as a business district. All three cases have ICT embedded into the core of the recent regeneration endeavours and show that there are both pros and cons to the implementation of ICTs in community-led placemaking.

2.1   *Paddepoel in Groningen, the Netherlands*

Paddepoel (see fig. 7.1) is a post-war housing estate in the city of Groningen which has approximately 230,000 inhabitants. Immensely popular among students all over the world, they make up no less than 25% of the population, which explains why the average age is also the lowest in the country. Today, almost 11,000 people live in Paddepoel. The density of Paddepoel is only a quarter of that of the inner city.

Paddepoel began to show signs of social deterioration in the course of the 1980s. The average income there is substantially lower than the average in Groningen over all. Public health statistics show that Paddepoel lags behind other areas in this respect too – 49% of the inhabitants suffer from being overweight, more than twice the number we find in the inner city.

In 2018, the Expertise Centre Architecture + Urbanism + Health of the University of Groningen initiated "Urban Design for Improving Public Health in Groningen (UDIHiG)", a project that explores the efficiency of urban interventions as a tool to enhance public health. Urban interventions not only determine the shape of cities but also the way they are used and how they impact behaviours and lifestyles. These, in turn, directly impact public health. For example, low densities, car dependency and spatial fragmentation caused by main traffic roads severely limit the possibilities for walking and cycling. Active modes of mobility have been identified as exceptionally effective tools to improve one's health and add more healthy years to one's life.

FIGURE 7.1   A map localization of Paddepoel, a neighbourhood with several visible sub-units
SOURCE: OPENSTREETMAP

Working in a post-war neighbourhood like Paddepoel requires an analysis of the generic urban model, the specific way this model was applied in this particular case and what we call a "neighbourhood biography" – the story of the people moving there, how they live their lives there and why they eventually move somewhere else – and the way this impacted the physical and spatial environment. The starting point of the project was a thorough urban analysis of the current situation (see fig. 7.2). The first studies were initiated by the city of Groningen, after which De Zwarte Hond, a design agency for architecture, urban planning and strategy, took over. The survey focuses on the typologies of the housing stock, the amount of greenery in Paddepoel and mobility issues.

The next phases began with in-depth research on the interaction between the urban layout on the one hand and lifestyles on the other. Most of the available research focuses on the effects of mobility (walking and cycling have positive effects), greenery (either for passive enjoyment or for active use) and social interaction in public space (as a recipe against loneliness). Finally, there is the issue of healthy food (post-war neighbourhoods having been stigmatized as "health deserts"). This last element is a crucial but often underrated source

Housing typologies

- Single-family, detached
- Single-family, semi-detached
- Single-family, row house
- Portico flat <5 stories
- Gallery flat
- Apartment complex
- Apartments on top of shops
- Nursing home
- Mostly for the eldery
- Special housing
- House entrance

FIGURE 7.2   One of the analytical maps provided to address public health
SOURCE: AUTHORS' ELABORATION

of information as the body of knowledge accumulated in architecture and urbanism relating to people's health motives has played a crucial role in the development of urban models and strategies. Based on the above-mentioned inputs, the municipality of Groningen and De Zwarte Hond produced plans for urban interventions. In all of them, placemaking policies as well as the use of digital tools play an important role. Without the latter, the full potential of placemaking about public health would not have been possible. In this case study, placemaking focuses on a very basic, but probably the most crucial of all, human qualities: health. This issue consists of biological and psychological aspects that escape the world of reasoning and culture, into a man-made, carefully designed habitat that is fully charged with interpretations on practicality, views on social structures, ideologies – in other words: qualities that are characteristically cultural assets. It focused on identifiable and, to some extent, quantifiable data about the performance of the urban environment in promoting public health. There is more than enough evidence that shows how the design of a neighbourhood can be beneficial, but also detrimental, to its inhabitants. The present situation is the starting point; instead of analysing the precise way the Paddepoel inhabitants use and experience their neighbourhood, the case study revolves around lifestyle and behavioural changes caused by urban interventions. The actors do not attempt to produce a zero impact, but rather to move the changes caused by planned urban interventions in a positive direction.

A fundamental decision revolves around another practical barrier: the interventions proposed by the urbanists exist only on paper. It is not realistic to reconstruct parts of the neighbourhood, and it is impossible to realize three plans for the same site (for each of the selected sites, the planners suggest a modest one, a more realistic one, and a utopian, futuristic vision). Whether or not the interventions will work will, ultimately, be decided by the inhabitants of Paddepoel, so their role is essential. Therefore, ensuring their involvement – a process akin to co-creation – is one of the principal problems this case study needed to solve. The template of urban plans – maps, often with reference images – is a major obstacle to understanding for laymen. So, one of the principal challenges of the project was how to present these plans to the inhabitants. The planning proposals were translated into virtual reality (VR) presentations, allowing the inhabitants to experience the new situation in three-dimensional, highly realistic visual imagery. The inhabitants of Paddepoel were invited to participate in VR sessions that allowed them to stroll around in the envisioned new area. After experiencing what it would be like to live in a redesigned neighbourhood, they were asked to fill in questionnaires with the assistance of

team members; this feedback provided information on the potential impact of the new urban layout on their lifestyles.

2.2   *Russian Tsar in Ljubljana, Slovenia*

The official name of this neighbourhood in Ljubljana, the capital and largest city of Slovenia with about 280,000 inhabitants, is Bežigrajska soseska 7 (BS7) (see fig. 7.3, left). It is popularly known as Soseska Ruski Car (Russian Tsar neighbourhood) and is located in the northern outskirts of the city. It was constructed in the 1970s based on a competition entry that proposed homes for 3,500 residents. The winning team organized the neighbourhood around streets – at the time, this represented a break with modern urban planning, which had discarded the street as an obsolete historical phenomenon. Making streets implies that they are lined with buildings – instead of distributing them as stand-alone structures in a greenfield, the designers envisaged rows of blocks of flats that are attached and form three main streets. The most important one runs in an east-west direction and connects the main local bus station at Dunajska cesta and the local train station. In the centre of the neighbourhood a park was designed, and at the southern perimeter facilities for sport and recreation. It was characteristic of neighbourhoods in this period that they contained everything needed for daily life: a supermarket, a kindergarten, schools, a bank and a library. A colour scheme based on earth tones is one of the neighbourhood's remarkable design features too (see fig. 7.3, right). As the neighbourhood was built at the very edge of the city, a pristine open landscape was at its doorstep.

All these characteristics originally made Russian Tsar a popular living area. It attracted a mix of social groups, including members of the working classes, civil servants and people from the cultural sector. The Slovenian public got to know it since it was the setting of a very popular youth film.[1]

In the early years of the millennium, it became clear that the neighbourhood had become obsolete in many ways. The infrastructure needed maintenance, an upgrade of the façades to improve energy efficiency was long overdue, and after the collapse of the socialist regime in the early 1990s, the privatization processes threatened to jeopardize the integrity of the network of public amenities. A comprehensive urban regeneration and management plan was badly needed. One of the major concerns was the lost sense of community, which negatively impacted the character of the public spaces. New

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1 *Sreča na vrvici* (Hang on, Doggy), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S5TkbpMaeAA and https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0076756/.

FIGURE 7.3   *Top*, a localization of the Russian Tsar neighbourhood in Ljubljana. *Bottom*,
a distinctive design makes Russian Tsar one of the best-known large housing
estates in Ljubljana
SOURCE: OPENSTREETMAP; UIRS, PHOTO BY NINA GORŠIČ

economic realities caused a change in the daily life patterns of the inhabitants: long work and school hours, digitalization and motorization robbed them of the spare time they used to spend in public open spaces. Instead of places for social interaction, they now merely serve as transition and traffic spaces between various destinations.

The Human Cities project, which operates under the patronage of the EU Creative Europe programme (Franc et al., 2018), allowed the testing of new approaches for participatory urban regeneration. One of them was the development of an innovative tool to bring to light the notions and perceptions of the people who knew the neighbourhood best: its residents. Based on the assumption that no matter how interdisciplinary the urban regeneration team of professionals was, without the active participation of residents from the very beginning successful regeneration would be impossible. The project explored ways to involve them. The main aim was to include as many residents as possible.

When the regeneration process started, nobody thought of using a digital tool. In the first phase, more traditional approaches were used, such as a resident-led neighbourhood walking tour, round-table discussions, neighbourhood picnics and workshops. This should help to include the community in planning the possible futures of their neighbourhood and contributing their ideas to the regeneration processes. After some time, it became clear that certain groups of residents could not be reached in this way. That triggered the decision to develop an online tool that would attract those residents who, thus far, had avoided and even refused to join. The digital tool, Photostory of our Neighbourhood (PON), was developed by the Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia team (Nikšič et al., 2018). It was an online portal where residents could upload any number of photos and give them short captions, as well as provide basic personal information and identify where the photo was taken. The photos were organized in five thematic sections: Most pleasant place in my neighbourhood, Professions in my neighbourhood, My neighbour, Borders of my neighbourhood, and Shared values in my neighbourhood. It was felt that this tool would encourage the residents to focus on the positive aspects of the housing estate and support the urban regeneration strategy. The main intention of PON was to open the residents' eyes to the positive sides of Russian Tsar and make them aware of the potential of their neighbourhood (fig. 7.4).

Within a few weeks, more than 170 photos with captions were collected (see fig. 7.5), some of them from other neighbourhoods as well – which proved how appealing the tool is. PON provided new insights into the dynamics of the neighbourhood. The entries of PON were exhibited in public spaces in Russian

FIGURE 7.4   A citizen taking part in crowdsourced photo-analysing
SOURCE: UIRS, PHOTO BY BLAŽ JAMŠEK
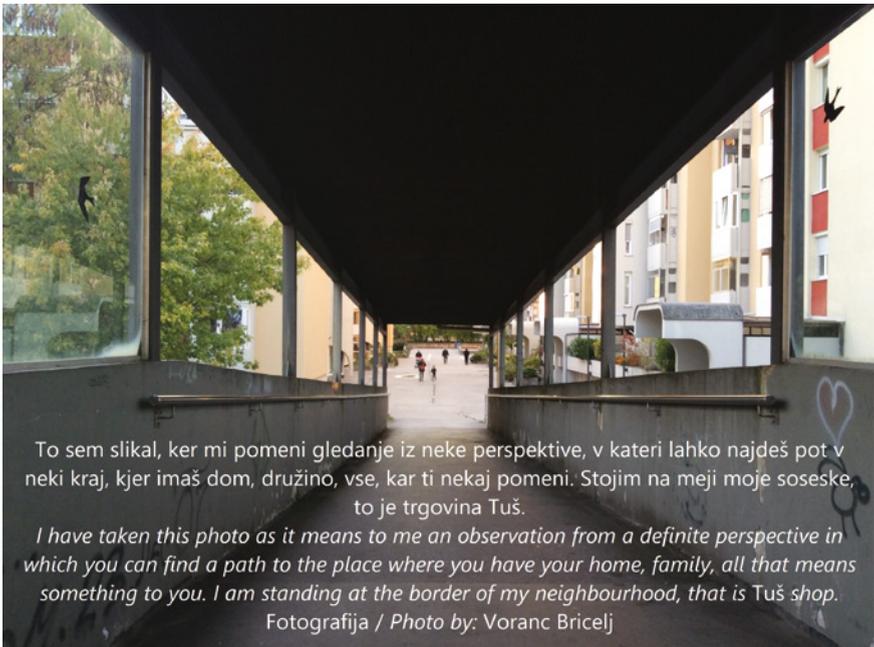
FIGURE 7.5   An exhibited entry of the PON exhibition in Ljubljana
SOURCE: UIRS

Tsar, which encouraged debates among the residents and between residents and professionals and officials. PON unleashed a debate on social media that further enhanced the awareness of the need for urban regeneration.

2.3   *Part-Dieu in Lyon, France*

Part-Dieu is a centrally located neighbourhood in Lyon (fig. 7.6). It has been subject to thorough transformations for the last hundred years. Where there were barracks for the French military constructed in 1844, now a business centre, a train station, an opera house, etc., can be found. The district in its current configuration was developed in the 1960s and 1970s. Raw concrete elevated to the rank of sculptural art makes up a large part of this business district. Its massive shapes dominate the centre of the third-biggest city of France of about half a million residents. Originally designed to encourage the construction of housing estates, the arrival of the train station transformed Part-Dieu into a business centre and exchange hub. Planned to accommodate 35,000 users per day, the Part-Dieu station now sees more than 120,000 passengers pass through it every day. Urban renewal projects from the 1950s and 1960s prioritized the

FIGURE 7.6   Localization of Lyon
             SOURCE: OPENSTREETMAP

use of cars, but today the district is used by a mix of 500,000 pedestrians, motorists, railway passengers and residents. Although high-rise building programmes are still planned, contemporary discussions revolve around ideas to make Part-Dieu a place to live – and not just a place to pass through.

Thinking about traffic in order to equally embrace the soft modes of travel, but also rethinking the place of vegetation in the heart of the city centre, are among the central challenges addressed recently in the metropolitan region of Lyon. Strategic planning operations try to give more space to pedestrians and cyclists. Other examples include the Plan canopée or the Charte de l'arbre[2] with the goal of planting 300,000 trees in Lyon, but also in dense neighbourhoods like Part-Dieu. The allocation of space for greenery and green mobility is a collective effort that involves citizens, politicians and professionals. Many problems need to be solved: how to work together with all stakeholders; how to involve citizens and their representatives; and how to work inclusively throughout the process.

The framework for cooperation and methodologies to make it work was proposed in a partnership between various partners, including the Erasme Urban Lab[3] (a lab devoted to the development, prototyping and experimentation of digital solutions applied to public policies of Lyon), the Tree and Landscape Department of Lyon and the University of Lyon. The aim was to propose new technologies to facilitate cooperation and mediation. Mediation tools were proposed to allow better participation of citizens in the Part-Dieu neighbourhood for experimentation. Several steps have been necessary to prepare the possible mediation. The first development phase used data from the open data of metropolitan Lyon.[4] These were combined with geospatial processing algorithms to create an overview of areas that can be planted, the so-called layers of plantability of the territory (fig. 7.7). The review showed where vegetation could be introduced. The next question was how to provide new vegetation solutions in public spaces, which sometimes necessitates a change in the way it was used, for instance, by removing parking spaces or reducing the number of traffic lanes, etc. Having this set of processed data can help to understand how to find the places where it would be possible to introduce vegetation, but also help identify the best species for those locations.

After mapping the plantability of the area, it was necessary to think of ways to exchange the ideas of the various stakeholders on the proposed revegetation

2   http://www.capitale-biodiversite.fr/sites/default/files/Ateliers/documents/1-grand-lyon.pdf.
3   https://www.erasme.org/.
4   https://data.grandlyon.com/.

Available spaces for vegetation in the 3rd district of Lyon of Lyon
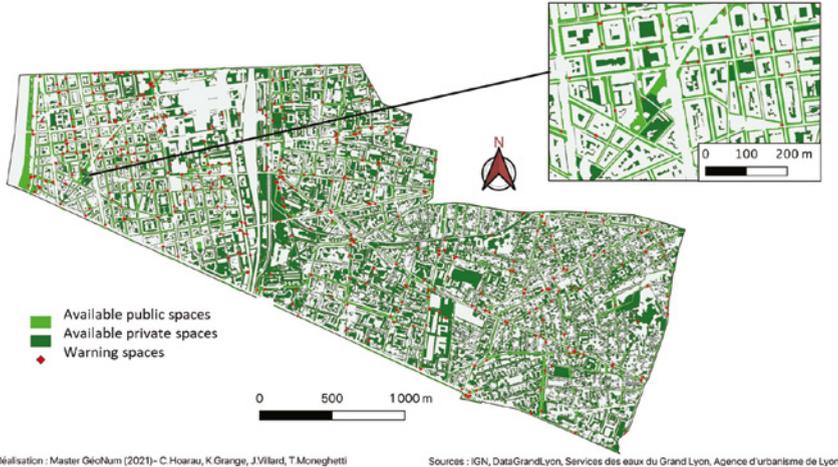
FIGURE 7.7   Qualitative map of areas suitable for revegetation
SOURCE: AUTHORS' ELABORATION

of the district. Remix canopée, an initiative of Erasme Urban Lab, developed a strategy that made it possible to involve all relevant stakeholders. Almost a hundred people worked on solutions to find proper places for plants in the city. One of the projects, supported by Lyon metropolis, used the plantability map shown here (fig. 7.7) and developed a kit that enabled the public to take ownership of the district and to propose new sites for plants.[5]

As a new ICT experiment, a digital mapping platform allows citizens to join collective and participatory decision-making processes on greening the area. This digital platform is based on cross-referencing data and connects the points of view of the specialists with those of the inhabitants. It considers the peculiarities of the territory and provides all the tools necessary for citizens to tackle the issue of revegetation. The proposed solution is based on a Lego model of the neighbourhood in which a series of layers can be projected digitally (ortho photo, plantability layers, vegetation scenarios, etc.). This kind of device invites all stakeholders to exchange their views (fig. 7.8).

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5   https://www.erasme.org/Canographia.

FIGURE 7.8 Tangible table for vegetation experimentation
SOURCE: AUTHORS' ELABORATION

This experiment can now be replicated in other neighbourhoods,[6] or in a larger way in districts.

Using ICT is not new and numerous experiments have been done in Lyon. In the last decade, experts involved in this project have also expanded the envelope of the relevant parameters. It is very possible, for instance, to study the visual impact of the vegetation on the townscape (Pedrinis, 2017) (fig. 7.9). Open data provided by cities allow new kinds of computation, among them 3D models (polygons or point clouds). This makes it possible to include

6 La Saulaie or Gratte-Ciel district in Villeurbanne, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rco 2e4YZI84/.
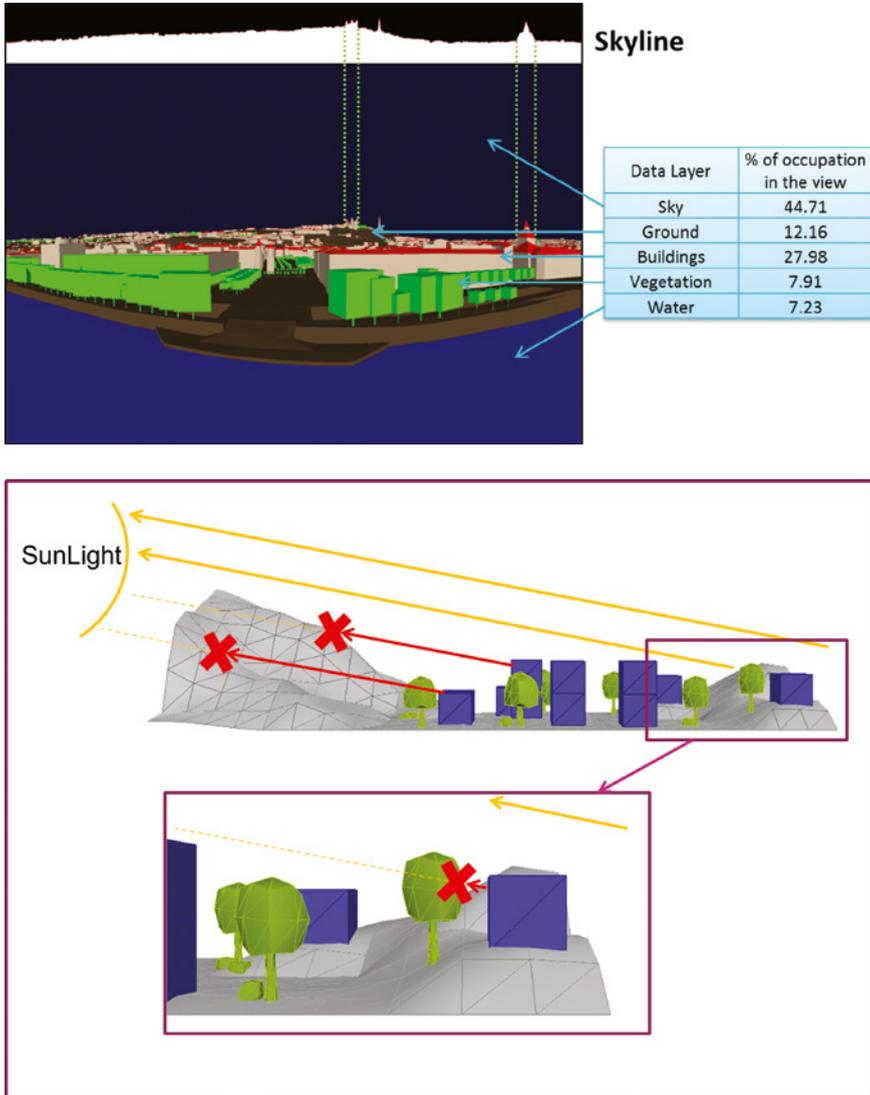
FIGURE 7.9   Measuring view composition (*top*) and analysing sunlight and shadow
computations (*bottom*) at different scales
SOURCE: AUTHORS' ELABORATION

additional information and data in the evaluation of the city's urban develop-
ment. Another tool allows the measurement of the impact of vegetation and
buildings on shadows at different scales (Jaillot et al., 2017) (fig. 7.9). Taking
into account the position of the sun, the weather and the time, it is possible to
propose a more detailed simulation of shade in the city.

These tools can provide a good way to explain the impact of urban interventions and may also be seen as an interesting example that shows how digital data can provide new information in decision-making processes. They can be used by stakeholders in the tangible table to understand intervisibility or shadow computation linked with vegetation.

3   Case Studies Summarized

The case studies presented here illustrate the variety of approaches to the application of ICT in urban regeneration processes at the scale of urban neighbourhoods. Table 7.1 summarizes the main characteristics of each case study in a comparative way.

TABLE 7.1   An overview of the presented case studies

Main aspects of the neighbourhoods regeneration	Paddepoel, Groningen	Russian Tsar, Ljubljana	Part-Dieu, Lyon
Issues of the neighbourhood	– Relatively poor public health status (compared to neighbourhoods from different periods) – Social and economic problems (typical for post-war neighbourhoods)	– Outdated communal infrastructure and built stock – Decreasing sense of community – Privatization of public space	– A lot of closed-off areas and concrete structures, lack of greenery – Urban layout favouring motorized car traffic – Complex context of city evolution
Central theme to urban regeneration	– Improving health-related conditions	– Citizens empowerment for co-created urban regeneration plans	– Improving the neighbourhood's environmental performance
Main actors	– Professionals and residents	– Professionals and residents	– Professionals, residents, decision-makers

TABLE 7.1   An overview of the presented case studies (*cont.*)

Main aspects of the neighbourhoods regeneration	Paddepoel, Groningen	Russian Tsar, Ljubljana	Part-Dieu, Lyon
Professions involved in the process	– Public health – Architecture – Urbanism – Co-creation – Governance – VR and visualization	– Architecture – Landscape architecture – Civil engineering – Art history – ICT	– Landscape architecture – Tree and landscape department – ICT department
Approaches to connect professional expertise and citizen knowledge	– Virtual reality – Meetings – Online questionnaires	– Resident-led neighbourhood walking tours – Thematic round tables with residents – Neighbours' picnic; workshops for children and families – Online tool Photostory of Our Neighbourhood (PON)	– GIS and crowd-sourced data – Lego-based 3D model with digital projection of layers – 3D simulation based on data provided by digital twins
The role of ICT for citizen engagement	– Virtual reality as a tool to communicate the qualities of future urban situations	– Photography with captions as a way to involve reluctant residents into the process – the ones that did not join previously – Residents' notions of neighbourhood were obtained and revealed new potentials for urban regeneration	– Scenario building – Tangible table built with 3D data for a better mediation process – Snapshots of real or virtual views

TABLE 7.1   An overview of the presented case studies (*cont.*)

Main aspects of the neighbourhoods regeneration	Paddepoel, Groningen	Russian Tsar, Ljubljana	Part-Dieu, Lyon
Pros and cons of using ICT in regeneration process	PROS: – It allows today's inhabitants to envision planned future urban situation in their neighbourhood CONS: – Costs (but these will go down) – The need to organize VR meetings with questionnaires (which, in practice, relies on the involvement of volunteers)	PROS: – Additional channel for residents to express themselves – Fast collection of data – Hitherto hesitant residents joined the process – Additional insights revealed CONS – Not to be used as the only method (limited access to the app for some groups of residents) – Open-ended interpretation of gathered data	PROS: – Helping to understand the city evolution (especially with 4D visualization) – Capacity to aggregate and compose data – Additional view to understand phenomenon CONS: – Imaginary view that can be very far from the real view – ICT may induce a game effect where the users "play" (or are totally immersed in a digital experience)
How did/will it help improve the quality of life?	– Better, more health-oriented place design – Inhabitants indirectly invited to rethink the health impact of their lifestyles – and may change them	– Urban regeneration interventions reflecting aspirations of residents – Strengthened ties among residents	– Greener environments – less pollution and the effects of heat – A more pleasant neighbourhood

4   Discussion and Conclusion

The three reviewed cases reflect the variety of approaches that use digital technologies at the level of a neighbourhood for driving mediation with stakeholders. On the one hand, they clearly illustrate the benefits of applying ICT in the contemporary placemaking processes and underpin the notion that revitalization processes can benefit from these technologies. On the other hand, they show the importance of involving the residents as key to the success of ICT-supported placemaking.

The Paddepoel case study was an experiment in analysing concrete lifestyle changes triggered by urban interventions. It focused on a typical post-war neighbourhood that followed a model that has been applied all over Europe. Its unique quality is its relatively high level of precision and accountability: concrete interventions are related to concrete lifestyle effects. It positions health as a quality inherent in place, and urban interventions as placemaking activities that enhance public health. One of the main strengths of applying Photostory of Our Neighbourhood (PON) in the case of Ljubljana was that it managed to involve residents that were hard to reach with other means. The digital interface opened a whole new venue for expression to them – taking photos and writing a short caption was a more appropriate way for them to share their opinions. The range of themes that were highlighted by participants through this experiment gave new insights and lots of food for thought for the professionals.

In the Part-Dieu case study, the power of digital tools for participatory placemaking revolves around two innovations. In the preparatory phase, the GIS dataset formed the bases for the identification of the places where the urban greening endeavours could take place. Based on this platform, the wider community was able to develop alternative ideas. The digital tool in combination with the old-fashioned physical 3D model was used again in the last phase when scenarios were put forward that helped the general public to understand the spatial consequences of adding greenery. The visualization of what already exists and of the possible spatial changes thus seems to be one of the strengths of digital tools in placemaking. All three cases based their digital placemaking strategies on the visual presentation of existing potential and opportunities for future changes – in this way, they successfully engaged the inhabitants. The case studies also illustrate the wide variety of themes that can be addressed through the application of digital tools. The themes of placemaking at the neighbourhood level ranged from participatory re-evaluation of public spaces to make them true social spaces, to the improvement of the environment so that it may provide opportunities for healthier lifestyles or result in better environmental performance and an instantly more pleasant living environment.

Another thing these case studies make clear is that they always involve the same categories of stakeholders. On one hand, they include a very diverse group of residents and, on the other hand, an equally diverse set of experts that ranges far beyond the disciplines that have been traditionally involved in urban regeneration (such as urbanism, architecture, landscape architecture, etc.). In Paddepoel, public health experts were involved, and in the Russian Tsar neighbourhood art historians. Obviously, ICT professionals were involved in all case studies. This points out an important and so far, understudied combination of key players in the participation in digital placemaking: the residents, the urban development-related professionals and the ICT professionals. The ability and level of their cooperation seems to be an important issue for digitally supported placemaking and must be given further attention in the future. What can be learnt from the three case studies can be summarized as follows:

– In the case of Ljubljana, the harmonious cooperation between residents and spatial professions is the basis for participatory urban regeneration, but it needs additional input from ICT professionals – this can be achieved using a digital platform. This improved the participatory activities both in terms of people participating as well as the array of themes that were put on the table – without PON many people would be left voiceless and many assets and problems of the neighbourhood unaddressed.

– Likewise, in Paddepoel the residents were encouraged to reconsider through digital visualization the possible futures of the neighbourhood that were initially developed by spatial professionals – thus they could more clearly imagine the possible futures. At the same time, the visualization tool opened discussions with the residents and make them think about their (un)healthy lifestyles in general.

– The role of ICT was indispensable in the case of Part-Dieu. It is difficult to imagine the plantability of the whole area in a time- and resource-effective way without the initial support of GIS. Most importantly, the digitally enhanced 3D model enabled a broad discussion among various players. It also allowed a discussion in public space, one that could be continued in private if required.

The three cases show that the relationship between the professionals on the one hand and residents on the other remains the principal issue in all participatory placemaking processes. Digital technologies are an important enabler and booster of the much-needed interaction between them. They allow an open debate on the past, the present and the future of the places.

There are also some limitations to the use of digital technologies. The neighbourhood is an operational scale that all citizens are familiar with, therefore some residents may develop a sense of alienation when digital technologies

are used. Even in the "digitalized future", it is important to combine digital and classical face-to-face and hands-on tools. Direct contact can also help avoid situations where the professionals may have difficulties recognizing the added value of digitally developed content because they may lead to faulty interpretations of digital data.

One of the problems may be the fear of repeating the same mistakes when addressing the problems in neighbourhoods. The concept of the comprehensively planned neighbourhood wants to break away from the past and explore new opportunities; likewise, digital technologies may suggest that from now on we will be able to construct a problem-free future. The case studies show that digital tools can indeed extend the scope of revitalization processes, but for successful placemaking, the cooperation between the main players – professionals and decision-makers on one side and residents on the other, will always remain indispensable. Within this basic framework, digital tools are very helpful – but not more than that. They are still only a technical means to make cooperation easier, visually more convincing and technically more advanced.

Acknowledgements

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7   https://projet.liris.cnrs.fr/vcity/DatAgora/.

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PART 2

Collaborative Processes for Placemaking

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Collaborative Processes for Placemaking

Juan A. García-Esparza and Aleksandra Djukic

Chaudhuri (2017, p. 156) uses placemaking to examine social processes through which various events, individual attachments and experiences are integrated into a physical space to create a shared sense of identity for the living space. Thomas (2016) says that networked urban areas are not new. Instead, they reveal contemporary planning practises in cities that rely on unique and concerted placemaking activities, social interactions and digital technologies to create public and plural places (Foth 2017a, 2017b; Friedmann, 2010; Houghton et al., 2015).

The anthropological framings imagine places far less as a material or physical form, but rather as an intangible and heterogeneous cultural landscape that forms a historical cultural contingent with a shared approach and view (Gieryn, 2000). In this line of thought, placemaking can address many of the critical dynamics in current urban thinking and can be defined as "how diverse, and disparate practices, meanings and ideologies are used to create a collective identity for a place" (Murphy et al., 2019; Sen & Nagendra, 2019).

Sometimes placemaking is about making new acquaintances in public places, perhaps to be considered safe for older people and children, or vibrant and engaging social spaces with children playing and visitors engaging in various activities, eventually ideal places to combat loneliness, and places without economic or social barriers, etc. Social bonding and emplacement lead to community management approaches where groups ensure the appropriateness of spaces through inclusivity.

The ongoing transformation of collaborative making poses new challenges to the frameworks within which urban planning in general and placemaking in particular operate. The processes of placemaking, amid increasing digitalization, serve to develop urban strategies and to activate communities in pre-planning contexts (Sandercock & Cavers, 2009). The targeted engagement of communities is a common strategy to negotiate a change in the built environment, and now exponentially, through the use of technology (Giaccardi, 2012).

Metzger (2014) refers to the need to engage communities to understand cultural complexities in contemporary planning contexts. This is based on the assertion that placemaking informs other kinds of knowledge, perhaps more

subjective and communal, that constitute place (Rogers & Anastasiadou, 2011). In this regard, there is an emerging literature on placemaking for locals and visitors that has begun to analyse this phenomenon (Bailey, 2010). But there is still little understanding of the role of placemaking in creating sites of interest to tourists where interests may clash when dealing with community habitation objectives.

1   Placemaking and Planning

Placemaking and collaborative planning provide a more democratic way of decision-making, establishing the partnership between citizens, community and local government and building mutual respect between them. According to Innes and Booher's (2004) theory of collaborative rationality, the preconditions for the successful process of collaborative planning are diversity, interdependence and authentic dialogue (DIAD). In other words, the participants should represent the full diversity of interests, follow interests that could not be achieved independently and should be engaged in true dialogue (Innes & Booher, 2004).

The design process in which citizens are active participants and co-creators is not straightforward, but more cycled. It requires ongoing two-way communication between all stakeholders, including members of local government (Innes & Booher, 2004). It is usually a more successful process when bottom-up and up-to-bottom approaches are overlapping. Involvement of citizens in placemaking gives them the sense of ownership and responsibility towards their community, thus improving the overall quality of life (Eden & Ackermann, 1996; Lipietz, 2008). Involvement of different stakeholders and citizens from vulnerable groups in the planning process can take various forms. They can be traditional or more innovative, direct or indirect (through various NGOs and other organizations), encouraged "from below" or "from above", or formal or informal (Cvetinovic & Bolay, 2017). Stakeholders participate in all phases of urban design and planning, and before the completion the key stages of joint solutions are re-examined through additional interaction (iterative process).

The incorporation of information and communications technology (ICT) in the collaborative planning process provides fruitful coordination between local government, professionals and citizens, resulting in a higher degree of collaboration (Henman, 2010). Essentially, the digitalization is intended to create more efficient service for the government and at the same time easier encounters for citizens and stakeholders (Lindgren et al., 2019). Although some public e-services are designed to be similar with analogue or "traditional" services, the

number of digital tools that are different from traditional or known ones for collaborative planning and participation is increasing (including augmented reality, virtual reality and applications). They help non-professional stakeholders to have a better visualization of the urban design or urban plan.

2 Overview of Chapters

The chapters in this section share a broad category related to collaborative processes for placemaking. Among the processes, social inclusiveness in placemaking has become one of the most favoured topics for urban planning and design practices across the globe, reversing the bureaucratic and standardized "top-down" approach. The process of collaborative placemaking involves the citizens in the co-creation processes of various fields in a proactive way, be it in planning, designing, maintenance, regeneration or even representing the places in which they live. However, the extent to which citizen initiatives and involvement are possible depends on improvement of the policies and methodology.

All chapters are concerned with social inclusiveness, equity or vulnerability to ensure stakeholder ownership of processes and settings. These social interactions are analysed from novel empirical data that call for the increased uptake of early-stage stakeholders. In addition, some chapters argue that the use of dialogical exchanges or the analysis of historical events helps settle an image of sites. Accordingly, these forms of intangible heritage, understood as the social values behind sites, is particularly relevant when dealing with youth and the places they construct.

Chapter 9, "Using Dialogical Exchanges and Social Interactions to Evaluate and Improve Placemaking Practices", by Conor Horan, Bahanur Nasya, Clara Julia Reich and Roland Krebs addresses the density of communication among multiple stakeholders and focuses on three types of dialogical exchange: social interaction between people; interactions between people and objects; and interactions between people and ideas/abstractions. The authors discuss the possibility of improving communications between stakeholders by analysing three case studies: placemaking with high school students in Oslo, Norway; urban regeneration in Vienna, Austria; and a co-operatively led urban regeneration project addressing expanded gentrification in Lisbon, Portugal. They argue that placemaking activities can be improved by taking a more systematic approach to the various types of dialogical exchanges between stakeholders and that increased engagement, inclusion and belonging is strongly linked to improved sustainability.

Chapter 10, "Mega-events and Placemaking: Place Image Construction between Reality and Imagination", by Erna Husukić, Emina Zejnilović, Dimelli Despina, Ayse Erek and Nika Đuho is concerned with mega-events as complex and transformative activities that vastly impact the significance of sites. The chapter addresses the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, the Summer Olympics of Athens between 1896 and 2004 and other sport and music celebrations in Istanbul and Dubrovnik. In particular, this chapter focuses on narrative discourses used to ground identity-construction processes. The authors argue that events have served citizens to recognize modernization and actualization, but they are also inherent in political debates about appropriateness, reuse and memory. Through mega-events, the placemaking analysis has unfolded how realities change according to narratives, branding and identity. Therefore, according to the authors, the aftermath of a mega-event impacting citizens' perception depends on responsible urban development.

Chapter 11, "Guideline Principles to Accomplish Social Inclusiveness in Placemaking", by Marluci Menezes, Preben Hansen and Aleksandra Djukic aims to gain knowledge about procedures and methodologies in placemaking. The authors consider that placemaking is a collaborative process, which could have a negative impact on social inclusiveness depending on the approach. The authors bring in case studies from the Old Ghettos, New Centrality Project on the Alagoas neighbourhood in Peso da Régua, Portugal, and the Detelinara Urban Pockets project on Novi Sad in Serbia. The two approaches address the importance of creating action logics: description, explanation, prediction. According to the authors, there is no single, best method, bottom-up or top-down. What emerges from these case studies is a paradoxical finding: on the one hand, the critical role of government in getting local initiatives underway and, on the other hand, the encouragement for multidimensional diagnoses and flexible procedures.

Chapter 12, "Improving the Impact of Placemaking Practices: An Engaged Scholarship Approach", by Bahanaur Nasya, Conor Horan, Anna Louise Bradley and Laura Martinez-Izquierdo addresses the importance of the early inclusion of stakeholders as long-term partners and dialectically managing conflict and tension (a strategy of arbitrage) as key aspects of successful placemaking. They conducted comparative analyses of four case studies: PlaceCity in Oslo and Vienna (placemaking tools were used to achieve urban regeneration and improvement), Stará tržnica (Old Market Hall) in Bratislava (renovation of a vacant heritage market), and Club Rhijnhuizen in the Netherlands (utilizing placemaking in a strategic way to revitalize a vacant neighbourhood). The authors argue that long-term meaningful engagement of stakeholders and

value creation can bring better results in placemaking than short-term participatory consultations.

Chapter 13, "Young People and Placemaking: The Provision of Public Spaces for and by Youth", by Carlos Smaniotto Costa, Marluci Menezes, Tatiana Ruchinskaya, Monica Bocci, Matej Nikšič, Nina Goršič and Mastoureh Fathi explores the potential involvement of young people in placemaking. As a vulnerable group, they could play a more active role in the process, considering the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. The authors discuss possible ways of encouraging young people to play a role in placemaking, but also their involvement and empowerment in planning and decision-making processes. Case studies from Cork, Lisbon, Ljubljana, Stockholm and Volos describe the possible solutions for changing the urban environment into a more inclusive and responsive environment for young people using placemaking as a tool.

Chapter 14, "How People Change Public Parks by Using: Notes on Before and After the Covid-19 Outbreak", by Kinga Kimic, Carlos Smaniotto Costa, Monica Bocci, and Nagayamma Tavares Aragão highlights the relevance of parks in the green infrastructure of cities. Through observation, media sources, government communications and ethnographic analysis, researchers analysed the socio-spatial practices of citizens in parks. The authors state that pre- and post-pandemic periods have revealed inequalities never seen before in cities. The parks under assessment are Pole Mokotowskie in Warsaw, Poland; Quinta das Conchas in Lisbon, Portugal; and Parco della Pace in Senigallia, Italy. Despite vulnerabilities, the three parks continue to provide essential services to their users, particularly in stressful times when recreation opportunities are limited.

Chapter 15, "The Perception of Personal Security in Urban Parks: A Comparative Analysis of Research Methods", by Miloslav Šerý, Lucia Brisudová, David Buil-Gil, Kinga Kimic, Paulina Polko and Reka Solymosi deals with methods dedicated to the perceptions of security and the environmental factors associated with it. The case studies discussed are from the Czech Republic, Poland and the United Kingdom. Participatory methods based on residents' knowledge, primary data gathering, and digitization are used in all the case studies and as such they offer practical tools for placemaking. As the authors reveal, the exploration of these methods brings new insights into the relationship between knowledge production and placemaking processes.

Chapter 16, "Digitalizing Trauma: Virtual Re/Presentations in Central Europe", by Juli Székely, Nevena Daković and Tim Mavrič explores the importance of complexity behind memory narratives attached to places while planning their future transformations. The authors state that the layers of meaning

created by different collectivities are active features that shape the relationship between a community and the space it inhabits, a relationship that must be thoroughly explored to enhance the living environment. In this chapter, digital tools served curation and moderation, quality of archiving information, level of interactivity and size and structure of target groups.

Each chapter in Section 2: Collaborative Processes for Placemaking offers new insights for placemaking and relates to multiple European cities and citizens assessing and experiencing urban public spaces. All chapters, one way or another, address the relevance of digitization and new technologies in the assessment of and knowledge production about urban public spaces. Chapter 9 refers to dialogical exchanges as a method to improve placemaking practices and contribute to knowledge production. To do so, authors discuss the density of communications and how cases address them. Chapter 10 uses a review of narratives as a form of legacy from multiple stakeholders. This approach intends to address social and cultural values to create responsible plans that are attuned with forms of integration and appropriation. Chapter 11 emphasizes ways to include people in placemaking processes and does it through a wide range of methods that include surveys, discussions, expositions and competitions. Chapter 12, working within an engaged scholarship approach, argues that the theory-practice divide is narrowed not only by knowledge transfer alone but by meaningful engagement. Mapping, observations and multiple stakeholder chats are at the centre of these practices. Chapter 13 does it by reviewing data and information through a review of the literature and then by experimenting with technology through education modules, focus groups, living labs, field visits and interviews grounded each case method. Chapter 14 uses media to inform behavioural changes of stakeholders using outdoor public facilities during the period of the Covid-19 pandemic. Chapter 15 gathers participation data digitally to collect urban residents' knowledge about their living environment. And, finally, Chapter 16 proposes tailor-made applications and platforms as the best medium for knowledge-making in the field of collective traumas.

In all, the chapters of Section 2 largely contribute to exposing methods for approaching a more democratic placemaking in the urban realm.

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Using Dialogical Exchanges and Social Interactions to Evaluate and Improve Placemaking Practices

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Abstract

The success of various placemaking practices, initiatives or installations are inherently linked to how it facilitates engagement among and between multiple stakeholder groups. Given this, placemaking projects are often challenged by a complex set of social interactions, which present competing interests, perspectives, objectives and goals. As a result, the complexity of these social interactions can become difficult to assess or understand. If we cater for various social interactions in the design stage of a placemaking initiative we might assume that the chances for success are improved. If ignored, we might be assuming that the outcome of a placemaking initiative is less sustainable or impactful. In this chapter, we ask, how can placemaking improve engagement? We focus on the density of communications among multiple stakeholders, where they occur and how they might be encouraged. We focus on three forms of dialogical exchange as a means to understand social interactions and where the density of communications might be acknowledged within a given space. These dialogical exchanges include social interactions between people; people interacting with

artefacts or objects i.e. a piano in a train station eliciting a response; and finally, people interacting with ideas and abstractions i.e. a feeling of "inclusion" or "liberty" (Baralou & Tsoukas, 2015; Tsoukas, 2009a, 2009b). We use PlaceCity case histories to illustrate how ubiquitous these different dialogical exchanges are within placemaking practices. We look to identify where the density of communications can be found or facilitated within the design stage of placemaking projects. From this we illustrate the variety of hidden dialogical exchanges which often go overlooked. The first case history focuses on placemaking with high school students in Oslo, Norway. The second case focuses on the concepts and ideas for urban regeneration in Vienna, Austria. Our third case focuses on a cooperatively led urban regeneration project addressing expanded gentrification in Lisbon, Portugal. While we present these case histories merely as examples, our goal here is to illustrate the complex mix of dialogical exchanges that can be observed as densities of communications occurring naturally within our urban spaces. We suggest how this could be used as a starting point to improve placemaking design. In turn, we argue that this ensures outcomes are more sustainable and impactful. By improving engagement, i.e. social interaction and dialogue, we highlight how placemaking can contribute to knowledge production in society.

Keywords

density of communications – engagement – social interaction – dialogical exchanges – knowledge production – knowledge spaces – sustainability

1   Introduction

For placemaking practitioners, the success of a given project is very often understood, or indeed measured, by the extent to which it attracts various participants and encourages various activities. The more a placemaking project facilitates ongoing engagement and social interactions the more it is understood to contribute to knowledge production in society. By improving engagement practitioners can illustrate the impact of their placemaking design and in turn show the value or impact of their work. This in turn provides better, impactful, more sustainable outcomes for local communities. Research shows that improved engagement improves knowledge production in society (Gibbons et al., 1994; Nowotny et al., 2001; Tsoukas, 2009a). One typical way to assess the impact and levels of engagement within a given urban space or placemaking initiative is the use of footfall measurements. While footfall captures the number of people who pass a given point, and may well be used as a

measure of successful impact, it provides little insight into the levels of engagement within a given space over time. As a discrete measurement, footfall tells us little about the quality of engagement, where communications occur, the levels of social interaction or indeed the types of dialogical exchanges within a given space. Similarly, we gain little insight into how a space widens participation, promotes diversity and/or how multiple stakeholder groups are encouraged to interact. Similarly, a measure of footfall tells us little about why or how people use a space and whether such social interactions are merely discrete transactional events or if they become more continuous productive relationships.

To address this, and gain a deeper understanding of engagement, we go beyond the use of discrete metrics and look at engagement as a set of complex social interactions from a relational perspective. We look to see where densities of communications can be found or facilitated. We then consider three dialogical exchanges which may occur within a given placemaking activity. We suggest that this can provide a more sophisticated method of evaluation that contributes to the sustainable production of knowledge in society.

2 The Density of Communications, Social Interactions and Dialogical Exchanges

Successful placemaking can be understood in multiple ways. For example, the economic success of a place, i.e. the agora, is understood as contributing to an area's vibrancy (Nowotny et al., 2001). In addition, success in placemaking can be understood as preserving the essence of a place, its cultural heritage, its historical references as well as their associated meanings for multiple stakeholders. Similarly, success in placemaking literature has been linked with how a placemaking project widens participation and inclusivity of multiple stakeholders, i.e. participatory placemaking (Al Waer et al., 2017; Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014).

In contrast, the reasons and criteria for failed placemaking might include how a place alienates or excludes multiple stakeholders. As might otherwise be planned, city districts or streets could become undesirable areas to shop or to socialize, or otherwise stop being seen as desirable destinations. Feelings of exclusion from a place might prevent or constrain one's an ability to engage with it. From this perspective, success considers how knowledge flows are exchanged, or how knowledge is created or preserved. Where engagement as social interaction is constrained, it can in turn prevent dialogical exchanges between and among multiple stakeholder groups. We ask, how can the density

of communications, social interactions and dialogical exchanges be planned for within the design stage of a placemaking project? By identifying where such densities can be found or appropriately placed, we can gain some insight into how placemaking can contribute improved knowledge production.

2.1   *Identifying and Planning for "Density of Communications"*

Discussing the expansion of communicative interactions as the basis for knowledge production in society, Gibbons et al. outline three areas where the density of communications has increased (1994, pp. 34–43). The first is the increased communication between various stakeholders with differing norms and values, such as the interaction between scientists and practitioners. They illustrate that increasing capacity for two different groups to communicate increases knowledge production in society as a whole. Second, advances in technologies such as email and internet communications can be seen as a new density of communication. Finally, Gibbons et al. (1994) point to the increased sophistication around the instruments, methods and expanded approaches which we use to engage with the entities of the social and physical world. In philosophy, humanities scholars/literary critics such as Derrida (1976) highlight how text can "speak". They note that while historians are always aware of the reinterpretation of history, social scientists have focused on attempting to draw out speech from their subjects. We build upon these "densities of communications" and adapt their use as a placemaking tool that can be considered when designing an urban space.

As a starting point we might ask, "Where do the density of communications occur in a given space?" and/or "Where do we want the density of communications to be?" For example, by using the principles of wayfinding in airports, we might be interested in reducing stopping points so as to increase flow and ensure passengers get to their gates quickly. Alternatively, in retail spaces we might be interested in disrupting this flow within a service blueprint, increase stopping points and encourage shopping (Shostack, 1987). Within urban spaces a balance between the two maybe desirable. The appropriate use of stopping points, dwelling points or rest stops can afford space for conversation, social interaction and dialogue exchange. The simple use of given artefacts, uniquely placed, can be seen to prompt social interactions and dialogue in surprising ways. In office layout design, the placing of a water cooler has anecdotally been discussed as a site for serendipitous knowledge sharing, i.e. the water cooler effect. In tourism management the use of artefacts such as statues, plaques or historical signage can be seen as reference points or tourist stops where the meaning and significance of a historical event is brought to life, prompting

dialogical exchanges about the abstract ideas embedded within local history. By drawing out, in conversation, such ideas rooted in an areas' cultural heritage we can design in ways to draw out hidden dialogues. Harnessing these hidden aspects can help to transform a neglected district or neighbourhood. From this we can increase the density of communications or move them to more desirable locations to ensure better flow. If through a given space the concept of "flow" – used for website design and consumer interactivity (Hoffman & Novak, 1996, 2000) – is hindered in some way, it can increase the density of communications. Whereas these examples are by no means exhaustive, we can see how meeting points or "densities" for social interaction and dialogue with artefacts and abstract ideas are brought to bear on improving engagement within placemaking practices.

2.2   *Three Dialogical Exchanges for Placemaking*

Within the design stage of a placemaking project dialogical exchanges can be used to operationalize and identify where the density of communications can currently be found and where they might be desirable. Similar to the types identified by Gibbons et al. (1994) above, Tsoukas and others (Baralou & Tsoukas, 2015; Tsoukas, 2009a, 2009b) have identified three dialogical exchanges for knowledge creation that can be relied on here.

The first is *real-person to real-person dialogical exchanges*. These include face-to-face human exchanges reflecting observable social interaction and include one-to-one or indeed group exchange. By facilitating improved social interaction, and in turn more dialogical exchanges, we argue that this facilitates greater enterprise in a given space. In economics this has been discussed as a means to create a positive externality with knock-on effects for commercial buyer-seller interactions and financial exchange (Bagozzi, 1975, 2009). Allowing for such spaces is argued to form the basis of a knowledge creating space within the agora or public realm (Nonaka & Konno, 1998). By focusing on this dialogical exchange as a unit of analysis, placemaking professionals can build from the ground up a view of where such exchanges might be expected, (un)desired or facilitated. By altering and/or diversifying different types of social interactions or exchanges, placemaking professionals can cater to multiple stakeholder or communities and address potential conflicts, tensions and oppositional views through a strategy of arbitrage (Van de Ven, 2007; Van de Ven & Johnson, 2006). For example, in a public park containing an area for skateboarders, the installation of a partition to separate the skateboarders from the rest of the park could enable the area to be used by both skateboarders and ordinary visitors. This is of interest to placemaking scholars

in their attempt to design spaces to facilitate and improve human-to-human social interactions. By creating internal organizational office spaces of interest to interior designers, similar attempts can be made by architects and urban planners in the agora or public realm.

The second is *improved interaction between real people and various objects and artefacts*. This is of interest to cultural heritage scholars interested in maintaining the historical significance of statutes, plaques, informational artefacts as well as digitized artefacts within museums. The use of various artefacts, models and prototypes have long been employed to encourage and facilitate articulation within the field of architecture. Schön and others using the example of such models highlight how they encourage reflexivity and allows local stakeholders to articulate their opinions. In the absence of such models and prototypes such ideas might well be more difficult to capture. In this sense objects and artefacts have a knowledge-creating quality as they encourage and prompt continuous dialogical exchange to come into being (Schön, 1983, 1987; Schön & Wiggins, 1992; Visser, 2010).

The third is *dialogical exchanges between real people and imaginal others*. Often regarded as a hidden dialogue, the imaginal other represents dialogical exchanges with abstract ideas, goals and roles. Concepts such as "freedom" or "independence", which might be represented in historical artefacts, are of interest to cultural heritage scholars. Reflecting these into architectural designs, urban spaces and tourist sites allows for these abstract ideas to be preserved as historical meaning. For tourism management scholars, the development of tourist sites and destinations as artefacts in themselves can also be understood through the abstract historical concepts they promote.

Using this dialogical lens, social interaction as densities of communications can be facilitated. We argue that placemaking practices that constrain dialogical exchanges or prevent social interactions are less effective in facilitating engagement. Conversely, practices that facilitate and encourage social interactions and dialogical exchanges improve engagement. To illustrate this point further: where there is an absence of dialogue we might ask, What happens when social interaction and dialogue exchange are missing from a given placemaking project? Can placemaking be improved at the level of the dialogue exchange and what are the potential benefits of a dialogical perspective for placemaking? The remainder of this chapter considers case histories and examples of placemaking where different dialogical exchanges are evident. The conclusion provides a table or checklist to prompt placemaking practitioners to identify various potential dialogical exchanges and densities of communication that might contribute to the sustainable production of knowledge in the public realm.

3   Cases

The following case histories from Oslo, Vienna and Lisbon highlight the different dialogical exchanges and densities of communication that might be planned into placemaking practices.

3.1   *Hersleb High School and a Vision of "The Life to Come", Oslo*
As part of the PlaceCity project, a co-creation process was realized at Hersleb videregående skole (high school) in central Oslo, Norway. The goal here was to revive a neglected area of the city, its school and neighbouring streets. Nabolagshager, a local firm, coordinated the process (Nasya et al., 2021b).

The first step was to engage the local school community, its teachers and school children through various activities on how to improve the schoolyard. A mobile bench was installed to activate an underused section of the yard to create a meeting place and event situations. This provided a focal point for social interaction, i.e. density of communication. By firstly engaging local pupils, the conversation about a "vision" for transforming the neighbourhood naturally extended to their families and the wider community. Here all three types of dialogical exchange could be found: in-person social interaction, the use of artefacts (such as the bench), and what may appear like a hidden dialogue – an idea or "vision" for the neighbourhood.

The second step was to broaden the conversation with the community and passers-by in an initial research and exploration phase. Pop-up events in the street next to the schoolyard were collaboratively hosted with several local stakeholders. Nabolagshager, Hersleb high school and student researchers working for the Oslo Living Lab invited people through social media and posters to these parties. The street was decorated with street furniture, plants and a ping pong table. A local pop-up café provided music and free food and drinks, transforming the street into a vibrant meeting place. This created the possibility for serendipitous communications, encouraged curious people to drop by, and allowed people to talk, explore and discuss how their space might be re-imagined. By creating a "sense of place" and a "feeling of belonging", different "imaginal" perspectives were allowed to surface. Early engagement with multiple stakeholders captured an improved understanding of community perspectives. It facilitated a greater variety of social interactions and dialogical exchanges between a wider number of stakeholders than might otherwise have been captured. This provided unique opportunities to conduct surveys and interviews and administer participatory tools.

One such tool was a pictogramming and mapping tool. The youth researchers encouraged participants to place icons on a map of the schoolyard

and neighbouring streets. This mapping tool helped stakeholders understand the space and visualize activities. It helped residents articulate their needs and emotions about the re-imagined space. Here the densities of communications could be identified considering sensitive local knowledge. The tool itself facilitated commentary which might otherwise have been difficult to get. As a project technique, the mapping tool encouraged the articulation of abstract ideas and values about the area. As an artefact, the pictogramming tool allowed the residents to engage with and articulate complex ideas.

Building on the previous results, the third stage experimented among other things with a temporary light installation. In collaboration with the artist Goro Tronsmo and the actor Paal Herman Ims and students of Hersleb high school, an art-inspiration workshop and a building workshop were organized. The aim was to set up a light installation called "The Life to Come" in order to illuminate and reclaim the schoolyard as a resource in response to the wishes of the locals. During the art-inspiration workshop, the students explored several potential locations in the schoolyard for the artwork and discussed different functions of conceptual art and the meanings of the installation. A curation and building workshop taught the students how to use drills, measure water levels and follow a building plan. Students collaborated on the installation piece. Soon after the installation of the artwork in a dark corner of the schoolyard on a grey Norwegian January day, a new Covid-19 lockdown was announced. The neighbours felt that the light installation brought them hope. Students highlighted the double meaning of "the life to come after graduation" as well as "the life to come after the pandemic", deepening the piece's meaning. The local caretaker's sense of ownership, community and belonging over the piece's significance was in the pride taken to ensure the lights were working and that the artwork's full effect was maintained. Residents would take detours to walk their dogs and enjoy the reclaimed space. A teacher in another school contacted the team to ask if a similar piece could be curated in their school. The light installation was featured in local publications and showcased in the local placemaking network in Oslo (Nasya et al., 2021a).

Throughout the project, local stakeholders were invited to reflect on their sense of belonging and ownership over different temporary material changes, such as the light installation. Staff at the Hersleb high school pointed out the increased usage of the schoolyard as a destination in the evenings, weekends and school holidays for children to play ping pong and hang out. The Nabolagshager team were asked to initiate similar co-creative participatory projects with other communities. The abstract ideas of place, ownership, belonging and community proved to be dialogically very powerful, starting a variety of conversations with other social groups who wished to transform

their urban spaces. Such practices provided local stakeholders with a voice in how spaces might be sustainably designed to become more inclusive.

3.2   *The Development of Floridsdorf, Vienna*

A second PlaceCity project looked at the development of the 21st municipal district of Floridsdorf, in Vienna, Austria. Historically Floridsdorf could have become a capital city in the state of Lower Austria, beyond the Danube River. The 17-hectare area included the districts' administrative building, a food market struggling from a lack of customers and a train station of regional importance. It was a loosely organized central area with various commercial activities on its ground floor crippled with high vacancy rates. The district was also choked with a car-dominated centre. As Floridsdorf was a very well-connected area for commuters and visitors, the partners in the project – the Urban Planning Department of the city of Vienna, the University for Applied Arts and the urban design studio Superwien Urbanism – aimed to improve and strengthen the "centre feeling" of the district, which they felt had been lost over the decades. This abstract idea became an overriding goal for the project to address the sense that interviewees felt disconnected from the centre of Floridsdorf. This would hopefully move social and leisure activities from peripheral areas of the district back into the centre. Implemented between May 2018 and July 2021, the JPI-Urban Europe-funded project sought to build connections between the community and the district's degraded urban spaces (Nasya et al., 2021b).

The district had 167,968 inhabitants. Demographically this was an ageing, low-income migrant population. Floridsdorf was therefore a perfect candidate for a pilot programme to regenerate city districts under the Smart City Framework Strategy and the "Polycentric Vienna" policy. As a pilot project, Floridsdorf was used as a test bed for placemaking and as a planning tool in urban regeneration. If successful, the regenerative process would be replicated across other Viennese districts.

For a project on this scale the team worked with local stakeholders through an urban living lab to test the approach in the context of the public space in Floridsdorf. Central to the "Polycentric Vienna" policy was a myriad of multidisciplinary, dialogue-oriented actions and interventions designed to incorporate the views of multiple local stakeholders that would be impacted by the regeneration. This encouraged residents, shop owners, entrepreneurs, local artists and activists to play an active role in developing the public spaces and how they would be used. By involving these stakeholders early in the process, what should happen in the centre or focal points of the district could be jointly defined. Other public sector stakeholders, such as the train company ÖBB, the

district administration and the urban planning department of Vienna, were also included.

During several workshops and interactive planning sessions an exchange between experts and residents was facilitated. From this co-creative process public places that needed additional attention and regeneration were identified. Agreed goals and joint visions around "enabling spaces" were arrived at and the partners identified the first spaces for activation with the local communities.

One identified space was a small park in front of the district administration building. During the pandemic summer of 2020 a wooden structure of the project was installed. This wasn't well received by the local residents, who complained that two parking spaces were occupied for two months. It appeared that as the installation was not co-developed with residents it lacked "ownership". Georg Papai, the district director, commented that as a precondition for successful placemaking initiatives, they need to be rooted in the community to ensure inclusiveness. Despite this temporary setback an open call for project ideas was organized during the spring of 2021. Fifty submissions were received. While many ideas reflected mid- to long-term interventions that could not be implemented within the available budget, 15 "enabled spaces" were identified and implemented in 2021 (Nasya et al., 2021a).

One of the project ideas developed with the local library was a mobile stage and workshop space called "Florum" or "Forum for Floridsdorf". This received additional funding by the Grätzloase, a funding tool used by the city of Vienna to support urban interventions in public spaces. With the public library as the organizing body, they provided a central place for the public to access, organize and book public events in the enabled space.

To reclaim and regenerate the district's centre as an "enabling space", traffic-calming measures were brought in. This returned the streets to the residents, repurposed parking lots alongside themed walks. With the use of art installations, it was envisaged that the space would encourage neighbourhood festivals and upcycling workshops.

An "Urbanize!" festival was organized in October 2020. More than 20 events took place around Schlingermarkt (walks, concerts, workshops, exhibition and games) and hundreds of guests from Floridsdorf and elsewhere participated. This was also the opening of the "Real Labor" in Schleifgasse 11, a space in which students and Place City collaborators work daily and interact with passers-by and guests. "DIY & Right to the City" was a workshop that took place in Real Labor, where participants could create games to explode their public space. A mini-golf game became a tool to encourage interaction and participation.

3.3 *The Rejuvenation of Largo Residências in the Intendente District, Lisbon*

Largo Residências was a hostel, hotel and café with an artist-in-residence within Lisbon's fast-developing Intendente neighbourhood in Lisbon. Lisbon as a European capital city was and still is quickly transforming into a tourist destination. This meant that rents were rising, and that accommodation was being gentrified. Spaces for vulnerable people were becoming scarce, increasing concerns over the exclusionary nature of the increased gentrification. At the same time, the Largo Residências building and adjacent square desperately needed to be renovated and rejuvenated. Anti-social behaviour created tensions with and between local residents. The square, where the Largo was located, was a problematic area for drug dealing and prostitution (Saraiva, 2017).

To address these tensions a cooperative was founded by an ambitious group of people from diverse backgrounds (architecture, arts, economy, law, etc.) who wished to combat this increased gentrification and transform the area's poor reputation. They wanted to show that a socially minded urban regeneration project could improve problematic neighbourhoods, without excluding its former inhabitants. Because the central districts of Lisbon were already becoming tourist destinations, this gave the cooperative enough reason to focus on the pressing social challenges faced by the Intendente district. The cooperative needed "to integrate" themselves into the community from the beginning to get buy-in from the residents. By aiming to foster a "cooperative identity", they promoted social and cultural events, and encouraged residents to get involved and take ownership of building local networks with businesses, shops and residents – a task made more challenging during the Covid pandemic yet more pressing due to the increased pressures this placed on vulnerable people.

In 2011 the cooperative took over the Largo building so as to connect with the area's past, present and future. By serving the local community needs in the Largo building's "hub", the cooperative was able to develop local initiatives from the bottom up and therefore ensure they included the neighbourhood's marginalized residents. The building functioned in various ways: as a café, a hostel and a place for artist residencies. When the cooperative took over and started to renovate the industrial building it capitalized on the mix of relevant uses. Prostitution and anti-social behaviour were removed. Concrete financial plans were developed that focused attention on a successful transformation that would ensure a long-term positive social impact. Members of the Largo Residências cooperative were aware that the early inclusion of local residents would be needed to ensure the success of any intervention.

Despite the efforts to integrate the cooperative into the local community and to encourage local residents to get involved, there was some initial distrust of the commercial and profit-making aspects of the hospitality and café business in the Largo building. Some saw the taking over of the Largo building itself as an extension of the tourist initiatives that were inevitably overtaking the city of Lisbon and its neighbourhoods. A serious conversation was needed to convince residents that the initiative was not about maximizing investor profits in the short-term, but actually providing much needed services to the local people in the long-term. A number of points convinced the locals of the cooperative's sincerity.

TABLE 9.1   Examples of dialogical exchanges and density of communications

Case history	Density of communications	Real other (social interactions)	Dialogical exchanges involving artefacts	Dialogical exchanges with abstract ideas and imaginal others
Hersleb high school, Norway	Density: Conversations on how to transform a schoolyard and the immediate neighbourhood Density: Pop-up café Street party and meeting place	School conversations that extended to families and the wider community Dialogical exchanges involving school kids, their families Street interventions to prompt dialogical exchanges with the wider community All dialogical exchanges supporting improved articulation	School bench Pop-up café, pop-up furniture, planting and ping pong tables Light installation artwork (Participatory) Pictogramming mapping tool prompted participants to articulate abstract ideas	The future of "the life to come" as an abstract idea Dialogical exchanges with the meanings behind creating a community "vision", a "sense of place" and a "feeling of belonging", including "a sense of ownership", and "the life to come after graduation and after the pandemic" The articulation of emotions from the mapping tool

TABLE 9.1   Examples of dialogical exchanges and density of communications (*cont.*)

Case history	Density of communications	Real other (social interactions)	Dialogical exchanges involving artefacts	Dialogical exchanges with abstract ideas and imaginal others
Floridsdorf, Vienna	Density: Centre of Floridsdorf as a commercial centre Density: Floridsdorf as a transit hub	From a few identifiable spaces, i.e. commercial and transit areas, car-dominated spaces to the creation of a person-dominated space that will facilitate social interactions	Walking routes and walkways that connect up streets as artefact	Build connections and develop the "centre feeling" of Floridsdorf within a "polycentric Vienna" Three visions for "enabling spaces" were developed; the Village, the Megacity and the On the Way liminal space Dialogical exchange with the concept of an "urban centre" with "local ownership" "Real labour" Managing of terms such as "a region", "a suburb", "shopping district", "transit area" and "public space"

TABLE 9.1   Examples of dialogical exchanges and density of communications (*cont.*)

Case history	Density of communications	Real other (social interactions)	Dialogical exchanges involving artefacts	Dialogical exchanges with abstract ideas and imaginal others
Largo Residências, Lisbon	Density: The square in the Intendente district Density: The Largo building Density: The Largo Café	Café shop, activities, events – all to bring people together Public space and base for the visibility	Table and chairs to encouraging social interaction Keeping the place accessible for vulnerable groups, developing the meaning and adapting the value of the place	Imaginal others such as "vulnerable people", "marginalized people", "investors", "owners", "residents" and "tourists" "A cooperative identity" Meaning of concepts such as "increased gentrification" versus the need "to renovate" and "rejuvenate" Ownership as a bottom-up idea

For example, the voting structure of the cooperative gave both investors and workers the same vote. Fifteen people from the neighbourhood were employed – this was especially welcomed after the financial crisis in 2008. The former workers in the building were involved in renovating the new space. Artist residency spaces were also provided. Outreach to help other associations in the neighbourhood was provided. This included specific projects with migrants and refugees (Polyák et al., 2020). The café provided a space for neighbours to meet. The seats and tables outside in the square were provided for all, no matter if they were customers or not. All were welcome even if they could not pay for coffee. The doors remained open for anyone who needed food, a place to rest or a job. Conversations about the area's cultural heritage

and its past reputation were also discussed. The meaning of gentrification and what it might mean for the community helped raise awareness among those who were not familiar with this concept. With interactive and inclusive arts events, the dialogue reached various local communities and made the transformations visible. These actions allowed the cooperative to create focal or densities of communications which helped convince locals of the merits of the cooperative's activities.

The Largo Residências project lasted ten years under the cooperative and the building's owner. As the building changed owners the contract was not renewed. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the cooperative ceased offering hospitality and it closed the café in 2021, returning the vacant building to its new owner. The cooperative is looking for a new location to continue its work. Despite these challenges, the project has had long-lasting impacts. The project had a significant impact on the local circumstance and created shared values about community and a sense of responsibility for the local square. The activities taught the residents how important community collaboration is. This made the community stronger and provided them with a louder voice regarding any proposed transformation or gentrification processes if they acted collectively. Because residents were encouraged to be involved and took ownership of activities, it allowed them to reflect on their community and provide them with a clear vision for how they would like it to evolve.

4 Discussion

This chapter aims to improve placemaking activities from a dialogical perspective. The prevailing assumption here is that placemaking is about facilitating engagement and social interaction. The goal here is to explore how placemaking activities can be improved by taking a more systematic approach to the various types of dialogical exchanges. Three dialogical exchanges have been highlighted to illustrate the richness of the perspective. Facilitating dialogical exchanges, engagement and social interaction as "action" is therefore important to arrive at a common understanding or vision for a local area, i.e. such as the Intendente district in Lisbon and the Hersleb high school in Oslo. To ensure that a density of communications is achieved, physical spaces might need to be designed in a given plan. Multiple stakeholders such as individuals, household(s), businesses, social groups and marginalized groups, to name just a few, ensure that a variety of dialogical exchanges are captured and/or catered for in any given design. As illustrated in the Largo case, this helps trust and understanding to emerge. The creation of a park or a space that allows

stopping and social interaction is commonly discussed in the literature as a way to create long-term impact. Regarding artefacts, as illustrated in the Vienna and Oslo cases, the use of models and mapping tools allow residents to articulate their needs, visions and emotions in ways which they might not be able to do if such models and tools were absent. The schoolyard bench and lighting installations in Oslo brought about action and engagement in ways that might otherwise have been unforeseen. Street furniture allowed residents to envisage and picture an alternative future. Artwork prompted conversations that might not have occurred otherwise. The third type of dialogical exchange is one that includes imaginal others. These include visions, goals, roles and (present and future) responsibilities that are reflected in abstract ideas about the past, present and future. Across all three cases the idea of "belonging", "community" and "ownership" could be seen. The sense of identity within a locality and the future development of that identity was found to be important. Fostering this identity within the planning stage provides local communities with a common voice.

By considering the density of communications of each type of dialogical exchange, we can then ask how the type and structure of these communications might inform placemaking in the planning and design stages of a project. Questions about the present/absence of the density of social interactions might differ from the presence/absence of dialogical exchanges involving artefacts and/or their related imaginal others. This provides a foundation for asking how one group of people (i.e. skateboarders) interact with another potentially conflicting group (i.e. pensioners). By exploring the conversations, these diametrically opposed groups might be able to identify potential design aspects that could work as inclusive solutions. Potential conflicts can be addressed using a process of arbitration that brings communities together rather than divides them. Densities of exchanges with artefacts (i.e. historical statues and signage, monuments and/or artwork) conjures up dialogues with aspects of a local cultural heritage, the past, the present and an imagined future. Here imaginal others overlap and are embedded within cultural and historical artefacts. A successful space might be a space that includes and explains to a potential outsider, such as a tourist, the significance of an area, what happened in the past, what's happening now and what is expected to happen in the future.

5   Conclusion

This chapter argues and illustrates that the success of placemaking is inherently linked to how a place facilitates and encourages dialogue between

people as social interaction. We illustrate two additional overlapping forms of dialogical exchanges involving artefact and concepts and ideas as imaginal others. We suggest that spaces devoid of such dialogue exchanges might reflect failed placemaking.

We suggest that placemaking practitioners consider how their design facilitates engagement across different forms of dialogical exchange. By designing in and appreciating where specific dialogical exchanges, as a unit of analysis, might occur – placemaking practitioners might be able to visualize the density of communications within their plans. The benefit of this approach is that engagement, social interaction and dialogical exchanges have long been understood to form the basis of improved knowledge production (Gibbons et al., 1994; Nowotny et al., 2001). By designing an urban district, a schoolyard or helping local residents reinterpret their neighbourhood, it is the interaction that contributes to the vibrancy, creativity and innovation within the agora (Nonaka & Konno 1998). Through the early inclusion of multiple stakeholder groups in placemaking activities it will improve the long-term outcomes for local communities. By increasing engagement, inclusion and belonging, placemaking practitioners can improve the sustainability of their projects.

Acknowledgements

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Mega-events and Placemaking: Place Image Construction between Reality and Imagination

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Abstract

Mega-events are considered as one of the anchors of the consumption-based development that plays a significant role in the contemporary production of urbanity. They are complex and transformative undertakings that inevitably create an impact of great magnitude, mass popular appeal and international significance. This chapter explores mega-event phenomena in different national and geopolitical contexts through which cities are increasingly formed and compares emerging practices on making and selling of post-event places of host cities whose legacy is still unfolding. It aims to bring together different perspectives of the placemaking process using comparative study analysis of four distinct cities: Sarajevo in the context of the 1984 Winter Olympics; Athens in the context of the Summer Olympics of 1896 and 2004; Istanbul in the

context of Formula 1 along with cultural events such as biennales and art fairs; and Dubrovnik in the context of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival. What kind of places did events produce? How did event-led urban conditions merge under the radar of official planning guidelines in Sarajevo, Athens, Istanbul and Dubrovnik? What determines the capacity of cities to capitalize under the cover of an event? Both Sarajevo and Athens have undergone distinctive historical pathways in the post-Olympic period which help to understand how far these cities' strategies have addressed the need to leverage legacies and to turn towards the new urban economies. The Dubrovnik and Istanbul cases embrace the cultural events for urban image production, highlighting the long-term significance of events for public spaces for subsequent events where unprescribed interaction could lead to innovation and creativity. On the one hand, the chapter contends that the mega-events are powerful mechanisms that re-prioritize urban agendas, foster urban redevelopment and are instruments for reinventing cities and promoting economic growth. On the other hand, the research on the mega-event-based urban imaginaries reveals contradictions and tensions between two distinct urban realities, the actual reality of the city in the post-event era followed by uncertainty and anticipation, and the constructed (mediated) reality built on the utopian vision that is in most cases far from being a reflection of urban, social and cultural identities.

Keywords

mega-events – place image construction – the Olympic Games – festivalization – right to the city

1   Introduction

Fairs, festivals and other cultural and sport events have been part of the urban scene as long as there have been cities. The event-based urban imaginaries have a long trajectory. However, the history of hallmark events such as universal expositions and world fairs, the forerunner of today's expos, date from the 1700s, early examples of globalization and capitalism through respective Franco-British empires, converging in the exemplar Great Exhibition in 1851 (Evans, 2020, p. 1).

The role of events has expanded significantly since the 1960s to the point where they have come to be considered as solutions to a wide range of urban problems (Richards & Palmer, 2010). According to Harvey (1989), cities have tried to adjust themselves to complex new economic and social circumstances

by shifting their policies from urban managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism. In a comparable vein, Silk (2014) argues that the hosting of sport mega-events "is inextricably bound with a series of processes related to the reconstitution of 'spectacular urban space'" (p. 50), whereby various neoliberal logics link the production of symbols to the production of space. What has arguably changed over time is the scope and scale of special events that expanded their footprint beyond one-off events. Since the 1990s, as the promotion of city brands has grown as a priority of post-industrial urban policies, mega-events have become privileged tools of urban marketing and repositioning for host cities in world urban networks promoting their attractiveness to tourists and to the media (Hall, 1992).

Mega-events should not be deemed as extraordinary phenomena, but rather as complicated episodes of ordinary urban change processes (Di Vita & Morandi, 2018). Mega-events or enterprises, which have been described by Hall (1992), mark events such as economic trade fairs or artistic biennials, and sportive events like the Olympics, have caused a large number of participants and an audience to travel and have attracted worldwide publicity due to the development of mass media (Getz, 1997). Hall (1992) defines mega-events in terms of their size, level of public financial investment, political effects, television coverage, construction of facilities, and the economic and social impacts of the host community. According to their large diffusion through cities, their capability to synthesize the complexity of usually fragmented urban change processes, the long duration from their bid to their legacies, as well as their shifting role in relation to different phases of world urban dynamics, mega-events can be considered as privileged reflection scenarios on contemporary urban phenomena, also in relation to global geo-economic and geopolitical trends (Di Vita & Morandi, 2018). Similarly, festivals as periodic public events contribute to the process of community self-presentation and constructing the identity of the place. The city and local community by using the past images through processes of festivalization tend to emphasize what they are and what they have never been (Kelemen & Škrbić Alempijević, 2012). Festivals have become one of the most important urban events due to rapid globalization and homogenization of urban culture. They are focused on local culture and tradition, but not only to imitate it but to re-imagine their position in relation to contemporary changes and challenges. Festivals can be defined as periodic public events in various forms in which all community members who are united by religious, historical or cultural worldviews participate directly or indirectly (Kelemen & Škrbić Alempijević, 2012). Different social actors participate in the realization

of the festival: political elites, sponsors, media, organizers, performers, locals, target audiences, external visitors as well as random passers-by.

The process of identity construction is most visible through narrative discourses related to the event itself. Identity is also created through temporal dialectics (the relations between past and present). In addition to recognizable cultural heritage and tradition, we could say that festivals act as the intertwining of tradition and innovation (Kelemen & Škrbić Alempijević, 2012). There are narratives about ancient traditions and the town's past, but festival practices also attribute innovation, creativity and openness (to the world), which allows not only the reconstruction of the past but through the "selective traditions" (Škrbić Alempijević & Mesarić Žabčić, 2010) the creation of desirable narratives and images through which their authenticity is expressed outside of local borders.[1] Festivals could also be described as social spaces allowing social interaction, participation and the feeling of social inclusion through the fulfilment of the public spaces during festival times. All these contributions encourage interaction between actors and so enhance the vitality of urban space (Quinn et al., 2021). Much attention has been paid to the importance of image, ephemera and spectacle that have given a new impetus to events, as creators and carriers of meaning and wealth in cities. Event images are now so important that they "are starting to dominate the natural or physical features in the identification of cities" (Burns et al., 1986, p. 5). In such a context of inter-city competition and urban policies promoting cities as commodities where the efforts of the cities for characteristic "physiognomy" and place identity in the global urban system, epitomize key morphological means for "branding" the cities.

This chapter aims to bring together different perspectives of the placemaking process using a comparative study analysis of Sarajevo, Athens, Istanbul and Dubrovnik. Each of the four cities under discussion have shown that current patterns and processes of dynamic urban grounds are influenced by past events and legacies. Drawing on Roche's (2000) perspective on mega-events as important points of reference for processes of change and modernization within and between nation/states, and for globalization processes more generally, and following recurrent discussion of urban competitiveness, this work acknowledges the relevance of major events and festivals to the creation and marketing of place.

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1   Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger described this process as "the invention of tradition".

2   Cases

2.1   *Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)*

Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is a special, transcendent place (Bollens, 2010). The city has a rich past, a dynamic present and a promising future. The city itself is a conspicuous example of a city of intimate diversity where the 1984 Winter Olympics reinforced its already rich cultural environment and connected the city with the spirit of the Olympics. Undoubtedly, the 1984 Olympics transformed the Sarajevo landscape rapidly and intentionally in a very visible way. Sarajevo showed that mega-events could turn a profit and that the Olympics could be used as a rationale for inducing consumption-based development.

The games were a turning point in terms of city development that completely changed the image of the city. The built heritage of Sarajevo was enriched with spacious new sport venues and competition centres, cultural facilities, new hotels and residential buildings sited within a maximum radius of only 22.5 km, with a lot of them being built in the city itself. The Olympic project also included some improvements in the urban infrastructure, the extension of the existing airport and other renovation and restoration projects. Although host cities tend to be criticized for overly embracing the utopian images of the Olympic vision and its grand narratives, the representation of that vision by the Sarajevo Olympic city was not false but rather really showed the true character of the city. As such, the identity of the Olympic city was meditated as a live experience derived from the Yugoslav socialist regime that advocated modernist and functionalist urbanism. All of the buildings designed had been gracefully fused into the city landscape. The architecture of the Sarajevo Olympics is neither a monumental nor a hysterical episode in the city's development. It does not call for form itself, but it represents a model of social use, coherency and construction of the public realm (Husukić & Zejnilović, 2020). Along with the stimulated economic growth, the 1984 Olympics reintroduced a sort of human pride and bolstered social inclusion and created a new identity for a city appropriate to a rapidly changing urban world. This enhancement of community pride and the city's self-image following such an event could be referred to, as Hall (1992) describes, the "halo effect" or the "feel-good effect" (Allen et al., 2005). Perhaps one of the greatest impacts of the games was the image of a successful Olympics organized by an amateur city. From this point of view, the most enduring legacy of the 1984 games was the sense of accomplishment in Sarajevo and Yugoslavia.

The Balkan Wars, which had flared up in the 1990s, created a state of affairs which threatened the very existence of the Olympic idea as a gleam of joyful hope. Yet, ironically, only eight years after the Olympics, Sarajevo was home

to the longest siege of a capital city in the history of modern warfare. The war clearly had a significant and consequent negative impact on the newly created image of an Olympic city. The cityscape of Sarajevo suffered much lasting damage. Since the Dayton Accords brought peace in 1995, Sarajevo has been divided by the Inter-Entity Boundary Line into two almost entirely mono-ethnic cities: Sarajevo in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and East Sarajevo, which is part of Republika Srpska. Consequently, the division of the Olympic mountains, which were assigned disruptive prefixes based on the logic of national attributes, was an example of the collateral damage done as the legacy was torn apart on two sides, neglecting the Olympics, as Vuic (2015, p. 63) indicates, as a symbol and the apotheosis of an earlier, idealized period in which Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats got along.

Both, the 1984 Olympics and the war were turning points in terms of city transformation that completely changed the image of the city. Today the legacy of the 1984 Olympics in Sarajevo is recognized as a legitimate historical

FIGURE 10.1 Signs of remembrance preserved on Ferhadija Street, one of the main pedestrian streets in Sarajevo. *Left*, one of the many wounds of war remembrance preserved in 1996 on the streets of the city called "Sarajevo roses". *Right*, snowflake imprinted in 2012 as a symbol of the 14th Winter Olympic Games held in Sarajevo in 1984
Note: "Sarajevo roses" act as silent monuments that represent small craters left from mortar damage. After the war, these "flowers" were filled with red resin in recognition of the tragedy of the city that endured the longest-running siege of any city in modern history
SOURCE: THE AUTHOR (HUSUKIĆ)

FIGURE 10.2   Competing memory of the Olympics and the war presented in Sarajevo's
                Olympic Museum
                Note: The Olympic Museum was one of the first cultural institutions to be
                destroyed. It was bombed on 27 April 1992. Since its reopening on 8 February
                2004, the museum was in a temporary location in the Zetra Olympic Complex.
                The new-old Olympic Museum was reopened again on 8 October 2020
                SOURCE: THE AUTHOR (HUSUKIĆ)

layer in the city's urban fabric, most of which is being used by Sarajevans. City identity is being reinterpreted alternately through the lens of the Olympics and war, shaping urban imaginaries that reveals contradictions (fig. 10.1).

City images of the euphoria and spectacle are continuously overlapping with the images of trauma and suffering, creating some sort of resistance to reminisce and hold firmly the most glorious period in the city's development (fig. 10.2). Confronted with a sporadic attempt of a city that fails to preserve the image of the Olympic city in its conventional sense, maybe we should ask if our tendencies are limited to simply reinstating what the city used to be, insisting on clarity in the face of something far more contested and demanding.

2.2   *Athens* (*Greece*)

Athens is the capital and by far the most important city in Greece, exhibiting a variety and a concentration of economic sectors and activities, such as high-level public administration, business headquarters and a wide array of services. There is a population of about 4 million in the greater metropolitan area of Attica (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004). After Baron de Coubertin's initiative in 1894 to bring back the Olympic Games, Athens was the first city to host the modern Olympic Games in 1896, as Greece was the birthplace of the ancient Olympic Games. After almost a century, the Olympics returned to Greece, with the 2004 Summer Olympics.

The 1896 Olympic Games had only 241 participants from 14 nations, and there were seven structures provided for their accommodation. The most important was the Panathenaic Stadium (fig. 10.3), which accommodated four of the total nine sports facilities, as well as the opening and the closing ceremonies. Today, this stadium is an important landmark of the city of Athens and, due its proximity with the important archaeological sites of the city and the fact that is used for concerts and other important ceremonies, it attracts a lot of visitors. As for the other sports facilities, public buildings were used that today host public events, such as the Zappeion (fig. 10.4), while others today do not remain, such as the velodrome and other open spaces.

Athens was chosen as the host city for the 2004 Olympic Games in 1997. There was a perception that the Olympic Games would revise the image of the country in the eyes of the world, by securing for it social, economic, environmental, cultural and sporting recognition appropriate to a modern metropolis (Kissoudi, 2010). The 2004 games provided Athens the opportunity to construct world-class sporting venues as well as to accelerate the completion of major infrastructure upgrades in transportation, telecommunications

FIGURE 10.3   The Panathenaic Stadium during the 1896 Olympic Games opening ceremony
SOURCE: HTTPS://STREETLIFE.GR/2020/04/06/6-APRILIOY-1896-I-TE
LETI-ENARXIS-TON-SYGCHRONON-OLYMPIAKON-AGONON-TIS-ATHINAS/

FIGURE 10.4   Zappeion today
                SOURCE: THE AUTHOR (DIMELLI)

and other sectors (Kasimati, 2015). It was a chance to improve the quality of its urban spaces, to upgrade the city to meet global standards (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004) and to put Athens on the map as a major metropolitan centre in south-eastern Europe (Economou et al., 2001).

The basic idea for the Olympic development was that the structures would primarily be constructed in Athens, but stadiums for the preparation of the athletes would be located in other Greek cities. In Athens, there were projects for athletic activities, accommodation for athletes and journalists and transport infrastructure. The 17 smaller and larger spatial units hosting Olympic activities in Athens were developed in a scattered way which promoted a multi-nucleus urban regeneration and development (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004).

The Olympic venues were mostly constructed in greenfields around the city or in undeveloped areas, although there were existing brownfields which could be developed. It is characteristic that 95% of the projects planned for the 2004 Olympics were permanent spatial structures, so that they could be easily redesigned, reconstructed and reused after the games. Although this reuse strategy made the infrastructure flexible for the future, there was no strategic plan for their use after the games, so this idea was not utilized. Except for the Olympic spatial units, regeneration programmes were applied in the historic centre of Athens with the development of networks for pedestrians which united the archaeological sites, as tourists were expected to be able to use them later on.

One year after the end of the Olympic Games, the Hellenic government enacted a law for the use of the Olympic infrastructure. Within basketball

and fencing venues, cultural events, exhibitions, shops and restaurants were allowed. In the baseball, softball and hockey venues, athletic uses, cultural events and public domains were allowed. In the canoe/kayak/slalom infrastructure, shops and public domains were permitted. Finally, in the surrounding areas a sports park was permitted (Milionis, 2010).

Today, some of the Olympic infrastructure are being used. Many of them have changed their initial use and were leased for 99 years to private organizations, which have converted them into malls. At the same time, many Olympic spatial units stand deserted and are deteriorating (fig. 10.5) as the Greek bureaucracy, the lack of strategic plans and the economic crisis have made their development by the Greek state extremely complicated.

2.3   *Istanbul (Turkey)*

The changing sense of place and the transformation in narrative making marked the 2000s in Istanbul. The emergence of financial centres and gated communities on the outskirts of the city in the 1990s expanded into urban central areas in the 2000s. The emergence of theme parks, shopping malls and fast urban renewal projects and housing complexes in various parts of the city accompanied the displacement of local communities and manufacturers and posed a threat to the urban ecology. The rise of global cultural events (art fairs, exhibitions, contemporary art biennales, gallery weekends), the foundation of institutions of culture (Erek and Köksal, 2014), the plans for mega projects aimed at attracting international audiences and the circulation and criticism of information related to these all play a part in the global system. Istanbul's renewal is central to understanding the relationship between the material and immaterial dynamics of this process.

Istanbul experienced rapid development over the past 30 years. The building of the Istanbul Park (a racing track suitable for hosting Formula 1 Grand Prix events) stands as one of a series of projects realized in the outskirts of Istanbul that opened the area to new infrastructure systems and real estate

development. The project was an outcome of the urban sprawl that started in the 1980s and was a precursor to the construction of future mega-projects in the region. This can be seen in two recent projects built north of Istanbul: the third bridge over the Bosphorus (2016) and the third Istanbul airport (2018). Both were controversial. The bridge poses a threat to the water reservoirs serving Istanbul, and the airport was placed in a major green area north of the city. Development like these is paving the way for additional construction projects and further controversy. Opposition to the development of the Istanbul Park was led by eleven organizations who objected to the site chosen as it was located within the Ömerli water catchment and forest area, emphasizing the environmental risks it would pose (Gezici & Er, 2014). A report prepared collectively in 2005 by various NGOs and other professionals "investigated the project regarding ecology, agriculture and wild life, and concluded that the way the project was to be realized was in apparent conflict with regulations and laws, international agreements and the public benefit" (Bilgenoğlu, 2005). Nevertheless, after a short delay the project kicked off even though the case was still in the court system. What was once a little village turned into a densely populated area in the eastern part of Istanbul.

Istanbul Park began to host Formula 1 Grand Prix events starting in 2005 and, after a change in management in 2009, continued until 2011. It was seen as a tourism opportunity that would bring international audiences to the city and so the park was planned as a consumer complex. The project was funded through significant public and private investment and played a huge role in the development of the city brand. The park ceased hosting Formula 1 events in 2011 for financial reasons, but was able to host other kinds of sports events in its place. In 2020 the presidential investment office used its role as one of the founding partners to restart Formula 1 at the park. The office saw the start of the event as a call to "international investors", within the campaign "Turkey: Your Resilient Partner", implying "a resilient and a trusted position for global investors" (Hürriyet, 2021). The head of the office said that "the vision of the presidency is in accordance with the vision of Formula 1", implying the financial benefits expected. Formula 1 would promote Istanbul to an international audience; the media campaign of 2020 blended city branding with advertising for the event. The promotional video included various historical locations in the city and it was expected to reach "millions of viewers to promote the country", as claimed by the head of Turkey's Directorate of Communications (Aydoğan, 2020). Formula 1 "wouldn't be measured by only financial benefits but more: networking of global investors and touristic marketing" (Köprülü, 2017).

FIGURE 10.6   Istanbul Park
PHOTO: FORMULA 1, 8 NOVEMBER 2020. HTTPS://CDN-1.
MOTORSPORT.COM/IMAGES/MGL/YP3O4EE2/S1200/
ISTANBUL-PARK-1.WEBP

Despite all the expectations and the conflicts created by the Istanbul Park project, the owner of the park, which hosted a Formula 1 event recently, affirmed that a renewal of the contract (ending in 2023) would not be possible if the state and the private sector did not increase their investment in the park (Levent, 2021). The revival of the Formula 1 relationship reinforces once again the importance of city branding and it role in generating regional economic success. This must be considered alongside the ongoing discussions about ecology and citizen decision-making processes. Istanbul already has a greater population than its resources can support, but it is still an arena for new urban projects and narrative-making strategies, in a period of economic decline and an autocratic regime in crisis.

2.4   *Dubrovnik (Croatia)*

Dubrovnik, historically known as Ragusa, is a city in southern Croatia. Today, it is known as one of the most prominent tourist destinations in the Mediterranean. In 1979, the city of Dubrovnik joined the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites. Recently, the city has often been used as a filming location, and it is especially known for the HBO television series *Game of Thrones*.

The Dubrovnik Summer Festival was formally instituted in 1950. The official festival period lasts annually from 10 July to 25 August, although some activities take place over the entire year. The festival begins and ends with a solemn

ritual ceremony. In addition to the festival period, the heart of the festival are numerous daily cultural, theatrical and musical events that are strategically performed in the most prominent places of Dubrovnik's historic core (parks, fortresses, markets, streets[2]), transforming the whole city into an open theatre. The fascinating materiality of the historic core becomes a marker of festival identity and local authenticity.

Festival narratives and practices can be explored through several different media used by the organizers themselves: programme booklets, official websites as well as social networks. This case draws on a content analysis approach to interrogate official narratives produced by the organizers themselves. It should be emphasized that the identification process is a complex and layered process, therefore we can talk about creating multiple identities (local, national, international or global).

Local identity is most often associated with the ambience of the historic core and the independent era of the Republic of Ragusa, which is expressed through the symbol of freedom and the libertarian spirit of the era connecting it with contemporary cultural and artistic expression: "living spirit of drama and music actually derived from the intellectual way of life of the city itself". The prosperity of the city was historically based on maritime trade. It achieved a high level of development, particularly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as it became notable for its wealth and skilled diplomacy. At the same time, Dubrovnik became a cradle of Croatian literature. In addition to freedom, local identity is expressed through the presentation of the most famous Dubrovnik's writers, such as Držić, Nalješković, Gundulić and Vojnović, who became the "mainstay of the drama programme". This also seeks to show cultural heritage on the local scale. Elsewhere, it is possible to recognize the narrative discourses that position the Dubrovnik Summer Festival at the national level. Thus, on several occasions the festival is characterized as a traditional festival of high importance or as a very representative cultural manifestation in Croatia. It was also noted that from the moment of its official establishment the festival sought to rise above the local level and gain the status of a "Yugoslav festival".

But apart from the local and national level, the festival also take place on a European and global scale. Dubrovnik's festival tradition relates to the context of Western Europe (thus at the same time trying to separate itself from the Eastern European cultural context). The positioning of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival within the Western European cultural context is visible through the

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2 Since the foundation, manifestations have been performed in places such as the Lovrjenac Fortress, the Old Town Port, Gradac Park, Sponza Palace, or the summer residence in Gruž.

FIGURE 10.7
Sponza Palace (1996)
SOURCE: LIBEROPORTAL.HR
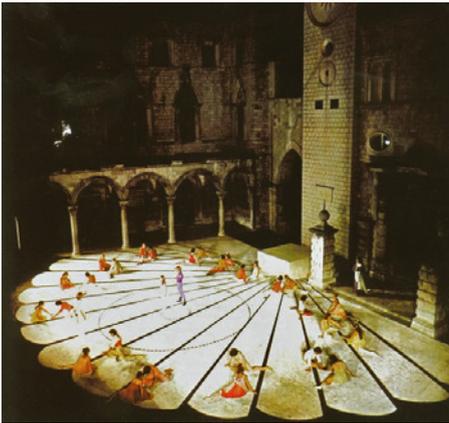
FIGURE 10.8
Romeo and Juliet in 1970
SOURCE: LIBEROPORTAL.HR

connection of the creation of the festival itself with the numerous theatrical and musical events that took place throughout Western Europe during this period, thus placing the Dubrovnik festival in the European cultural network. This practice shows us how a certain tradition and identity are created at relatively recent historical events (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). The emphasis on belonging to the (Western) European cultural context is in relation to contemporary political and social constellations, especially to the time before and during the Croatian accession to the European Union. Finally, the festival tradition is also associated with global narratives to ensure the visibility of the city and the local community on a global scale and to create a destination image (Škrbić Alempijević & Mesarić Žabčić, 2010). It is possible to highlight several strategy narratives that are officially used, such as "cultural diversity," "cultural tourism" or "cultural cooperation". Following these narratives, we can conclude that the

cultural policy of the festival expresses openness to the world and cosmopolitan spirit that is often associated with the politics of the Republic of Ragusa but now it turns more to the cultural level. Globally, the city is promoted as an "open theatre" and as an intersection of "Croatian and world cultural spirit". In doing so, cooperation with numerous performers coming from different parts of the world is often mentioned.

3   Discussion on Outcomes and Results of the Four Cases

This chapter brought together different perspectives on hallmark events. Drawing on historical evolution of the presented case studies and following current debates on the factors influencing city making in the context of each city, this chapter highlights the relevance of major events and festivals to the creation of urban imaginaries.

The case study on Sarajevo showed how to create, sustain and develop an Olympic project in order to reap a number of benefits. Sarajevo is recognized widely as an example of a city that used the 1984 Winter Olympics to modernize the city and revive a flagging economy. Moreover, the Olympic movement in Sarajevo significantly influenced the multifaceted reconstruction of city identity and by that the Olympics became a lynchpin in the projection of the city's image. Undoubtedly, the violent disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Bosnian War and the siege of Sarajevo profoundly affected and irreparably left a mark on the urban imaginaries of Sarajevo. As Husukić and Zejnilović (2020) claim more than two decades later, the war in Sarajevo has continued to cast an influential shadow.

The juxtaposition of the present with the past, and of the Olympics with the war, becomes evident in reviewing the current state and meanings of the Olympic legacies. In the case of the 1984 Olympics in Sarajevo, the legacy carries bittersweet memories. It evokes sentiments that range from hopefulness to dejection, playfulness to anxiety. Sarajevo is perhaps an extreme example of a mega-event to study since it was based on urban imaginaries where the dynamics of history and memory, the need for commemoration and amnesia, pervaded the host city as never before. Regardless of current competing memories and the misinterpretation of the Olympic legacies in a divided post-war city, the 1984 Olympics in Sarajevo was one of the major avenues for harnessing potential and the rebranding of a city's image. Understanding governance as politics in the context of Sarajevo requires examining actor constellations and power relations between all forces involved in the planning of the future of the Olympic legacy.

The Summer Olympics in 2004 added new dynamism to Athens and helped to polish the jaded image of the city. The event was very well organized and it succeeded in securing the collaboration of social and economic groups in the city and in creating jobs. The Olympic infrastructure seemed to be an opportunity for the improvement of the city's image and a chance for the development of new forms of urban tourism. The initial enthusiasm was, after the games, replaced by strong criticism about the effects of this important event, as Greece faced the results of the economic crisis in 2009. The games were related to the cost overrun and the financial debt while the evaluation of the Olympic infrastructure's reuse caused disappointment due to unrealized aspirations because of missed opportunities (Kissoudi, 2010).

The Olympic Games of Athens have been the focus of political debate until today. Recent decisions about the reuse of infrastructure in terms of public and private sector partnerships have been criticized as they are not supported by participatory processes. They are characterized as being fragmented and driven by private market forces. One positive aspect is that many elements of the infrastructure, such as roads, pedestrian routes, mass transport networks and regenerated public spaces, which were indirectly related to the games, have been the reason for Athens' development.

Both Sarajevo and Athens illustrate that the Olympics are "an immense playground, marketplace, theatre, battlefield, church, arena, festival and Broadway of cultural images, symbols and meanings" (MacAloon, 1984, p. 5) whose image creation today is open to interpretation.

Istanbul is a megacity that experienced fast urban transformation, expanding its borders after the 1980s. The realization of mega-events in Istanbul have been explored in regard to the issues such as the selection of the site, new infrastructure systems, real estate development and changes in urban policy

(Gezici & Er, 2014). The mega-events in Istanbul have been explored partially, in regard to urban image making and city branding processes, and especially in their relevance to changing approaches to entrepreneurism and creation of consumer spaces. In a short span of 30 years, a quick population rise and a decision to make Istanbul a centre for tourism and culture in the region turned the project of mega-events into a strategy to invite national and international visitors to the city, rising economic income and reinforcing narrative making for the branding of the city. The appearance of Formula 1 Grand Prix in Istanbul in the 2000s is one such attempt and was an outcome of a scheme in urban transformation where real estate and new construction projects constituted the major income. At a time of global ecological crisis and problems in urbanization, Formula 1 is a case that exemplifies the conflicts revealed by its effects on the vast areas of the city.

As can be seen in the example of Dubrovnik, the Summer Festival as a cyclical celebration of culture generates many points of identification and provides fertile ground for the birth of non-mainstream urban identities. On the one hand, festival practice contributes to the process of identification of the city and the local community and encourages the creation of a "local memory", but, on the other hand, it contributes to mobilizing this same identity on a global scale, primarily for tourism purposes, by turning the festival into a recognizable city trademark. On a global scale, the image of the city is associated with symbols of the sea, its maritime tradition, its historical status and power, which once again confirm the city's aspiration to position itself and its culture in the wider Mediterranean environment as a "link with continents, other civilizations and nations" (Škrbić Alempijević and Mesarić Žabčić, 2010).

In conclusion, we can say that the festivals themselves can be woven into the identity of their host city and become a significant symbol and marketing tool of the city, as is seen in the example of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival. The festival tradition points to the values of culture, identity and freedom by seeking to position itself locally and globally. Although festivals and perceptions of them are multifaceted and layered, we can point out that cultural festivals can serve as tools of community identification that are inspired by tradition and the past as seen by different festival actors. Apart from the time horizon, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival speaks in spatial terms about tradition as well as embraces the contemporary idea of ambient theatre and the use of space as an opportunity for participants to express themselves freely. It also acts as a metaphor with its encouragement of dialogue with the contemporary social, political and cultural contexts.

Significant new spaces for public cultures have been created by the festivals, sport and cultural events in Sarajevo, Athens, Istanbul and Dubrovnik.

Creative destruction that evolved along these events generated dramatically different landscapes of economic power (Zukin, 1991).

4 Lessons Learned

The research on the mega-event-based urban imaginaries opened a window into diverse topics to be studied, such as changing realities, unfolding city narratives, place branding (creating new urban identities), place marketing (mapping city at the global level), cultural inclusion/exclusion, politics of space and many others. In that respect, this work critically discusses, analyses and challenges the planning of the mega-events in light of their legacies, including the built environment, socio-economic systems, societal values and cultures. This is vital for creating socially and spatially responsible plans for future urban development.

This chapter gives a critical appraisal of the event-led urban image construction in the context of Sarajevo, Athens, Istanbul and Dubrovnik. All the cities have gone down distinctive historical pathways in the post-event period. Nevertheless, this work has accumulated and presented valuable findings. Based on them future studies could be carried out to examine and compare the cities in an even more evocative way. The key points can be summarized as follows:

– Mega-event-led urban development can cause problems but also provide solutions at the same time. Mega-events might bring desirable social change and an enhanced global reputation, but they can also cause difficulties and a range of criticism in host cities. There is a need to find a balance between temporary event programs and social, economic, environmental and symbolic considerations in order to take account of long-term realities. This implies understating the mega-event growth machine and the complex interplay between, on one hand, global forces and, on the other, the changing nature of societies and cities hosting such events.

– It is necessary to view the pursuit of mega-events as the opportunity rather than the intervention itself.

– The legacy of mega-events should be seen as dynamic and developmental in character. Naturally, event legacies should not entail only selective legacies as those that accommodate the desires of a political or an economic elite. Instead, event legacies should reinforce the concept of universal legacies which are much more communal, collectivist and inherently democratic.

– The post-event era represents a new phase of city development where the temporarily displayed fashionable image of the host city, without exception,

has been replaced by urban and social realities of different cities to distorted urban images.

– Regardless of the existing level of recognition of the former host city to capitalize upon events, each event should generate promise, drive for possible future transformation, city growth and betterment.

– In order to capitalize under the cover of an event, we must draw upon forces in cities' past heritage which can be used to reconstruct the urban futures.

5   Conclusions

The creation and promotion of hallmark events such as festivals, shows, exhibitions, fairs and sport events have become a powerful force shaping urban development strategies across the globe. Undoubtedly, a dynamic urban policy becomes part of the image of a city and an agent for its symbolic economy. Despite the lingering concerns of political accountability, financial uncertainty and post-event viability, there is increasing competition by cities to host mega-events. It seems that cities have come to accept the logic of global competition to attract international investment.

This comes as no surprise as mega-events are expressively pursued at the international market – global media, tourists and investors in line with local and national participants. They also entail major capital invested in venues, facilities and transport, and drive a number of planning imperatives.

Richards and Palmer (2010) pointed out that competition between cities in a crowded field of images is one of the major factors stimulating cities to adopt branding strategies that seek to transform traditional cultural capital into a competitive lead through the staging of cultural events and the construction of cultural landmarks. Re-presenting and re-imaging cities through such events is both a competitive strategy but also a reflection of the "festivalization of the city" (Richards & Palmer, 2010). These hallmark events also present a dualistic challenge to their hosts – between the temporal/ephemeral nature of the event and its permanent legacy, and between the "host" audience and the outside world – that should be carefully coordinated.

The presented case studies showed that the endeavour of cities to become distinctive, to regenerate the urban fabric and to create economic, social and cultural success by hosting mega-events is a very complex exercise and not as simple and direct as mediated. This just confirms the claim of Roche (2000) that mega-events are an admittedly complex but long-lasting popular cultural genre and an influential cultural movement that have been and continue to be

important phenomena at many levels and in many respects. There is no single approach to be employed here, given a number of distinct and unrelated disciplines covering research on mega-events.

This work contends that all phases of event-led urban development (pre-event, event and post-event) should become an integral part of a broader development strategy of cities which need to reap the benefits of it generating wider cultural, social and economic benefits. As Richards and Palmer (2010) advocates cogently, eventfulness is intimately linked to the process of placemaking. However, eventfulness should not be an aim in itself, but a means of refining the city and making it continuously more inventive and liveable. The making and selling of post-event places should go far beyond the control of mediated visual images of cities used as an aggressive or seductive lure. This work calls to attention the importance of a strategic framework that needs to be locally informed to ensure that reinventing urban environments on the roots of provisional cities reinforces and celebrates the identity or culture of the places in which they happen without tending towards something homogenous and identical.

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CHAPTER 11

Guideline Principles to Accomplish Social Inclusiveness in Placemaking

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Abstract

Placemaking is a collaborative process to design urban spaces through creatively sharing interests, needs, activities and ideas. The literature on urban planning, design, human-computer interaction (HCI), geography, sociology and anthropology is rich in examples of methods that can be used in placemaking. However, the rationality that defines the methodological approach is essential to acquire a common view for places, ensuring an inclusive and open process. Before or in parallel to defining why, how and what to do in placemaking, it is relevant to consider different methodological approaches. In this chapter, we explore three methodological principles: (1) providing a multidimensional view on the context together with interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary knowledge, and with early engagement with people and stakeholders; (2) responding to the common view, needs and priorities regarding the transformation, regeneration and urban management of spaces; (3) experimenting with the inclusion capacity of the methodological approach, improving methodological efficiency and effectiveness, adhering to the social actors and stakeholders, detecting difficulties and correcting and improving the placemaking process from an inclusive perspective. An overview of the subject of placemaking will subsequently be performed and afterwards two methodological approaches presented. Finally, considering that the issue of placemaking is a dynamic and collaborative process, this chapter explores how the role of the methodological approach impacts inclusiveness.

Keywords

methodological approach – inclusive and collaborative process – participation – adaptability of procedures – place transformation

1   Introduction

There is a great deal of discussion about placemaking in terms of urban spaces and urban development that addresses issues related to sustainability, the built environment, and creative and collaborative urban practices (Courage & McKeown, 2019; Courage, 2021; Duconseille & Saner, 2020; Mateo-Babiano & Palipane, 2020; Hes & Hernandez-Santin, 2020; Carriere & Schalliol, 2021; Basaraba, 2021). Often, placemaking has been used to "communicate a desire or ambition for a place in a city to become better or more attractive; and sometimes there is even a set of actions described to achieve a placemaking objective" (Badenhorst, 2019, p. 2).

Placemaking has assumed a prominent role in the debate on issues related to urban development and may even appear in planning documents (Badenhorst, 2019). For Ghavampour and Vale (2019), an integrated approach between sustainability policies and the use of placemaking strategies is important. Nevertheless, there is a trend towards a professionalism of the placemaking process, highlighting the relevance that designers and planners have had on the process, such as with the physical attributes of the design in detriment of the essence of placemaking – behaviour and meaning. Akbar and Edelenbos (2021) emphasize the importance of "the interplays among the roles of actors, along with physical-spatial elements of places" (p. 1). For example, Thomas (2016) proposes to approach placemaking as a methodology of urban design based on a literature review to propose a scoring system to guide specialists and the community. One could ask, From what methodological perspective(s) would this essence be guaranteed? (in addition to referencing the history of placemaking and pointing out the planning and design results produced). Although specialists and planners are important, placemaking is more than a nuance of urban design and urban planning. Kent (2019) points out that there is greater disciplinary sensitivity to places, people and public life in the development of urban communities. However, professionals continue to speak within their own discipline, not always recognizing the potential of other disciplines and sectors and, above all, the importance of communities' involvement. This is fundamental to increase collaborative dynamics to public space improvement, especially when it comes to creation and recreation,

management and public governance. Therefore the prominence of placemaking as a community-led process.

In addition to planning and design issues, one of the aspects that matters most in placemaking is the process through which it takes place. At the outset, placemaking is defined as a bottom-up process, with a place-based approach, community participation and sharing of the benefits generated. Through the placemaking process, it is expected that the democratic participation will increase while also augmenting socio-environmental awareness (Karacor, 2014). Each space reflects a specific character and its relation to social dynamics, needs, resources and opportunities. The deficiencies and problems experienced during the placemaking process are also useful to guide future studies on this urban intervention theme (Karacor, 2014). This observation allows, on one hand, to highlight a cross-sectional aspect to several reports of experience in placemaking. Where difficulties experienced and the ways in which they were (or were not) overcome are not always made known. Which, on the other hand, helps to show how the challenges were overcome, going beyond just taking the action as a success in itself –as if placemaking is meant to be the guarantee of democratic participation, social inclusion and sharing of the benefits generated. It also appears that placemaking has been transformed into a successful "brand" in urban rehabilitation and revitalization interventions. This has raised its criticism as a process of urban intervention. It is important to take a critical look at placemaking processes (Toolis, 2017; Chica, 2021) because placemaking may not promote the sharing of benefits generated among the low- and middle-income population, creating gentrification dynamics and social and spatial injustice. Placemaking involves different actors and particularities, and different access to resources in creating a cooperative effort to improve the place.

What makes a place in a city meaningful to its residents? How do people engage with a place to create meaningful social and cultural activities? Within the field of human-computer interaction (HCI), the interaction between humans and their environment is an essential intersection of past and future that in a dynamic way makes possible or discloses different ways of living, working and belonging. This interaction is done through implicit and explicit materials (Hansen et al., 2021a, 2021b), such as sensors or objects within a place/space. Recently, HCI has focused on these interactive built environments and placemaking has been viewed as a socio-technical system. From an HCI perspective, places are also about experiences, histories, purposes and creating new culture. Freeman et al. (2017) describe different focus points within the area of urban informatics, especially with an emphasis on how to make the urban design process more broadly open and participative. Emerging

technologies of urban cities, such as the "internet of things" and ubiquitous computing, affect the perceptions and attitudes of residents towards places in a city. Theories of "placemaking" suggest ideas for how to develop community attachments and enhance lived experiences in the city. Placemaking is as much about places as well as spaces, in which a physical space can be considered as a meaningful construct of place and/or a cultural product (Harrison & Dourish, 1996). Three different strategies of meaningful placemaking for city residents have been identified in HCI and urban design (Freeman et al., 2019):

– Community attachment featuring an emotional connection to a place that affords satisfaction, loyalty and passion
– The apparent distinction or "legibility" of the cityscape, i.e. how the city is perceived or read by its inhabitants
– The depth and intensity of lived human experience

Participation is crucial when talking about placemaking activities and one specific methodology that has been used is participatory design (Cilliers & Timmermanns, 2014; Rachel et al., 2021; Stydom & Puren, 2013).

Along with these different aspects observed in placemaking, it is also of interest to ask: What in the course of the process can be contributed to guarantee an inclusive dynamic? The answers are varied depending on each place, dynamics, needs and opportunities, and this chapter aims to discuss some aspects related to inclusiveness. First, providing an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary knowledge on the context (e.g. on the social, cultural and morphological attributes and the evolution of the urban context) together with the early people and stakeholder engagement. This collaboration builds a multidimensional and participatory vision of the context in which one will act. Second, responding to the common views, needs and priorities of space transformation, regeneration and urban management. Then, friendlier procedures for non-technicians and different stakeholders can be designed and made suitable for the placemaking process. Third, experimenting with the inclusion capacity of the methodological approach outlined from the ongoing evaluation of the placemaking process, which will be jointly analysed by different social actors. It is important to deal with the methodology incrementally in order to improve the efficiency, effectiveness and adhesion of the social actors and the stakeholders, detecting difficulties, correcting and improving the placemaking process from an inclusive perspective.

This chapter is, in essence, a proposal for theoretical reflection around a methodological approach that safeguards and promotes social inclusivity in placemaking. As such, rather than detailing case study methods, techniques and tools, this chapter is a theoretical-methodological reflection that draws from our experience. Subsequently, the rationale that sustains the principles

indicated above is presented in the following section. Next, two experiences of placemaking initiatives are briefly presented as paradigmatic examples of a theoretical-methodological reflection. The main outcomes are presented, and the lessons learned in relation to these principles are then highlighted.

2   The Principles That Can Increase Inclusivity in Placemaking Processes

2.1   *Providing a Multidimensional View of the Context*
It is important to highlight the importance of creating action logic that, little by little, makes it possible to replace the focus on problems with the identification of needs and potentialities of the contexts. Not only when drawing up plans and placemaking proposals, but also for the evaluation process and their results. This procedure makes it possible to identify, define and scale the origin, meaning and character of the problems that affect social and spatial reality. This also highlights the resources and the potential that, even if obtuse, make up this same reality.

From the outset, this prior knowledge of the context should be guided towards providing answers to the following questions: What? For what? Why? Furthermore, prior knowledge should support both learning processes and collaboration so that it contributes, at the same time, to the definition of strategic ideas and ways of acting that is close to reality (Ascher, 2004). This prior knowledge tool involves guiding criteria for the multidimensional diagnosis of the placemaking context (Table 11.1). Cohen and Franco (1999) refer to the following more specific diagnosis objectives:

– *Describe* – related to what is intended to be modified, referring to the descriptive categorization of phenomena based on an ordered classification scheme.
– *Explain* – related to the explanation of the causal relationships between variables that inform about the current situation, indicating what can or should be changed. It is a fundamental condition for carrying out a good diagnosis and must include all the dimensions and variables that facilitate the explanation of the phenomena or processes that are being analysed.
– *Predict* – is the result of the explanation and indication of the changes foreseen by the implementation of the action plan.

To ensure a multidimensional knowledge of the placemaking context and to identify its particularity, it is important to increase the interactivity between different records, diagnoses and surveys (Table 11.2), in order to carry out:

– The interrelated reading of problems/needs, resources/potentials and the measures/actions proposed by each type of diagnosis, in addition to allowing

a better view of the role of sociocultural, socio-spatial, socio-institutional and operational issues

– The hierarchy of issues and needs, and the definition of measures and actions in an integrated and interactive way

The objectives that frame the placemaking process must be essential, precise and strategic. For this, it is important to create conditions that guarantee that these qualities are sustained throughout that process. Here, three essential conditions are considered: existing resources, risk situations and the willingness to change. These considerations help to avoid the production of static images or the immutability of contexts, which often condition the desired change (Bonetti et al., 1991).

TABLE 11.1   Guidance criteria for a multidimensional view of the context

Knowing the socio-spatial reality	Operationalize the information produced
– Provide information on constraints and consequences of the problems, thus making it possible to identify trends and needs – Identify resources inherent to contexts and identify means to enhance them – Identify potential conditions for the success of an intervention and those that are obstructive and risky for the action itself – Identify dynamics – endogenous and exogenous – that most affect the reality of the contexts – Identify potential partners and stakeholders	– Relate problems and needs – Establish a hierarchy of problems and needs – Identify intervention priorities – Enhancing, in a relational way, the means of minimizing problems and solving needs through strategies for valuing the resources and potentials inherent to the system – Pre-identify the means of action and the types of social support that such measures may imply – Pre-define ideas for action strategies that make it possible to respond to internal needs and external changes – Establish communication relationships with different partners and stakeholders – Create negotiation dynamics among objectives, ideas and propositions – Develop references for the placemaking process

To ensure the effectiveness of inter/transdisciplinary knowledge in a multidimensional diagnosis process, it is essential to safeguard community involvement and citizen participation. This allows considering people's perspectives in the diagnosis frame, and which should be taken as transversal throughout the whole process. By knowing the contexts through the eyes of the different actors directly related to it, from its embryonic stage, the placemaking process becomes more capable of engaging people and even involving them.

2.2   *Providing Friendly Procedures to Non-technicians*

The diagnosis must include (pre)proposals for actions that make it possible to improve the contexts. In this sense it is important to:

– Involve social actors – the position of social actors and their ways and means of appreciating the problems and needs, and their interpretations of possible solutions are essential
– Respond to needs – the way in which needs are identified is related to the proposals for their resolution

To establish connections with a common point of view for placemaking, as "the participatory act of imagining and creating places with other people" (Derr et al., 2018), open communication and a more friendly, horizontal, and qualitative approach are important to engage people and stakeholders in an immersive process to the territory's re-signification (Menezes et al., 2019). This contributes to generating links between people, territory, and the transformative process, and to co-create a protocol for acting. The implementation of the placemaking process – at multiple levels and with an evidence-based approach – are complex, demanding flexible, adaptative and collaborative tasks and activities. Examples include observing, applying exploratory and sensory searches, collecting and recording information, interviewing inhabitants and other users of the context, holding collective and open meetings to discuss the meanings of place and its potential to reveal placemaking ideas, etc. The aim is to inspire people and involve them in reimaging the territory, turning it into a better place. As an enveloping, collaborative and sharing perspective in the production of a new, inclusive and open idea for the urban space, it enables the promotion of an "ethical value of the common" to "obtaining mutual benefits" (Sennett, 2018).

Bearing in mind the idea of placemaking as a community-led process, it will be interesting to consider some principles, such as:

– Design is fundamental in the collaborative creation of ideas, and in the visualization of proposals for the space
– The site analysis should be evidence based, as a site diagram helps placemakers identify different indicators and data sources

– The role of observing space uses and behaviours to get a sense of its real use and blockage
– The interest in providing actions that are soft, easy to perform, quick and cheap, to make experimentation feasible
– The role of evaluating actions to identify those that are successful and those that should be stopped or improved – "To learn what is not working is as valuable as to discover what works well" (Badenhorst, 2019, p. 12)
– There is no end to the placemaking process, and it is important to continue to learn from other and different placemaking initiatives and placemakers

From within the field of HCI and interaction design, participatory design (PD) is considered both as an approach and a process. PD actively involves both designers and stakeholders (end-users, customers, or employees) in the design process. The goal is to ensure that the design of an artefact, product, procedure, tool or system meets the stakeholder's needs and is usable. The goal of practising participatory design is to make the end-users part of and included in the creative design process. As such, their own needs, behaviours and views on everyday lives are considered (Hansen et al., 2021a, 2021b).

As a key concept, participation can happen in different ways and can contribute to different parts in the design process. Bratteteig and Wagner (2016) is looking on participation from three dimensions (p. 465):
– Participation of what? This dimension deals with the depth of participation
– What shapes participation? The influence of context, including the situations are framing the project
– How participatory is the design result? This dimension is dealing with one of the core aspects of participation, increasing users' ability or "power to" influence the design. It is about the artefact(s) resulting from the design process and if it gives them a voice in and influence on everyday processes. For example, when including participants from a place in which they live, ask them to be a direct part of the designing of an artefact within their own space, and thus, they will add their own "voice" to how, where and what is actually placed and created. This way, the participants will ensure that the artefact will be a part of everyday living

In its core elements, participatory design can be seen as a collection of tools and techniques, a set of methods and a mindset. Widely used techniques and tools include workshops, collage, ethnography, brainstorming, sketching, prototyping, mock-ups, card sorting, storyboarding, walkthroughs, organizational visits, etc. Participatory design as a method entails a variety of cognitive processes such as collective reflection and understanding in complex contexts and environments, using different appropriate tools and techniques to actively engage diverse communities (i.e. objects, systems, activities, users and

stakeholders) in creatively designing technologies, artefacts, tools, products, information objects and environments, which are more responsive towards different socio-cognitive experiences, tasks and domains (Hansen et al., 2021a, 2021b).

2.3 *Providing Ongoing Evaluation and Improving the Process*

Alongside the interest in increasing a participatory culture, it would also be useful to incorporate an evaluation of the participatory culture of the placemaking process. This contributes to updating and/or correcting implemented initiatives whenever necessary. Allowing others to join and enhance the dynamics that are being created throughout the placemaking process. Enabling in parallel the improvement of self-reflection on the changing process, and a more equitable mix of different ideas and action goals (Bourdin, 2000). This in turn contributes to improving the performance of the process itself through the adoption of a more strategic perspective (Ascher, 2004). The adoption of evaluation dynamics contributes to augmenting knowledge about the placemaking process, and to a more informed choice of priorities for action and decision-making. Also contributing to increased participation and creation of a dynamic of ideas negotiation, meanings, perceptions and therefore improving the placemaking process. A dynamic evaluation process helps to improve, reorient, innovate, systematize and articulate a set of aspects related to placemaking processes (Menezes, 2006, 2012) (see Table 11.2).

TABLE 11.2   The main advantages of evaluation dynamics

Improve the placemaking process regarding:	
The modes in which its development is verified	– Articulation and operationalization of action aims
	– Raising levels of use of available resources and the production of new resources, with increased efficiency in social spending and better use of services and equipment
	– Production of more effective and compensatory results
	– Definition of the most appropriate strategies, as well as the verification of opportunities to implement new strategies
	– Qualification of technical staff
	– Raising levels of resource utilization

TABLE 11.2   The main advantages of evaluation dynamics (*cont.*)

Improve the placemaking process regarding:

The dynamics of creation, implementation, conduction, management and operationalization of action initiatives	– Arrangements for concerting dynamics and actions – Feedback mechanisms – Improved knowledge of placemaking situations, enabling the systematization of the information produced and the creation of innovative devices – Diffusion, information, participation and negotiation of change processes, enabling the creation of a culture of dialogue, as an exchange of ideas, of collective learning, that is, as a practice that stimulates, mobilizes and engages people more – Accountability, weighting of results and performance
The dynamics and processes of choosing priorities and decision-making	– Develop more compensatory and equitable practices – Discuss and analyse the relevance of actions to be implemented or already implemented – Develop areas of autonomy of actions and responsibilities, to ensure a better functioning of the action system
The skill of the different social actors involved	– Development of self-assessment, reflection, technical, social and relational skills and knowledge – Weighted judgement of actions, results and ideas

SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM MENEZES, 2006.

3   Theoretical-Methodological Placemaking Experiences

In this section, we will briefly present two different methodological approaches, namely, the Old Ghettos, New Centrality Project on the Alagoas neighbourhood in Peso da Régua, Portugal, and the Detelinara Urban Pockets project in Novi Sad in Serbia.

3.1   *Old Ghettos, New Centralities Project, Alagoas Neighbourhood – Peso da Régua* (*Portugal*)

The Old Ghettos, New Centralities Project was supported by EFTA European Funds and Portugal's Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação (Housing and Urban Rehabilitation Institute, IHRU) and took place from 2005 to 2008. This

FIGURES 11.1 AND 11.2   Alagoas neighbourhood, before (2005) and after (2008)
SOURCE: M. MENEZES

project addressed two neighbourhood interventions carried out in Portugal, at Rabo de Peixe (São Miguel Island in the Azores) and Alagoas (in Peso da Régua in the north of Portugal). Within the scope of this chapter, only the Alagoas example is discussed (figs. 11.1 and 11.2).

The main challenges were to contribute to the sustainable reversal of cyclical situations of precariousness of public space and equipment, and a lack of urban integration, minimizing socio-territorial inequalities and creating place attachment. The objectives were to promote an integrated intervention between urban, social, environmental, organizational (in management sense) and innovation and knowledge levels. Several placemaking initiatives were carried out over the three years of the project. These initiatives involved different audiences, with different ages and cultural backgrounds, and responded to different objectives and action strategies. Among the initiatives implemented the following stand out: (1) painting of the walls and creation of sculptures in public space by children and young people; (2) discussion and decision-making regarding the colour that the buildings should be repainted; (3) organizing, managing and holding the neighbours' party; (4) engaging in intercultural dance activities (e.g. gipsy dance and hip hop); (5) carrying out cultural activities outside the neighbourhood to combat its negative image, and carrying out activities that attracted residents from outside; (6) the creation and renewing of public spaces in conjunction with a more responsive appropriation behaviour of these spaces.

People were involved from the drafting of proposal ideas to the implementation of the action plan. For this, an integrated, dynamic and continuous diagnosis of the situation, and a collaborative protocol of ideas and co-responsible actions, were implemented. These were carried out with the involvement of residents and local partners and stakeholders. Initially, it was to identify the needs, resources and risks for the development of actions. At a later stage, it was to discuss and create new ideas for the place, and to involve more people from the community in the placemaking process. To respond to the main placemaking challenges, the following aspects were fundamental:

– Partner and stakeholder mapping, and respective identification of the potential contribution that each one could make to the project
– Surveys (interviews and questionnaires), focus group, SWOT, documentary and bibliographic analysis
– Multidisciplinary and technical intervention team, and a local office
– External technical team to provide methodological support to the local intervention team
– Daily visits to the territory with multidisciplinary teams, participation of the technical team in local events, promotion of workshops between the technical team and residents, etc.

– Spatialization of the socio-spatial phenomena observed
– Protocol for interaction, spatialization of social phenomena, development of tools and mechanisms to the management and communication (endogenous and exogenous) of the project, development of matrices of partners and action strategies, matrices of needs and ideas for transformation carried out with residents, stakeholders and local intervention partners

The placemaking process was also supported by a methodological logic that considered the following aspects:

– Dynamic and continuous diagnosis
– Ongoing evaluation of actions and results
– Assessment and continuous review of the strategies and actions
– Database of the actions, strategies, results obtained, difficulties, conflicts and respective changes

3.2   *Detelinara Urban Pockets Project – Novi Sad (Serbia)*

The reconstruction of "urban pockets" in Novi Sad was the project that initiated mapping and activation of creative and cultural potentials of public spaces located at different parts of the city. The long-term goal of the project was to improve the cultural and social life in local communities through the improvement of public spaces as well as to promote an integrated intervention between urban, social, environmental and innovative levels. The short-term goal of the project was the revitalization of small public places identified by the citizens as focal points of their local communities. The Detelinara neighbourhood is one of 46 open places selected for reconstruction and revitalization (figs. 11.3 and 11.4).

The Urban Pockets project has been realized as the combination of a bottom-up and an up-to-bottom approach. The process of placemaking began with active participation in various forms. The conclusion of this phase was incorporated into a programme for a public urban architecture competition. The first phase of the participation started with the survey, which was held in-person and via social networks. The goal of the survey was to give opportunities to citizens to select the place for intervention in their neighbourhoods and to express their thoughts about its contents, functions and design. In the process of the selection of public spaces, the representatives of the Council of Local Communities have been consulted. In addition to surveys, citizens participated in drafting proposals for improvement of public spaces through focus group discussions, as well as in voting for the best solution after the design of the places was completed. The selection of the best competition proposals was chosen by jury members and citizen participation (Jandrić, 2021). The result of the project was the realization of a new vertical garden and kindergarten.

FIGURES 11.3 AND 11.4   Reconstruction of "urban pockets" in Novi Sad (Detelinara
neighbourhood)
SOURCE: A. DJUKIC

To respond to the main placemaking challenges, the following aspects were fundamental:

– Surveys (interviews and questionnaires), focus group, documentary and site analysis.
– Citizens also participated in drafting proposals for improvement of public spaces through focus group discussions moderated by urban sociologists, as well as in voting for the best solution.
– Multidisciplinary team which provides professional assistance, up until project realization.

For the process improvement, it was important to consider:

– That citizens can choose the locations to focus and the type of intervention.
– Multiple cycles of surveys and feedback.
– Interdisciplinary approach to design.
– It was a combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches.
– Bottom-up – participation in various forms.
– Up-to bottom – expert research of subject areas was conducted: identification of locations; their urban environment and social values, as well as the potential for interventions.
– Implementation – incorporation of the conclusions of previous phases in a public architecture competition, as well as profiling through jury members and citizen participation in further considerations of competition proposals.

4   Discussion of Outcomes

Within the scope of the Alagoas neighbourhood and the Detelinara Urban Pockets projects the integration of both physical and social aspects was outlined as an objective, as well as the cultural dimension and enhancement of the place attachment.

In the Alagoas neighbourhood, it was observed that in the transition from intentions to practice, the path followed proved to be more complex regarding the interaction between social, cultural and physical actions (Menezes, 2013). The project was further complicated by issues inherent to the nature of social involvement, including technical-methodological issues and the mismatch between the time needed for reflection and the time for action (to which the project's duration is also added). The rigid functional accountability associated with disciplinary domains (e.g. social technicians are not interested in physical issues and vice versa) and the hierarchical management structure can

compromise the interactive and community-led objectives. Another aspect to note is that, during the process, it was important to combat preconceived ideas. For example:

– The diagnosis was often seen as a starting characterization tool (upstream) of the project, which undermined its interest in the downstream phase as a tool to stimulate, instigate and provide feedback regarding the intervention project.
– The interest in recognizing not only advances, but also the critical points that hinder the promotion of integrated and sustainable socio-territorial development.
– Overcoming the idea that the identification of social and territorial needs, problems and potentialities – even when considered from a multidimensional principle of approach – should not be restricted to the technical view of the specialities involved.
– Overcoming the idea of the intervention project with the single purpose of a finished work, since this may compromise the promotion of an integrated and sustainable development intent.

In the case of the Urban Pockets project in Novi Sad, the promotion of the participatory process was done through the social networks and other media, which resulted in a more diverse audience of attendees, while at the same time it excluded the possible participants who do not use social networks and follow local media. The conflict that arose through the implementation of the process was solved by an urban sociologist. The focus groups were most productive when they were established as a system of participants equal in significance and who were ready to engage and listen to each other.

5 Lessons Learned

5.1 Multidimensional Context View
In order to implement a multidimensional and integrated (social, physical and territorial) diagnosis and actions, Alagoas shows the importance of creating, from the beginning of the process, dynamic and continuous dialogue between the community and the technicians, also among different technical fields. In this regard, the spatialization of the socio-spatial phenomena was observed, which facilitated the interaction between technicians and community. Also, the inter-knowledge of different work agendas, as well as daily visits with interdisciplinary teams, and the existence of the local office, facilitates the interrelationship of these technicians with the community. Other important

points were the creation of an interactions protocol, and the articulation of the aims of the action (physical and social) and its expected results. The technical inter-knowledge and respective areas of action promote more multidimensional and interactive decisions as well as integrated discussions regarding the activities to be implemented to minimize problems, respond to needs and leverage existing resources.

The example from Novi Sad shows that an interdisciplinary approach which integrates interventions between urban, social, environmental, psychological, economic, historical and innovative levels could provide better results in place-making regarding the strengthening of relationships and intangible values between the community and their open public spaces. Another important point was fruitful interaction between the local government of the city of Novi Sad, the Društvo arhitekata Novog Sada (DaNS, Society of Architects of Novi Sad) and the local community that provides multidimensional and interactive decisions. The realization of this project helped citizens from different social groups to develop a feeling of community and to recognize/identify that place as their own.

5.2   *Friendly Procedures to Non-technicians*

From Alagoas, one of the aspects that guaranteed a greater interactivity between technicians and the community was the participation of the technicians in local informal socializing initiatives (e.g. going to local cafés, attending parties, chatting with people on casual walks, etc.). This increases the proximity between the technicians and the community, and the interest in each other, and encourages social engagement. Casual and informal conversation also helps in gathering information and ideas, and in reconciling action interests. Identifying key interlocutors in the local area helps to create a channel of communication with the community, and of the community with the technicians. However, it was important to have occasional meetings to explain the process and listen to people's perceptions and ideas, improving the participatory design.

The participation in the Novi Sad case was multi-levelled and was present in different ways in all five phases of the placemaking (preparation, location research, programme, competition, and realization) due to providing fruitful connections between non-technicians (citizens) and architects, professional associations and the local government. A combination of bottom-up and up-to-bottom approaches succeeded to help overcome the gaps between professionals, non-professionals and investors, and to provide the right place in the process for each part. Various forms of participation from surveys held in-person and via social networks to the panels, focus groups discussions and

evaluation of proposed design solutions covered the different social groups (age, gender, social status).

5.3 *Ongoing Evaluation and Improve the Process*

The experience lived in the Alagoas neighbourhood demonstrates the importance it holds: (1) the establishment of a continuous situation diagnosis dynamic creating a logic of feedback and improvement of the intervention system; (2) the active, present and methodical technical monitoring of the intervention dynamics; (3) the continuous review of the strategies adopted, with a successive adaptation of the techniques and working tools to accommodate the emerging needs and the results and impacts obtained.

The participatory process in Novi Sad could be improved including more cycles and feedback within the process methodology (preparation, location research, programme, competition and realization) to provide better connections and understanding between the citizens, local government and professionals (planners, architects, designers). Furthermore, the education of the citizens regarding the importance of participation in urban planning and urban design should be improved to raise motivation and awareness of the participants within their role in placemaking of successful open public places. Also, new techniques in public participation, especially the digital ones, should be introduced to the citizens and local government as productive and efficient tools in the process of public participation.

6   Conclusions

The combination of a bottom-up and up-to-bottom approach, community involvement and citizen participation were transversal in the placemaking processes implemented in the Alagoas neighbourhood (Portugal) and in Novi Sad (Serbia). From a continued learning perspective, however, the four methodological approaches briefly presented allows us to consider the importance of increasing:

– The integration of a social actor's space perceptions, namely their socio-spatial skills, which refers to the symbolic dimensions and practices of use and appropriation of contexts, and their feelings of well-being
– The approximation and articulation of categories and notions of understanding of space between different disciplinary areas, and between technical-disciplinary perspectives and the perception of people/communities involved in the placemaking process

– The adoption of more flexible procedures, methods and tools that are closer to the social and spatial reality of people, considering their limitations, potentialities and resources

– The common benefit achieved with placemaking as a process (as opposed to the excessive promotion of its physical-spatial outcome)

As discussed above, the following important aspects can be highlighted:

– Establish a protocol between inter-perceptions/meanings and inter-actions, to guarantee the articulation between action objectives and results obtained.

– Identify a set of strong and weak points to enhance the former and minimize the latter.

– Carry out a continuous review of the adopted strategies, along with the successive adaptation of the methods, techniques and tools for the emerging needs, results and impacts obtained – which means the need for continuous collection and analysis of information, along with its systematization.

– Create communication and dissemination tools (endogenous and exogenous) to safeguard the involvement of people and stakeholders.

– Consider that the process of participation of social actors must be dynamic and flexible and to include a diversity of community actors and stakeholders to be part of the placemaking process through participatory design procedures, tools and techniques.

– Carry out the training of key actors involved in the placemaking process, increasing the general participation and empowerment. They are central to the conception of ideas, implementation of the placemaking process and support of the decision-making.

– Consider the role of a placemaking pedagogy. This pedagogical approach may help fill the gaps in dialogues between the technical and non-technical knowledge.

– Create mechanisms that facilitate the transferability of good sustainable practices.

– Produce continuous reflection documentation and support for the future placemaking process.

This chapter aims to discuss these issues, presenting three principles that, from a methodological logic of safeguarding and promoting social inclusion, can contribute to guiding placemaking processes. In this sense, this chapter discussed the role of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary knowledge from a community-led process; the importance of a common vision to obtain mutual benefits, creating and reinforcing ethical values; and, finally, the meaning of participatory design and continuous evaluation in taking placemaking as a continuous learning process, which requires a critical perspective of approach.

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Improving the Impact of Placemaking Practices: An Engaged Scholarship Approach

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Abstract

Among placemaking practitioners and scholars, the question of how we improve engagement in placemaking practices is the subject of much debate. We look at different placemaking cases in order to understand how the early inclusion of multiple stakeholder groups in the process of placemaking design and planning can improve citizen engagement and impact. In so doing we present a process-based "tool" to improve participatory engagement across multiple contexts. The early inclusion of multiple stakeholders is important as it can yield deeper insights into the needs of a community. In turn, this can help ensure the outcomes of placemaking projects are more impactful which can lead to more sustainable outcomes for local communities. To contribute to this, we look at different placemaking cases to understand how the inclusion of multiple stakeholders leads to sustainable outcomes. We compare stakeholder engagement across four placemaking initiatives. In the examples of PlaceCity in Oslo and Vienna, placemaking tools were utilized for urban regeneration or improvement. The case of Stará tržnica (Old Market Hall) in Bratislava was a renovation and

revitalization of a vacant heritage market. The example of Club Rhijnhuizen in the Netherlands showed how placemaking was used in a strategic way to revitalize a vacant neighbourhood. By comparing and contrasting these cases, we illustrate how an engaged scholarship approach can improve common participatory placemaking practices. An engaged scholarship approach focuses on early inclusion of multiple stakeholders as partners (Van de Ven, 2007). Engaged scholarship accepts that conflict is inherent in the process and should be embraced and managed rather than "solved". We highlight the implications of this for the design and project management of placemaking initiatives. We conclude this chapter by showing how a process-based view of placemaking practices contributes to sustainable outcomes for city councils, placemaking organizations and local communities.

Keywords

arbitrage – engaged scholarship – ownership as engagement

1   Introduction

Many placemaking initiatives claim to include and reflect a participatory practice during the design, implementation and installation stages. Where such consultations occur, "completed" visions for urban renewal, architectural and interior designs are often presented to local communities who are then asked to respond. Such meetings are conducted, as participatory consultations to disseminate proposals, in the hope, arguably, of meeting short-term project management goals within tight budgetary constraints.

If this description of placemaking processes is accurate, it may well fall short of their potential to be a truly engaged process. If participatory consultations quickly aim to gain approval in the hope of meeting short-term project management goals at the expense of long-term impact and sustainability for local communities, the practice of placemaking might well benefit from more theorizing around the nature of engagement. To address this point, we draw upon the ideas presented in the engaged scholarship literature (Boyer, 1996; Van de Ven & Johnson, 2006; Van de Ven, 2007) to show how such participatory practices as engagement can lead to more impactful and sustainable outcomes. We focus on two aspects of engaged scholarship: first, the early inclusion of multiple stakeholders as partners in the process and, second, the acceptance of conflict as an inherent part of the process to be managed rather than "solved". By

implementing these two elements we argue that local communities can gain ownership over the implementation and take responsibility for the sustainable impact of a project after its completion.

This chapter compares and contrasts different case histories of place-making practices from Oslo, Norway, Vienna in Austria, Rhijnhuizen in the Netherlands and Bratislava in Slovakia. Using these case histories, we aim to show, by using engaged scholarship as a theoretical lens, how placemaking can effectively include and empower local actors. Through their early inclusion we argue that outcomes are improved. Given the variety of the participatory practices discussed, we contribute to the debate on how best to harness civic engagement to improve long-term impact and sustainability.

2   Two Contrasting Approaches to Placemaking Practices

Common participatory practices (CPP) within placemaking projects focus on treating stakeholders as users of urban regeneration solutions. Such practices often treat stakeholders as consumers of completed designs. Here short-term project management goals as milestones overshadow the potential long-term contribution of stakeholders. Such participatory events often form one-way lines of communication in a stimulus-response form of interaction. To address the potential of these shortcomings, we consider the notion of engaged scholarship to supplement CPP for improved participation in urban planning processes (Table 12.1). The notion of engaged scholarship emerged as a means to address how knowledge comes into being across the theory-practice divide (Boyer, 1996; Van de Ven, 2007). While scholarly knowledge arrived at in a rigorous way is valuable, practical knowledge, such as that held by local communities and stakeholders, brings relevance into process. By including these two aspects (Van de Ven & Johnson, 2006; Pettigrew 1997), it is argued that decision-making is improved and that the outcome of a placemaking initiative becomes more impactful and sustainable. We focus on two aspects from the engaged scholarship literature.

2.1   *The Early Inclusion of Stakeholders as Long-term Partners*
To avoid the need to literally translate placemaking designs into something accessible for a consuming audience, local stakeholders need to be treated as partners in the creation process rather than as an audience receiving "completed" placemaking designs for review. Van de Ven and Johnson (2006) describe how this knowledge transfer view of project management is problematic. They claim that "exhortations for academics to put their theories into

practice and for managers to put their practices into theory may be misdirected because they assume that the relationship between knowledge of theory and knowledge of practice entails a literal transfer or translation of one into the other" (Van de Ven & Johnson, 2006, p. 808).

The implication of this for placemaking is that the treatment of local stakeholders as consumers of placemaking designs, rather than as partners in their creation, can result in the relationship being characterized as a transactive communicative relationship focused on a hands-off approach to dissemination. Such a view overlooks the value of using local practical knowledge within and throughout the placemaking design process. In the urban context where stakeholders can be very diverse, having different cultures, capacities and sometimes even language can be an advantage. Having such a variety of interests, perspectives, objectives and goals around what placemaking practices should yield becomes valuable. Incorporating local practical knowledge from the beginning can engender a sense of ownership and improve the impact and sustainably of placemaking outcomes. The treatment of stakeholders as partners allows firms to acknowledge and address the big questions that are grounded in lived realities of the local community. Where conflicts exist, they can be addressed so as to winnow down different opinions, perspectives and goals (Van de Ven & Johnson, 2006, pp. 810–811) and arrive at a more impactful or indeed more sustainable outcome.

2.2   *Dialectically Managing Conflict and Tension: A Strategy of Arbitrage*

Within an engaged scholarship approach the emphasis is placed on accepting and working with tension and conflict between different stakeholder perspectives rather than on "solving" that tension and conflict. To address this, Ven de Ven suggests a strategy of arbitrage designed to manage inevitable conflict (Van de Ven, 2007; Van de Ven & Johnson, 2006). A strategy of arbitrage allows project managers to exploit the differences in the knowledge of practitioners and the knowledge possessed by local stakeholders (Van de Ven & Johnson, 2006, p. 803). They state that

> because arbitrage is a dialectical form of inquiry, participants often experience conflict and interpersonal tensions that are associated with juxtaposing people with different views and approaches. We argue that managing conflict constructively is not only important but lies at the heart of engaged scholarship. Focusing, as we have in the past, on tensions between scholars and practitioners is a mistake, for it blinds us to the very real opportunities that are possible from exploiting the differences

underlying these tensions in the knowledge production process. (Van de Ven & Johnson, 2006, p. 803)

By using this arbitrage strategy, the authors argue that the dual hurdles of rigour and relevance are addressed (Pettigrew, 1997) and that the theory-practice divide is narrowed not by knowledge transfer alone but by meaningful engagement. They add that an arbitrage strategy is essentially a pluralistic methodology and what has previously been seen as a problematic interpersonal aspect of arbitrage with the presence of tension and conflict can instead be seen as representing something generative if managed within an accepted "dialectical process of inquiry" (Van de Ven, 2007, p. 809). Taking these two issues as a starting point we extrapolate their wider implications for the management of placemaking projects (see Table 12.1). We illustrate these aspects across the following case histories.

TABLE 12.1   Common participatory practices versus engaged scholarship practices

Common participatory practices	Engaged scholarship practices
Project management considerations	
Discrete event: Isolated and episodic engagement with stakeholders in consultation events (event-based approach)	Process of events: Ongoing process of partnered consultation (process-based approach)
Roles:	Roles:
– Stakeholders as consumers	– Stakeholders as partners across all stages of the project – project definition, scope, design and implementation
– Stakeholders lack ownership	
– Stakeholders lack decision-making power and/or responsibility	– Engendered ownership
	– Power and responsibility shared across multiple stakeholders
Vision: Creation driven by top-down vision	Vision: Co-creative, co-productive mixture of top-down and bottom-up practices
Management goal(s):	Management goal(s):
– To present "completed" designs	– To develop designs collaboratively
– Stakeholders present to "sign off" or "buy into" "completed" placemaking designs	– Stakeholders present to improve engagement and create a collaborative learning community
– Short-term project management and budgetary goals	– Long-term outcome-based goals to improve impact and sustainability

TABLE 12.1   Common participatory practices versus engaged scholarship practices (*cont.*)

Common participatory practices	Engaged scholarship practices
– Working toward making goals and objectives singular and holistic (solving tension and conflict); conflict to be solved through design – Results-oriented project management – Central control of resources including skills and decision-making power	– Working towards managing multiple goals and objectives (accommodating tension/conflict through arbitrage); conflict is embraced as the "big picture" emerges through stakeholder involvement – Open ended, trial and error solutions and recommendations – Distributed understanding of resources including skills and decision-making power
Types and uses of knowledge	
Types of privileged knowledge: – Focuses on professional theoretical knowledge – Rigour – Knowledge of theory from practitioners Knowledge flows: – Knowledge is transferred through the use of completed designs/mock-ups/ models which are presented to stakeholders as consumers – Uni-directional flow of knowledge, i.e. knowledge transfer Communication – Communication as transfer events – The uni-directional transfer of information – Transactive stimulus-response form of communication	Types of privileged knowledge: – Focuses on combining local practical knowledge with professional knowledge – Relevance – Knowledge of practice from local stakeholders Knowledge flows: – Knowledge is co-created and jointly produced through the ongoing development of designs/mock-ups/models with stakeholders as partners – Bi- and multi-directional flows of knowledge, i.e. knowledge sharing and exchange Communication – Ongoing communication as knowledge sharing (trust) and knowledge exchange – Continuous ongoing multi-directional communication

3   The Grønland Neighbourhood and Hersleb High School, Oslo

Grønland, a neighbourhood in central Oslo, has specific and lingering soci-
oeconomic challenges, including high child poverty, high secondary school
dropout rates, overcrowded apartments, unemployment and discrimination
of minority youth (Brattbakk et al., 2017; Tolstad et al., 2017). As part of the
PlaceCity project, the social enterprise Nabolagshager decided to cooperate
with an inner-city high school in Grønland with one of the highest dropout and
unemployment rates in Oslo. Despite this, the school runs an award-winning
entrepreneurship programme. Many students have expressed a strong desire
to "show the world" that they have great ambitions, clear prospects and strong
desires to contribute to their community. Furthermore, Grønland offered too
few public spaces (mainly due to large families living in small apartments), the
quality of the public spaces that existed was poor and the options for youths
in particular were insufficient (e.g. a lack of an after school gathering place).
There was also a lack of after school activities for youth in this area.

The high school's 6,000 m² schoolyard represented an important asset for
the neighbourhood but it was underutilized. It had the potential to contribute
to the living environment of Grønland while potentially offering the commu-
nity a safe place. The schoolyard was not user friendly. More could be made of
this space to meet local community needs. Nabolagshager, the firm involved,
decided to make better use of this dormant resource. To do so this would
require the involvement of the school, its administration as well as its students.
As a consequence, any potential solutions would require an understanding of
their opinions, wishes and desires so that any solution would have a material
impact on the live experience of the local community (Nasya et al., 2021b).

Rather than using a top-down-driven approach the aim of the project
became one of engaging in a community-focused approach to transform and
create a public place that young people and the neighbourhood could thrive
in. To ensure this, Nabolagshager assumed the role of facilitating and inspiring,
while letting the students and local community make decisions themselves
about how to develop the space. They felt that to transform the schoolyard it
would need to be made into an inclusive and welcoming place, not just for stu-
dents, but as a public resource that the local community could use after school
hours and during the weekends.

This continuous co-creative collaborative process allowed typical project
management tasks to be completed in a different way with the involvement
of students and their families. First, data was collected by youth researchers
(students from the high school) on such topics as behavioural mapping, car
observation, the mapping of local organizations and businesses, as well as

interviews and conversations with teachers and neighbours. Second, through co-creative workshops which involved games and other mapping activities, different scenarios for the area's development could be explored. Third, through the use of several pop-up events a wider network of contacts was established. Finally, formal interviewing of participants was conducted. Not only was this a useful learning experience for the students from the Hersleb high school, these steps were also invaluable to ensure that the local community had ownership over the process and that any solution would be impactful and sustainable. The knowledge obtained through this process would improve the design planning and implementation of the project. Table 12.2 highlights the co-creating activities relied on throughout the project to identify and include multiple stakeholder groups as partners within the process.

TABLE 12.2   Engaging multiple stakeholder groups

Activities reflecting the principles of engaged scholarship

School learning activities: Identifying multiple stakeholder groups

Activity 1: Behavioural mapping

As a learning activity three youth researchers from Oslo Living Lab observed a total of 700 persons in the street next to a high school by employing the "behavioural mapping" method for over a month in the summer of 2019. The results showed that men were using the street twice as much as women, and that children and elderly people were rarely seen. Most people used the street only to get from one place to another. Hence, many people were driving cars, walking or cycling. During this research activity, the schoolyard was closed due to the summer break so neighbours could not access the schoolyard. Insights gained through this process were used to plan pop-up cafés and street parties.

Note: Behavioural mapping as a tool allows researchers to explore the use and the users of a space as well as to create a comprehensive picture of how a place works. This provides insights into additional target groups and activities that should be included in the research, for example, passers-by.

Activity 2: Observations about car parking
Observations about car parking were also gathered. The parking patterns next to the high school were observed on six different days to prepare for a "Park(ing) Day" event to coincide with an annual international event that encourages community members

TABLE 12.2   Engaging multiple stakeholder groups (*cont.*)

Activities reflecting the principles of engaged scholarship

to transform parking spaces into temporary public spaces. The students found that out of 151 cars, 78 were parked on the street more than one time. The owners may be living or working in the area. The remaining cars were parked there only once during the period. After the research the students were challenged to transform the street outside their school into a space their peers and nearby residents could enjoy.

Activity 3: Mapping of local business and organizations

The student researchers mapped local businesses and organizations located around the school area in order to assess the potential for further collaborations and to gain a better understanding of who the economic and social actors would be. A total of 36 businesses and organizations were identified and mapped. Hersleb high school aimed to use this information to collaborate with a wider group of actors to create internship and potential job opportunities.

Engaging with multiple stakeholder groups

Paco's Pop-up Café and street parties

Following on from the exploratory research, further efforts were made to engage with local stakeholders. In August 2019, Paco Inclan from Valencia, Spain, opened up a pop-up café on Herslebs gate, the street the high school is on. This was used to experiment with creating a temporary lively place, enliven the street and to get in touch with the neighbours in order to learn about their needs and wishes for the schoolyard while creating some excitement about the project.

Neighbours and people using the space were surprisingly open to chat about the area, their ideas for it, and their experiences and perspectives. This event was family friendly and allowed children to be more actively involved (Placemaking Europe, 2021, p. 10). The event enabled stakeholders to discuss and see possible futures that they themselves could "own" and buy into. Other pop-up cafés and street parties were run for specific audiences, including events for the students themselves. These low-threshold events help to build wider buy-in from the community.

Even though the project's general objective was creating a liveable public space in the high school courtyard and the adjacent street, a specific objective for the project emerged in a bottom-up manner from the exploratory research. The research findings showed that people, especially students, wished for more social events, a greener and more colourful schoolyard, activities after school hours and at weekends, as well as more light during the dark season. To address this, pop-up furniture and a schoolyard bench was decided on. The students got to choose the colours, learned how to design and install the planters, berry bushes and flowers, for which they took the responsibility for maintenance. Students, including local skaters, started using the pop-up furniture immediately. The project was used as a location for a photo shoot, which honoured the creators and filled the students with pride. In collaboration with the artist, Goro Tronsmo and the actor Paal Herman Ims, the students created the light installation "The Life to Come". A couple of days after the artwork started lighting up a dark corner of the schoolyard in the grey, Norwegian January weather a new Covid lockdown came into effect. The locals felt that the light and colourful furniture pieces brought hope. Students commented on the double meaning of the "life to come" after graduation as well as the "life to come" after the pandemic (Nasya et al., 2021a). Even though the wider project was initiated by Nabolagshager, a local social enterprise, with the expressed goal of activating the local community, the specific installations came from the students, their teachers, families and local residents, supported by curated local artists in its implementation. This bottom-up approach arguably resulted in more impactful solutions compared to a traditional top-down-driven approach to project management.

4　　　Floridsdorf: Regenerating a Peripheral District of Vienna

Floridsdorf, a peripheral district of Vienna, lost its "centre feeling". As a matter of fact, it should have become a capital city in the state of Lower Austria beyond the Danube River. But today's Floridsdorf is very well connected to the rest of the city as a district, and for many commuters it is also the starting point for visiting Vienna. The city of Vienna is aware of the peripheric problems of the outer districts and created a citywide strategy to address this. Floridsdorf was chosen for a pilot test to activate the local community. For this kind of urban regeneration in urban planning, the term "bottom linked" was used to describe an approach which is neither top down nor bottom up. The top-down vision was to develop Floridsdorf as an "active" and "central" district by engaging with local stakeholders and empower them in their roles as citizens to

contribute ideas for the area's regeneration. The team at urban design studio Superwien Urbanism met with local stakeholders, including shop owners, traders and social service providers. A team from Social Design at the University of Applied Arts Vienna interviewed residents in the area. The challenge here was to get the local residents to support the large-scale goal of creating a lively centre. Most of the interviewees did not feel much affinity with the district centre due to its peripheral nature. Many rarely meet friends and family here. Local residents and visitors from other districts preferred the green spaces and waterfronts around Alte and Neue Donau, which were in walking distance of the district centre but design-wise not connected with each other. Connecting the two areas became a pillar for the regeneration of Floridsdorf. The question was how to make the centre of Floridsdorf important for the residents? The challenge was to convince people that their single acts can have an impact on the social life of the district (Nasya et al., 2021b).

The centrality of Floridsdorf is a creative vision, but a top-down decision. The challenge here is to get a bottom-up owned approach, while finding a process to engage the local actors. The project managers found it difficult to get residents to engage. Interviews confirmed a perceived lack of interest and involvement from the residents. Many were initially suspicious of the special interests involved. Time was needed to build trust and convince locals that small actions are possible and would make a difference, that they had a sense of ownership, as well as an important role to play in shaping the social life of their district from the bottom up.

The team concluded that most of the interviewees had unrealistic ideals of what Floridsdorf is or should be. Three main visions crystallized; an idealized Floridsdorf of the past which partners named Village (Dorf), a Floridsdorf projected to evolve to become a megacity not unlike New York which partners named Metropolis (Metropole), and a liminal space which people could not relate to and live in because of external circumstances. The project management team named it On the Way (Unterwegs). They hypothesized that the lack of involvement in user-generated urbanism from the general public was based in the understanding of a vision for the "possible futures" for the area and that this uncertainty made it difficult for them to be empowered enough to engage fully in the process. Activities were organized to address these challenges. "Placemaking Pils" and "Placemaking Laboratories" brought locals together with placemakers, administrative departments, representatives, civil society members and the private sector. Using presentations, film screenings and moderated workshops opportunities were created to collaborate on a vision for the central area of the district. Topics such as liveability, climate change actions on the ground, bureaucratic hurdles and the non-participation of other actors such as land or building owners were discussed. Most importantly,

further efforts were made to encourage residents to engage with the future possibilities for their district. The Social Design team, including students from the university, created an "urban lab" in a strategically located shopping unit in the defined central area, so as to have a local presence ("Real Labor"). Here they planned local activities to build interest in the project with passers-by. This became an information point for locals.

An "Urbanize!" festival featuring over 20 events, including walks, concerts, workshops, exhibition and games, was organized in October 2020 around Schlingermarkt, one of the focal points of the centre. Hundreds of guests from Floridsdorf and elsewhere participated. The opening of "Real Labor" in Schleifgasse 11, a space in which students and PlaceCity collaborators worked on ongoing modus, and also during Covid lockdowns, to engage with the residents who seemed excited and amused by this new window front in Floridsdorf. During an open market festival where residents were allowed to sell products for a small fee, vendors sold Georgian and Palestinian as well as preserved foods, completely selling out in just a few hours. This helped residents visualize the possibility of a viable market in the area. Other activities to encourage residents to visualize potentialities for the centre of Floridsdorf included a pop-up choir. The Construction Choir Collective, which rehearsed and performed in the centre, also aimed to encourage residents to see their district in a new light. Similar activities were organized for the children in the district, including walking tours. Over 60 visitors participated and listened to the walking tours. The aim here was to change people's perceptions of their surroundings, to give them agency over their district and to get them to reimagine for themselves how they might redefine local spaces. By changing the narrative from "everything was better before" towards a narrative about the future, residents were given the tools to envisage future possibilities of what might come (Nasya et al., 2021a, 2021b)

5   Activating Rhijnhuizen in the Nieuwegein Municipality of Utrecht

In 2014, following the recession, Rhijnhuizen, an underused, fragmented business park covering 80 hectares lay idle. With a 40% vacancy rate, a lack of mixed-use functions and an abundance of empty parking lots and glass façade architecture, many renters were hesitant to rent or use these spaces. Many of the buildings were owned by prior businesses or local families and served as investment pensions for the future. Owners were left with a difficult challenge to figure out what to do with their empty properties. In response to the area's situation, the city of Nieuwegein, together with a real estate developer, opened a call for a new area management plan, specifically requesting long-term

solutions and mixed-use development in exchange for six months of funding, after which time the area management operation should be self-sustaining. In response to the call, members of Stipo, a multi-disciplinary consultancy team for urban strategy and city development, in collaboration with Stadkwadraat, a group that provides financial/economic advice and management relating to area development, rose to the challenge of turning the site into a lively and liveable neighbourhood. As the ownership of the business park included up to a hundred owners, it was vital to capture and bring all the varying interests together. To achieve this, Club Rhijnhuizen was created with the explicit task of closely working with and building the trust of the local stakeholders. The organization worked on funding models and an area management plan to ensure that all these interests were brought forward in a democratic manner. The first step was to stimulate public use by opening up the ground floor spaces. By enabling a diverse set of activities and the daily use of the units it was hoped that it would engage the local community and improve their social life.

To ensure success and facilitate a development process within the community, a clear and equitable governance structure was needed in the form of a public-private partnership. Participatory input from the owners, renters and users of the spaces and real estate developers was needed. The leaders of the Stipo team, Hans and Emelie, invested their time and energy to get to know the community from the onset through walk-along chats, exploring the area, and simply talking with locals. Collaborative horizontal meetings with stakeholders were hosted to build a network, align stakeholder interests and build social capital with interested parties. These meetings were scaled up into more formal placemaking meetings. An equitable funding model was created where developers paid a one-time monetary contribution, while building owners and residents were exempt. They would bring value to the project in a different way – by offering their different perspectives on what was needed. At the same time, a nearby park, Park Rhijnhuizen, underwent a handful of placemaking projects to improve the users' daily lived experiences and, importantly, bolster their sense of trust in the project's plans for area renewal.

To ensure democratic engagement, Club Rhinjhuizen members served on the board of the public-private partnership for one year. Based on the outcomes of annual meetings, the action plan for that year was put into place. The long-term nature of this project provided stability and deepened the members' involvement in and the ongoing communication about new developments. Since the organizational structure, and ergo the governance as well, of Club Rhijnhuizen is based on an equitable and innovative membership model – bringing together many stakeholders contributing different resources – the decisions are taken in a democratic and reflective manner. Every stakeholder

group has equal footing for decision-making, under the agreement that all contribute some resource, whether this be financial (from developers and the municipality), time (community) or in-kind contributions (local businesses). When conflicts occurred, the board reflected on the best solution to ensure its long-term sustainability. This approach allowed Club Rhijnhuizen to work behind the scenes and gather a great deal of information about the needs of the membership network. For example, several local companies and organizations wishing to make their premises more environmentally friendly were reviewed by the Dutch national energy consultancy firm LBP|SIGHT. From the collective efforts of Club Rhijnhuizen, the Rijnhuizen area has become one of the national pilot projects for installing a district heating network. This might not have been achievable without the collective engagement of multiple stakeholders coming to work together.

6 Stará tržnica (Old Market Hall) in Bratislava, Slovakia

The Old Market Hall, a historic building in the centre of Bratislava, was closed down after years of unsuccessful attempts by the municipality to keep the market alive. The city tried to run it as a mono-functional market, but only six stalls remained inside as all others had closed in the dying market. Many tenants were making losses up to €30,000 a year. One reason for this was that the owners had a very narrow focus for the building, e.g. a market hall had to be a market hall even if there was little demand for it in Bratislava. At the same time the heritage-protected building required urgent reconstruction.

From the perspective of the municipality, the market building had cultural and social importance, but the city did not have the funds to operate the market itself. Ideally, the municipality wished to maintain the social value of the market by renovating it despite its unattractiveness as a shopping area. As a consequence, the municipality aimed to outsource the management of the building while also maintaining its social value. In an open competition, the municipality looked for interest groups to get involved. A civic non-profit association, Alianca Stará Tržnica, was chosen in 2013 (Patti & Polyák, 2017). The concept behind Stará tržnica was that prices would be lower due to its non-profit status. By charging lower rents businesses with social value would be able to participate.

Alianca Stará Tržnica brought multiple stakeholders together, including craftspeople, farmers and event organizers, to cater to a wider array of audiences. A multidisciplinary team of 11 experts were also included to address issues of heritage, renovation, building works and financial planning. The diversity of the team with real hands-on experience in different fields is the main

success factor behind the project. This allowed them to rethink a mix of uses for the Old Market Hall. To its economic sustainability a "blend of functions" and "combined activities" would ensure that all activities would be subsidized and successful. The empty hall was reopened. A special programme for the Old Market Hall was created to accommodate different uses and attract wider audiences. Every Saturday a food market was run as a seven-days-a-week market was seen as unviable. This allowed for other cultural events to take place on other days. A mix of uses included two cafés, a grocery shop, a cooking school and a soda water manufacturer. The blend of activities, the multifunctionality, the combination of social and economic functions was found to work well. The economic activities were used to subsidize the social ones. At the same time, this funded the proper renovation of the heritage building.

To build interest in the building's renovation, a symbolic €1 rent was requested from the city administration, with the obligation to invest €10,000 more into proper renovations. Through reinvestment this allowed for the creation of a new event venue and meeting space in the heart of the city. The knock-on effect of this development was seen on the neighbouring streets. While there were many shops that were closed and had dead façades, the renovated Old Market Hall dramatically changed the surrounding area. The reopening of the market gave an impulse to the neighbourhood, which became increasingly popular among younger people. As the project developed, Alianca Stará Tržnica began to see its role more widely in terms of urban renewal and as a stakeholder in contact engagement with city authorities and citizens alike (Open Heritage, 2020) about the development of neighbouring squares. Alianca Stará Tržnica began to work with various communities living in or using the area through events and focus groups, inquiring about their needs and barriers. Smaller projects to make spaces more functional, lively and enjoyable were implemented in the vicinity of the Old Market Hall. What was evident here was that cooperation among various stakeholders led to increased mutual benefits not only for the tenants but also for the wider community. Additionally, social behaviour (people visiting markets) changed with the programmed activities.

7   Conclusion

We conclude this chapter by showing how a process-based view of placemaking practices contributes to sustainable outcomes for city councils, placemaking organizations and local communities. The presented placemaking cases have a long-term perspective of collaboration, value creation and empowerment.

They illustrate differences in the long-term and value creation instead of short-term participatory consultations.

The wide-ranging project in Vienna is a very long-lasting and large-scale project. The decision to develop or strengthen the central area of the city came from the top down and it naturally is harder to engage and involve general citizens in such an abstract endeavour. Local presence and activities communicate and show the potential of the place. However, the local activities evident in the Hersleb, Rhijnhuizen and Bratislava cases show how continuous day-to-day dialogue with local actors represent a different form of civic engagement that requires different project management skills to lay the foundation for a lengthy and highly engaged process. This form of collaboration represents a particular challenge for project management. Only through dialogue can the actors on all sides meet each other, engage and come to trust one another, even though the connections remain loose. All cases have peculiar difficulties, yet the long-lasting goals and strong engagement of the stakeholders makes them outstanding and impactful for urban regeneration processes.

Efforts to improve engagement is inherent within an engaged scholarship approach (Table 12.1). This engagement required the early involvement of multiple stakeholders in the process. This reveals the specifics of how placemaking practices will incorporate all stakeholder groups and ensure "stakeholder ownership". A bottom-up approach to placemaking solutions which is completely proper will result in a more impactful and sustainable solution. Similarly, this offers a means to manage conflicting views through a strategy of arbitrage. These engaged scholarship elements can be summarized as follows.

To improve engagement within placemaking projects we focus on the following points:

– The early inclusion of multiple stakeholders as partners – not customers or consumers
– Bestowing a sense of ownership on multiple stakeholders
– The acceptance of tension within opposing views and goals, i.e. to be managed (but not solved) by using a strategy of arbitrage
– A shift in thinking from short-term to long-term project management perspectives
– Consultation not as a series of events but an ongoing process

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Young People and Placemaking: The Provision of Public Spaces for and by Youth

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Abstract

Interests of young people are neither often well considered in public spaces nor in decisions about the environment around them. One of the most important achievements of growing from childhood to adulthood is the development of one's own social life and increasing one's autonomy, which also means a widening of one's spatial range of action. Despite these spatial needs and benefits for their own development, teenagers are often treated with suspicion in public spaces. One will often find them in large groups, standing around, chatting loudly with one another or playing around. Spatial needs, appropriation and practices, on the one side, and social norms, on the other side, do not necessarily match. In an inclusive city, spatial consumption and production is part of a dialogue with citizens, including vulnerable, "undesirable" and marginalized groups, in order to guarantee them not only the access to public spaces, but also their involvement in planning and decision-making processes. Studies show that young people have a great potential to bring unique insights to the built environment. This chapter explores the potential of young people to be involved in placemaking, reflecting on challenges facing such involvement and taking into account the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. Backed by studies in Cork, Lisbon, Ljubljana, Stockholm and Volos, it addresses the question how to use placemaking to change the city into a more inclusive and responsive environment for young people. These cases demonstrate that placemaking can be used as a tool for engaging young people in the decision-making process about their city and local environment, collating evidence-based research on the relationship between young people and public spaces.

1   Introduction

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child spells out a child's "right to the city", which includes the call to provide them with the opportunity to participate in local governance (UN, 1989). This chapter explores the potential of young people to contribute to an inclusive placemaking, reflecting on the needs and demands of different age groups dealing with their involvement with public open spaces, henceforth referred to as public spaces. This chapter also takes into account the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and the mobility restrictions. Backed by studies undertaken in Cork, Lisbon, Ljubljana,

Stockholm and Volos, it benchmarks the successful participatory strategies and tools used in place-based research with young people. It intends to provide support for policymaking towards transforming cities into a more inclusive and responsive environment.

This chapter tackles the participation of young people in urban transformation. It follows the PPS (2007) definition of placemaking as a "collaborative process of shaping the public realm in order to maximise shared value", which implies the importance of paying greater heed to cultural and social identities over a physical place and to the multiple meanings of the physical space. The most recent theoretical perspectives suggest placemaking as an enabling tool in which people share knowledge and learn new skills to transform their own environments (PPS, 2007; Million et al., 2017; Strydom et al., 2018; Menezes et al., 2019). Thus, in successful placemaking initiatives people are agents for and recipients of a safe, healthy and inspiring environment (UN Habitat, 2016). In this context, a "place" is built by geographical, social, cultural, psychological dimensions and with the increasing ubiquity of digital and mobile devices it has a virtual layer, being also a hybrid space (Smaniotto Costa et al., 2019). Such understanding supports the UN's Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development (UN, n.d.), which emphasizes the need of making cities more inclusive, creating adequate, safe and affordable environments for all.

2   Defining Young People

This study deals with the provision of public spaces *for* and *by* youth, and it identifies the need for clarifying inclusiveness in the urban context. Defining the term "youth" (or "adolescent") seems to be a difficult task, as several researchers, government agencies and organizations adopt different definitions and propose variegated stages based on age. While the UNO Convention on the Rights of the Child defines a youth as someone from 18 years of age (and children as people aged 0 to 17 years) (UN, 1989), the World Health Organization defines someone aged 10 to 19 as an adolescent (WHO, 2006). This study uses the stages of adolescence proposed by Healthy Children (n.d.), as early adolescence (aged 10 to 13), middle adolescence (14–17), late adolescence (18–21), and youth (19–25). The age range for youth overlaps that of late adolescence because it serves the purpose of our study. Henceforth we use the terms "adolescent" and "youth" when we discuss the age groups, and we use the term "young people" when we speak about the group as a whole. Each age encompasses various needs, individually and within their peer group (Healthy Children, n.d.). The expectations, roles and duration of adolescence also differs in different cultures (Strasburger et al., 2006). In spite of the differences,

there is a common process of self-discovery in adolescence. The desire of identifying oneself in multiple ways outside the family increases adolescents' needs to explore different environments (Childress, 2004). This means that with increasing age adolescents are able or allowed to roam and explore their neighbourhoods, and become one of the frequent users of public spaces.

Policymakers and planners have a vision of adolescents based on a paradigm of dependence, in which they have the right to the city, to benefit from it (to circulate and to play), but they are not allowed to participate in making it. This perpetuates the adult hegemony over space, as adults assume that attributing responsibilities to youngsters would compromise their right to a childhood and because youngsters are not yet able to exercise responsibilities, hence shouldn't be granted rights (Valentine, 2004; Laughlin & Johnson, 2011; Batista et al., 2019). Adolescents are thus caught in a balancing act between a paradigmatic dependency (as a recipient of rights) and pragmatic gain (as co-creators of their own environment). This balancing situation is at the core of place governance, as Storring (2021) reminds us, as top-down urban planning is about "who has power, who does what, and how it will get paid for". As Lefebvre (1991, p. 143) writes, "space lays down the law because it implies a certain order – and hence ascertain disorder". These issues significantly affect placemaking. Considering that adolescents like to be part of a peer group, often chatting, laughing loudly and playing around in public (Strasburger et al., 2006; Healthy Children, n.d.), their behaviour is often treated as a threat by other users, and they are considered undesirable in sharing the public realm (Smaniotto Costa & Patrício, 2020). Such an understanding of adolescents does not conform to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989), which acknowledges them as active participants in development and transmitters of positive values and resources of production (UN, 1989).

Studies show that young people have a great potential to bring unique insights to the built environment (Elsley, 2006; Laughlin & Johnson, 2011; Nikšič et al., 2018; Smaniotto Costa et al., 2021), which calls for aiming policies and strategies at their full and active participation in urban space production.

3   Materials and Methods

A comparative study of cases from the different cities backed up with a literature review was conducted to analyse, assess different aspects of teenagers and youth, placemaking and participatory approaches (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Yin, 1994, 2018). It covers the range of young people ages from 10 to 18, since each age group has particular needs and possibilities to actively participate in placemaking.

The methodological approach is based on comparative urbanism (Nijman, 2007), focusing on a systematic identification of key processes, their different articulation and their inter-contextual interpretation. It uses an established common framework and follows the basic stages: documentation of the five cases based mainly on reviewing the data/information and literature. The overview of gathered data is presented in Table 13.1. It is followed by a detailed description, focused on the research questions, methodology, research context and the results of each case. In a second step, the gained data, and their potential impact were detected and explained. The issues raised are cross analysed, the overview of results is presented in Table 13.2 and checked against the key aspects sensed in the literature review.

4 Cases

Backed by case studies in Cork, Lisbon, Ljubljana, Stockholm and Volos, this chapter brings together experiences of different age groups of young people in placemaking. Since each case had its own objectives and used different methodologies, this study aims to perform an analysis of the main results

TABLE 13.1 An overview of the age groups involved in the cases

	Ljubljana	Stockholm	Lisbon	Volos	Cork
Age group	10-11	12-16	13-18	A. 13-19 B. 18-24	18-25
Group charateristic	Primary school pupils (5th class)	Teenagers girls/ families/dwellers	Teenage students / secondary school	Teenagers/ university students	International students/ young refugees
Number of sampling	70 pupils / 14 pupils more active	n/n	69 (20 in urban living lab)	n/n	20
Research period	2016-2018	2018-2019	2018-2019	2014-2019	2019-2020
Research question	How to empower children in placemaking?	How can the local community contribute to improving existing open spaces with inclusiveness and gender equality as a key issue?	What if teenagers design a public space? What are their needs in public places? How do their design ideas differ from the others?	Can digital tools and historical a wareness of teenagers and students contribute to their participation in placemaking?	How do young migrants make sense of home?
Research methods	Experimentation with educational tools: -Drawing the city -Photo story -Model making -Hands-on workshop -Learning by task (strolling the neighbourhood) -Discovering heritage through museum exhibition -Interviewing family member	Focus groups with teen girls, families and community	Living labs with teens, mapping of ideas, designing a proposal, surveys, collecting narratives and field observation with/by teens in public open space	Field visits, interviews	Walking, interviews and photo voice

of the single experiences in placemaking with young people and present evidence-based insights on the relationship between young people and public spaces. Table 13.1 provides an overview on the summarized data from the cases.

4.1   *Ljubljana: Extracurricular Activities at School Can Empower Adolescents to Participate in Placemaking*

4.1.1   Objectives

The project in Ljubljana took place at the Danile Kumar primary school in the district of Bežigrad. The aim was to develop extracurricular activities that would provide adolescents with experience in urban design and empower them to take an active role in redesigning public places in their neighbourhood.

4.1.2   Context

The activities took place in Ruski Car (Russian Tsar), one of the largest and most densely populated neighbourhoods of Ljubljana. Built in the 1970s, the neighbourhood has an urban layout characterized by two long rows of multi-storey blocks of flats with a public space in-between. In the first decades after its construction, the public space acted as a social space of the neighbourhood, characterized by spontaneous encounters and children's play. These days this public space, due to the changes in lifestyles, is rarely used for social

FIGURE 13.1   Photography is a great tool for young adolescents to learn about the design of
the urban environment
PHOTO: BLAŽ JAMŠEK, © UIRS

FIGURE 13.2A   Workshops on building a bird and bee hotel and placing it in the neighbourhood
PHOTO: BLAŽ JAMŠEK, © UIRS

FIGURE 13.2B

activities and was turned into a transition space between the different parts of the neighbourhood.

The co-creation activities were organized between 2014 and 2018 to collect ideas to revitalize the public space. The research showed that locals lack the knowledge and skills to initiate a bottom-up process, making clear that institutional leadership was required (Nikšič, 2021).

4.1.3   Research Framework

Seven thematic workshops under the title "Neighbourhood, Public Space and the Active Role of Inhabitants" were run together with the Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia, the Museum of Architecture and Design and Skupaj na ploščad!, a local initiative. The activities were carried out with the fifth grade students at the Danile Kumar primary school. Students had the opportunity to interact with an interdisciplinary team of professionals and educators in the fields of architecture, landscape architecture and art history. The important issues of urban design with the emphasis on public places, urban heritage and active citizenship were addressed in a playful way in a series of lectures, debates and hands-on workshops, aiming to encourage students to play an active role in placemaking (fig. 13.1). The leading themes of the seven workshops were as follows:

– My city and my street
– My neighbourhood through the camera lenses
– The quality of public space
– Urban space and urban harmony
– Visit to the Museum of Architecture and Design: A neighbourhood through an exhibition
– When architecture meets nature
– Let's meet on the street

One of the aims was to generate new ideas to improve local parks, streets, squares and like spaces to turn them into better places for everybody. Through the play students learned about various professions involved in urban design. The most popular activity was the hands-on workshops, such as the construction of the "bee and bird hotel", where students learnt how added function can change the character of urban places (fig. 13.2). They also liked to use digital photography when discussing assets and problems of their home streets.

The students were encouraged to share the knowledge about urban improvements through homework and discuss placemaking with their families and relatives. As a result, some family members joined some participatory activities in the neighbourhood.

4.1.4   Results

The students acquired new knowledge through a range of playful activities and developed their own ideas by conducting field analyses, making scale models and carrying out hands-on interventions in public places. They were given an opportunity to realize the importance of spatial issues, develop skills to express opinions about urban problems, produce action plans and implement them in a collaborative manner. The project showed how extracurricular school activities could be the successful tools to empower young people to participate in placemaking.

4.2   *Stockholm: Involving Young Girls in Co-creation Activities Contributes to the Well-being of All*

4.2.1   Objectives

Recent research has revealed that Swedish children and teenagers, in particular teenage girls, do not often engage in daily physical exercise (Nivå Landskapsarkitektur, 2020). This project aimed to create space in a park in Bredäng, a suburb of Stockholm, for spontaneous dance, play and sports for teenagers and the wider community. An existing football pitch, which was mainly used for organized sports events for boys and men, was proposed for redesign. To provoke changes, a workshop with local residents, in particular with girls, was organized. The case shows that placemaking involving a broad participation of residents is able to contribute not only to the creation of a better public realm, but also encourages people to engage in daily physical exercise (fig. 13.3). During the pandemic, the Swedish government avoided imposing severe restrictions and lockdowns, thus it remained possible for people to engage in outdoor activities. In this context, placemaking that supports outdoor activities for all age groups – and especially for young people – has a clear value.

4.2.2   Context

The district of Bredäng is situated within the city district of Skärholmen in the south-western parts of the Stockholm municipality. Bredäng has a population of nearly 10,000, 70% of whom are newcomers (fig. 13.4). A large majority of residents live in multifamily houses, in rental units owned by private and public landlords (Agdahil & Engström, 2017). The neighbourhood was built between 1963 and 1965 as part of the Million Programme (Miljonprogrammet), a large public housing program implemented in Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s to ensure the availability of affordable, high-quality housing for all. Bredäng is not only known for its green and blue qualities (Agdahil & Engström, 2017), but also for the poor quality of its public spaces and its monotone architecture

FIGURE 13.3   A view of the Bredäng Park playground, including different zones for dance
and play
PHOTO: ROBIN HAYES, 2020

(Häggblom, 2016). Under the current plans for the urban development of Stockholm, the city shall become a coherent and dense urban environment and will see an increase in modernist planning (Häggblom, 2016). Planning debates about Bredäng highlight its historic, modernist and contemporary values, and the continuum of its urban landscapes, in which open spaces play a basic role. The focus on open spaces is also central in the study of Agdahil and Engström (2017), as they consider public spaces the field of interaction for planning approaches. However, this continuum is difficult to perceive as some green spaces are public, such as parks, while others, such as courtyards between the buildings, are semi-public or private. Bredäng Park is one of these public spaces and it requires a new design. The approach was to encourage the involvement of different stakeholders, with a special regard to young girls, and then widen the involvement of their families.

4.2.3   Research Framework
Different planning visions for the future of the Bredäng suburb have been discussed and large- and small-scale interventions have been defined. The vision that inspired the redesign of Bredäng Park was small-scale, with a placemaking

FIGURE 13.4   An aerial view of Bredäng district
PHOTO: ROBIN HAYES, 2020

FIGURE 13.5   Placemaking process involved girls, families and residents in living labs
PHOTO: ROBIN HAYES, 2020

approach centred on involving young girls into a co-creative process (fig. 13.5). The overarching goal is to encourage teenagers to engage in outdoor activities, contributing to the well-being of other age groups by encouraging them to spend time together.

4.2.4   Results

It is not common to set up a focus group involving young girls. The crucial input has been the involvement of their families and other residents with the aim to design a space for outdoor activities accessible "for everyone". The project proposed a new function to the football pitch, providing space for spontaneous physical activities, such as dances, creating a meeting place for everyone, where friends, siblings, parents, relatives and residents could spend time together (Nivå Landskapsarkitektur, 2020) (fig. 13.6). The new space is more valued due the incorporation of a multitude of activities and functions. It provides residents the opportunity to be together, enhancing their social life and enabling them to engage in outdoor and physical activities (fig. 13.7). Though Bredäng had a negative image in the past, the new suburban intervention demonstrated a successful example of inclusive place-making (Bocci, 2021).

FIGURE 13.6   From a bird's-eye view of the playground it is possible to distinguish all the different play areas and equipment
PHOTO: ROBIN HAYES, 2020

FIGURE 13.7   Young people and their families enjoying the playground
                PHOTO: ROBIN HAYES, 2020

4.3   *Lisbon: Co-creation of a Teenager-sensitive Public Space Using Their Spatial Knowledge and Practices*

4.3.1   Objectives

The study explored teenage student's views and experience in public space in the Alvalade neighbourhood in Lisbon. It was part of the C3Places project (funded by Horizon 2020, a European Union framework programme funding research, technological development and innovation) and aimed at advancing knowledge on the spatial practices of teenagers (aged 13–18), and together with the teenage students co-create a design of a public space that meets their needs and preferences. The project also analysed whether teenagers' perspectives are reflected in local policies.

4.3.2   Context

The case study in Lisbon opened the opportunity for collaborative and co-creative practices to explore the involvement of teenagers in placemaking, together with the local secondary school and the parish council of the Alvalade neighbourhood. Alvalade is a paradigmatic neighbourhood, as it was implemented following a master plan from 1940. Although well planned, it failed

to provide adequate opportunities for young people to socialize and interact outdoors. The wide street space in front of the school was identified by the students as their most commonly used public space, where they congregate and socialize using the bus stop shelter, the bike rental station or just sitting on the sidewalks (Smaniotto Costa et al., 2020, 2021).

4.3.3   Research Framework

Urban living labs with teenagers were used in the course of the C3Places project to address the question of what a teenager-sensitive space looks like. The research programme for the labs encompassed different methods and tools, such as thematic workshops, exploratory site visits in the neighbourhood, surveys, discussions and debates sessions (fig. 13.8). The labs were complemented with other methods and techniques of data collection (fig. 13.9), such as collaborative ethnography, field observations and interviews with local planning experts. Space observations enabled us to obtain an overview of the whole neighbourhood and outlined the public spaces used particularly by teenagers. The advancements of digital and mobile technologies opened new ways to increase research, engage with stakeholders and create new participatory dynamics.

4.3.4   Results

The living labs explored opportunities for involving teenagers in co-creation of the space near their local school, providing a platform for learning and developing ideas about public spaces. The project helped to increase the understanding of the role of teenagers and school government in decision-making through a series of labs with the participation of the local government. The main needs identified by the teenagers were related to the general improvement of the place, proposing suitable equipment and furniture for seating in groups. To increase the space quality, a series of other issues were raised, including public accessibility, in particular for disabled people, road safety and improving greenery and shading. As a result, two different designs of the space were proposed by the teenagers.

During the lab, the school government and representatives from the local council expressed a vision of the involvement of adolescents in local planning. The participation of teachers and council representatives in joint sessions confirmed the paradigm of dependency of adolescents on adults' decisions (fig. 13.10).

FIGURE 13.8   Teenage students mapping their views on the quality of public spaces
PHOTO: C3PLACES PROJECT, 2020

FIGURE 13.9   A weaving loom in the school hall was used to capture the patterns of use of
public spaces by the teenage students
PHOTO: C3PLACES PROJECT, 2019

FIGURE 13.10   The programme of the living labs was extensively discussed with the school
                government and representatives from the local council
                PHOTO: C3PLACES PROJECT, 2019

4.4   *Volos: Historical and Cultural Topics Presented by Digital Tools Contributed to Increased Participation of Teenagers and Students in Placemaking*

4.4.1   Objectives

The Volos case study is based on two projects. The first project was run by the City Museum of Volos and aimed to raise awareness of teenagers about the history of past disasters in Volos and disaster management using digital games (Dandoulaki & Andriadi, 2016). The second project aimed to involve students at the University of Thessaly in placemaking as creators (fig. 13.11). They committed to build a memory map of Volos in digital form by collecting different data from the residents and visitors of the city (EINS Project, 2014; VolosGeist, 2014).

4.4.2   Context

The City Museum of Volos collected historical memories on local disasters, including earthquakes and floods, and information on the recovery from these disasters. The information was gathered from interviews with key stakeholders

FIGURE 13.11   The spirit of the neighbourhoods in Volos
                 PHOTO: VOLOS, 2019

and the community in formal and informal refugee camps (e.g. Mozas) and stories of refugees, settled at neighbourhood Nea Ionia in Volos. The collected life stories were used in the digital game for teenagers based on a treasure hunt. The game was linked with the exhibition of the City Museum, through the scanning of QR codes on the museum premises.

Students at the University of Thessaly initiated the production of a memory map of Volos. They used One Minute web game for crowdsourcing, covering the whole city with photos of 354 places. It attracted over 250 participants in less than three days. The project managed to crawl 1180 foursquare places and over 17,000 tweets. As a result, a digital memory map was produced, showing the most popular places in the city for different respondents. Places mostly visited by men were sport cafés and strip clubs, and women highly rated beauticians and hair salons. Locals were going frequently to city council offices and tourists visited landmarks. Non-central locations and places with no context were not rated as popular locations. The visited places were annotated by the dominant sounds and smells. The social map collected individual experiences of the city and contributed to the construction of local identity.

4.4.3   Research Framework

Digital tools were successfully used in both projects. The digital game for teenagers connected the exhibition in the City Museum of Volos with information on disaster management and stories about peoples' behaviour during the earthquake of 1955. Students at the University of Thessaly used the digital platforms Foursquare and Twitter to collect different sources of data about Volos and combine this data in the memory map of the city.

4.4.4   Results

The Volos case study demonstrated that historical and cultural topics interpreted and presented by digital tools contributed to increased participation of teenagers and students in placemaking.

Teenagers were engaged in the placemaking as active users. Students were initiators; they looked for opportunities and places which could satisfy their needs for raising their self-esteem and identity and their need for social interactions. In both cases, historical and cultural memories, stored in objects and memories, associated with the places and based on events of the past contributed to form young people's common identity.

As teenagers know little of their history, it was easy to engage them to learn the historical topic by web game. Students preferred to be "actors" but also chose to use digital tools to create their own forms of interactions with the city.

4.5 Cork: The Sense of Inclusion and Exclusion in Society Provided by Public Places

4.5.1 Objectives

The Cork case study is based on a project called Youth Home, a Horizon 2020 project aimed to understand what "home" means to young migrant men. The main objectives of the project revolved around the notion of home and belonging among young migrants who have official permission to stay in Ireland either through the refugee route or through securing a study visa, and are from countries from outside Europe. In order to understand home, the study focused on two spaces: the private and the public spheres.

4.5.2 Context

Home for migrants can mean a variety of concepts (Mallett, 2004), but in terms of spatial angles, home is regarded as multi-scalar, and these scales are usually divided between private and public spaces (Fathi, 2022). It is connected to the sense of belonging and thus to the sense of inclusion and exclusion in society, a feeling that was expressed by participants who are different from the mainstream of Irish society. The study is set in Cork, the second largest city in Ireland. Cork has two large universities that attract a large cohort of international students. Due to the strong industrial and service sector, there are lots of job opportunities that attract young workers to the city.

4.5.3 Research Framework

Twenty male participants took part in the multistage ethnography study that included ten international students and ten refugees aged between 19 and 25. The methods included walking interviews, a "taste of home" method, photography of urban areas, photography of domestic spaces and re-interviewing.

Each walking interview in the city of Cork lasted between two and five hours. The conversation during the walk was recorded using a microphone and photos were taken at the same time from the urban spaces the participants felt at home. The methodology in this research was informed by a plethora of research in human geography and urban sociology that uses visual, narrative and walking methods to understand home (Brickell, 2011; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Walsh, 2011).

4.5.4 Results

Understanding home in the public spaces is about who is included in that space and who is not. The meaning of home as such is entangled with the sense of belonging (and belonging to identity) that it is vital to think of how

a sense of belonging is fostered within the public spaces of European cities. It was noted that despite attempts in recent years to make Cork a migrant- and youth-friendly city, there is much work to be done to improve the sense of belonging to the city. Participants referred to "little pockets" in the city that reminded them of aspects of their identity and culture that could be used as spaces of care (Amin, 2002). The spaces migrants discussed in their walking interviews were shallow and meaningful only provisionally (Fathi & Ní Laoire, 2021).

5   Discussion

The empirical studies span the period from 2014 to 2020 and include both quantitative and qualitative surveys. They confirm that a public space is not only a physical structure, but a social interplay between the environment and its users, where individuals and social groups produce an urban-social world through their everyday practices (Lefebvre, 1991; Smaniotto Costa et al., 2019). An overview of results of the case studies is presented in Table 13.2.

The activities carried out in Ljubljana and Lisbon with adolescents reveal the importance of increasing their literacy in relation to the urban space and providing them tools to reflect and create new ideas for their own space. The Stockholm case shows that giving a voice to an often excluded group (adolescent girls) can not only make public places more inclusive, but also raises the interest in physical activities of the wider community. The Volos case allows us to emphasize the importance of digital games to involve adolescents in placemaking, creating new opportunities for territorial empowerment based on working with history and memory. The Cork case reveals that for young migrants the sense of home in the public spaces is connected with the idea of belonging and inclusion.
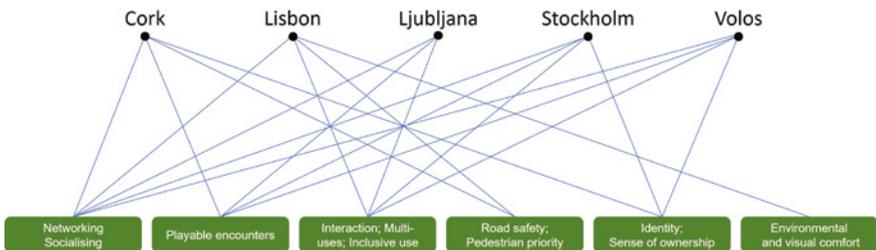

FIGURE 13.12   A diagram identifying some of the key needs of young people raised from the cases presented

TABLE 13.2   An overview of the main findings from the cases

CASE	LJUBLJANA	STOCKHOLM	LISBON	VOLOS	CORK
main findings placemaking and youth	_School programmes lack content related to placemaking; _Playful encounters in the open public spaces are successful strategies; _Real experiences in placemaking are the best learning tools _Child-friendly leaders are important	_Increased social responsibility and positive change of behaviour; _Placemaking is a tool for promoting outdoor activities; _Multi-use community spaces contribute to more inclusive public realm	_Poor urban literacy _Difficulties in distinguishing public from private places _Mapping the existing public spaces with teens is a successful tool to understand their spatial needs _Lack of spatial opportunities for teenagers in the city _Few opportunities for teenagers to actively participate in placemaking	_Two types of engagement of young people in placemaking: users (teenagers) and initiators (students) _Digital technologies are useful tools to engage young people in placemaking _Historical and cultural memories in public places can be used to create a common identity for young people	_For young migrants, the sense of inclusion and exclusion in society is provided by public spaces _For migrant youth place-making is connected with a sense of home with an emphasis on future homes _Difficulty in providing a sense of place belonging for migrants youth

The analysis of the cases identified six key needs of young people: net-working/socializing, playable encounters, interaction/inclusive uses, road safety/pedestrian priority, identity/sense of ownership and comfort (fig. 13.12). Tackling these needs could be a driving force for making cities more youth friendly, as they include the call for everyday freedoms (play, networking, socializing, etc.), friendly infrastructure (safe roads and pedestrian priority) and provision of opportunities to raise their self-confidence (identity and a sense of ownership). These needs could be met by providing multifunctional spaces – beyond the children's playground at the neighbourhood scale.

6   Placemaking Experiences

6.1   *Early Adolescence (Ages 10–13)*
The experience of the extracurricular activities in Ljubljana and Volos confirms that adolescents are fully capable of developing and articulating their own ideas for their local environments once they are taught the "spatial language". Both cases also show the importance of playful encounters – in the case of Ljubljana, it was clear that a set of thematic events needed to be intertwined with a fair amount of play in order to keep the interest and active involvement

of adolescents throughout the process. Early adolescents have strong ties with their peers and parents, which means that the activities with and for adolescents are followed by larger groups of people. This put adolescents in the position of placemaking ambassadors.

The important role of digital facilities has been recognized within this age group, when it is provided in public places. It encouraged adolescents to capture their interest in the history and culture of the area while visiting places and to share insights they gained. The language used to address this age group in presenting the historic information was as important as the content. In other words, adolescents were engaged in placemaking as active users with playful encounters as a key to its success.

6.2 *Middle Adolescence (14–17)*

This age group is learning to balance between dependence and independence within its social relationships (Szwedo et al., 2017). The independence from parents is replaced by peer relationships and group activities. Anti-social behaviour in public spaces is often associated with large groups of middle adolescents. The cases show that teenagers gain legitimacy in the city by using the space, and by active participation in placemaking they exercise their "right to the city", which is not only the right to access urban resources, but it is also the process of acquiring responsibilities for the environment and learning new skills (Harvey 2008; Smaniotto Costa et al., 2020, 2021).

It was noted that municipalities maintain a limited vision about young people's rights to the city and the benefits of their participation in decision-making. The Lisbon and Stockholm cases show that young people can be powerful agents in the creation of better public places and confirm that a child/youth-friendly approach to urban planning leads to positive outcomes for the wider community. The experience in Stockholm highlights that placemaking should also address gender equity and, in particular, the opportunity for girls to discuss their needs and enjoy the successful outcome of improvements. The case of Lisbon serves as an example that engaging young people in urban planning practices is anchored in institutional discourses, however, the willingness to share power and responsibility in decisions with them is not always present. These shortcomings are viewed by public administration from the paradigmatic (the child as a subject of rights) and the pragmatic (the child as an instrument of general political performance) sides.

The co-creation process with adolescents reveals that they are interested in the quality of spaces and include in their ideas issues which benefit the wider community.

6.3 *Late Adolescence (18–21), Overlapping the Last Stage Age between 19 and 25*

This age group are independent minded. They prefer to be urban "actors" and create their own forms of interactions with the city. In Volos, students were looking for opportunities and places which can satisfy their needs for raising their self-esteem and confirming their identity, and their need for social interactions with others. It was a good innovation to encourage them to use digital devices in their project as they opened new opportunities to involve a wider community and encouraged the students to learn new skills and experience the local culture.

Although the cases demonstrated that each age group has its own way of developing spatial relationships, there is evidence of common points. The cases highlight the importance of strong leadership. For example, in Stockholm it was a local group created by the district administration, in Lisbon it was a secondary school and in Volos it was the City Museum and the University of Thessaly. The Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia and a local school took the leadership in Ljubljana. The successful role of partnerships with the school and local administration was evident in Lisbon; in Ljubljana, it was noted that youth-friendly leaders encouraged all locals to actively participate in providing learning opportunities in public places for informal education (Richards & Raymond, 2000). Adding issues of placemaking to the school curriculum in Ljubljana and Lisbon, and using living labs, proved to be a successful strategy for increasing urban literacy.

It is well known that young people give value to digital facilities and experiences which public places are able to offer. The cases of Ljubljana and Volos demonstrate that digital technologies were useful tools for involving young people in placemaking. In particular, in Volos young people were encouraged to use digital tools to enrich the understanding of the history of the city. Young people in Volos saw their identity in being part of a local community, connecting it not only to the place of work and study, access to new technologies and consumption, but also linking it to the history and cultural heritage of their city. That is why cultural memories, shared by a particular group of people, associated with the places and based on events of the past were useful tools to engage youngsters to placemaking (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995; Assmann, 2008).

7   Placemaking in Light of the Covid-19 Outbreak

The Covid-19 pandemic presents a major challenge to the people's lives. To prevent the spread of the virus, governments introduced policies that restricted people's movements. These measures forced people to interact with their immediate surroundings in new ways. This surfaced deep inequities in the distribution of public spaces across the cities (Simon, 2021). As the OECD (2020) asserts, health problems and the virus spread were not related to urban density, but rather to structural inequalities and the quality of urbanization. Deprived areas have less public spaces per capita, which necessarily increased the potential of crowding.

Lockdown measures such as homeschooling and working from home encouraged young people to stay at home. UN Habitat (2020) notes that public spaces are important assets to prevent the spread of Covid-19. They encourage changes in habits of young people. It was noted that in Stockholm young people frequently attended public spaces during the pandemic for daily exercises. After the easing of Covid-19 restrictions in Ljubljana, Lisbon and Volos, young people met in public places more often than before the pandemic. In Lisbon there was a sudden rise of intensity in the use of public spaces by adolescents to carry out activities (e.g. picnics) that they used to do indoors (e.g. shopping centres).

The literature search confirmed that digital technologies can provide useful support before, during and after disasters (Ruchinskaya & Lalenis, 2020). In this framework, the experience of using cultural memories of past disasters in digital games in Volos was a useful tool for raising disaster awareness.

8   Conclusions

The analysed cases show that several neighbourhoods in Lisbon, Stockholm and Volos have a deficiency in public spaces, which can satisfy young people's needs, pushing them to hang out at bus stops, in playgrounds and on sidewalks, causing inconvenience for other users and creating a wrong image of young people as troublemakers. The case in Lisbon shows that young people do not claim an exclusiveness in public space; they are willing to share spaces and call for increasing the quality and inclusiveness of spaces. Estrela and Smaniotto Costa (2019) assert that territorial education opens new ways for young people to understand their environment, while placemaking enables them to actively co-create it and participate in decision-making (PPS, 2007). This study proves that young people have a right to access urban resources,

advocates opportunities for young people to participate in placemaking and to create their own content in public spaces and raises questions of equality of genders and ages during placemaking activities. Unfortunately, only small efforts have been made to give voices to young people in the designing and decision-making about their environment. On the flip side, the cases indicate that young people can be agents in placemaking and that their participation in the co-creation of their environment results in more inclusive public spaces, which also encourage healthy life and active citizenship.

The current epidemiological situation connected with Covid-19 still brings new challenges and dilemmas in understanding values of public spaces, which are able to provide physical, social and psychological health of the population in general and, specifically, for children and adolescents. To address some dilemmas brought about by the pandemic, digital technologies can play a pivotal role. In this sense, it is important to consider that digitalization implies that physical spaces will (or have) become a hybrid space. If the goal is to develop more sustainable and liveable environments, research must focus on quality – how to meet people's spatial needs in their immediate vicinity.

Acknowledgements

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How People Change Public Parks by Using: Notes on Before and After the Covid-19 Outbreak

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Abstract

Public parks are important elements of the green infrastructure. They provide places for people to experience nature and engage in physical activities, which are key in increasing public health and well-being. There are new factors limiting the usability of parks, provoking changes in the usage patterns. The Covid-19 pandemic and the introduction of restrictions on the use of the city significantly reduced many forms of physical activities, and a stay-at-home obligation is negatively associated with an increase of sedentary lifestyles. At the same time, the demand for greenery has intensified, highlighting the increasing role and benefits provided by green spaces in times of emergency, such as the pandemic. To better understand the contemporary values of parks, this chapter discusses the usage of public parks before (2019) and during the Covid-19 pandemic (2020–2021). The research includes the analysis in three urban parks located

in different European countries: Pole Mokotowskie Park in Warsaw (Poland), Quinta das Conchas in Lisbon (Portugal) and Parco della Pace in Senigallia (Italy). These parks have different sizes and equipment, but are all very popular recreational places for the residents. The main activities performed by users in both the pre-pandemic and pandemic period were identified based on the field observation methods, which included a list of performed activities. The research conducted during the site visits was completed with information from media and government communications, including the context of country-specific restrictions. Changes in users' activities were analysed for each park, and then compared to identify similarities and differences. Particular attention was paid to activities that were abandoned, limited or eliminated from the park programme, as well as those that became more popular. The results show that the role of public parks in providing recreation and improving health and well-being are still appreciated and valued, while at the same time their use and preferred equipment have been adapted to sanitary restrictions.

Keywords

urban greenery – recreation – park users – Covid-19 pandemic – public health and well-being

1 Introduction

Public parks, an important element of the urban green infrastructure, provide places for socializing, relaxing, experiencing nature and engaging in physical activities (Cohen et al., 2007; Smaniotto Costa et al., 2008; WHO, 2017), which are key elements ensuring public health and well-being and thus for securing a certain quality of life (Bedimo-Rung et al., 2005; Smaniotto Costa et al., 2009; Wolf & Wohlfart, 2014; WHO, 2017). New challenges such as the Covid-19 pandemic provoke changes in social behaviour due to the fact that socializing and gathering together have to be avoided. The introduction of restrictions in the use of outdoor spaces significantly reduces many forms of physical activities, and a stay-at-home obligation contributes to the increase of a sedentary lifestyle. At the same time, raising awareness of the beneficial impacts of green spaces on physical and mental health pushes a demand for greenery in cities. This highlights the growing role and benefits provided by urban greenery, particularly in such circumstances as a global pandemic. Due to the lower transmission risk in outdoor settings (Bulfone et al., 2020; Rowe et al., 2021; Sepe,

2021), many cities began to reopen outdoor spaces, including urban parks, after initial lockdown periods, thereby respecting physical distancing rules and other precautions to ensure safety.

The call to maintain social distancing has modified the access and use of equipment and facilities. Social behaviour had to change (Rice et al., 2020; Geng et al., 2021) and introduced, on a temporary or limited basis, other forms of recreation and/or use of equipment, different from those foreseen when they were implemented. The changed conditions also include an increasing use of information and communications technology (ICT) in urban parks (Kimic et al., 2019; Suchocka et al., 2019) to support different and variegated forms of interactions between park users (Mouratidis, 2021). The challenge for landscape planners and designers is to conciliate the response to safety rules and policies with the social needs and expectations of users.

In the context of placemaking, this study addresses changes in the use of parks – before (2019) and during the Covid-19 pandemic (2020–2021) – backed by analyses in three urban parks in different European countries: Pole Mokotowskie Park in Warsaw (Poland), Quinta das Conchas in Lisbon (Portugal), and Parco della Pace in Senigallia (Italy). The main activities performed by users in the pre-pandemic and pandemic periods were identified through field observations – an easy and efficient qualitative method of data collection. It allows, as part of behavioural mapping, a better understanding of peoples' spatial practices and needs, and the way interactions between people and places are performed (Kawulich, 2005; Kara, 2013; Maden, 2021; Zhang et al., 2021). Field observation can be applied in different types of urban greenery as a tool of placemaking, towards gaining evidence to support the process for a positive transformation focused on people and their usage patterns. This method, being community based, enables the creation of high-quality public parks by responding to the needs of users for socializing, relaxing and mingling; it further strengthens interactions that contribute to enriching experiences and thus enhancing citizens' satisfaction with their time spent outdoors. Hence, this method can also contribute to the creation of more flexible and, therefore, user-friendly and inclusive parks.

The present study brings together empirical data, gathered during multiple on-site visits to the three parks in the summer of 2019 and 2021. The in situ research was completed with (1) information from media and government communications, including the context of country-specific restrictions such as the need to use masks, social distancing, selected periods related to closing parks and then specific opening hours, and areas out of use or with reduced collective activities (e.g. meetings, social events), etc.; (2) a literature review;

and (3) an auto-ethnographic analysis of the data (Ellis et al., 2011), since the three authors are experienced in analysing socio-spatial practices. Changes in users' activities were analysed for each park, and then compared in order to identify similarities and differences. Particular attention was paid to abandoned activities and those limited or eliminated from the park programme, as well as those that proved more popular during the pandemic.

This analysis accepts the challenge of assessing data and compiling them to a common baseline in order to distil critical issues in spatial practices, and to provide a better understanding of the changes caused by restrictions due to the pandemic. This chapter reviews some of the most common and well-known patterns of use and physical activities within parks, backed by a brief literature review. The list of outdoor activities encompasses the various forms of leisure and recreation identified in the parks as well as the use of mobile devices in both pre-pandemic and pandemic periods.

2 Cases

In order to achieve the research objectives, the empirical material from the three cases has been analysed. The selected urban parks have different characteristics, sizes and equipment, but share a common feature: they are all very popular recreational places for city dwellers. Their programmes are rich enough to enable the observation of similarities and differences in the way people appropriate the respective spaces.

2.1 *Pole Mokotowskie Park*

Location: Warsaw, Poland; the park is located at the junction of three central districts of the city: Mokotów, Ochota, and Śródmieście.
Size: about 73 ha
Date of creation: 1973

Pole Mokotowskie Park was designed in 1973 and constructed on a former military training ground. Before that it was the location of the first horse racing track in Warsaw (operating from 1841 to 1938), then it was transformed into an airport and place for sports events (in the first half of the twentieth century), covering the area of about 200 ha. The park building in its present form dates to 1977. It was successively enlarged in 1983, 1986 and 1991, and it is still under development in some parts, but since the beginning it offered a large green oasis accessible to all city dwellers. It was named after Marshal Józef Piłsudski

in 1988, on the 70th anniversary of Poland regaining its independence. The park is surrounded mainly by public buildings, two universities, old and new housing estates and a sports complex. The National Library (opened in 1990) is also within its boundaries (Pawlikowska-Piechotka, 2009). There are allotment gardens within the park, but some of them were transformed into a public green area a few decades ago. The access to the park is easy from all sides and is accessible by public transport (tram, bus and metro) and the bicycle lane system.

2.1.1   Main Characteristics of the Recreational Offer

The park was landscaped, with its characteristic meadows and composed plant groups of various sizes, among them fruit trees that are remnants of former uses. A small hill, an artificial pond, pubs, playgrounds, modern sculptures, but especially an extensive system of pedestrian and bicycle paths make it attractive for users of all ages. Thus, it is one of the green spaces with the greatest recreational potential in Warsaw (Pawlikowska-Piechotka, 2009; Szumacher & Ostaszewska, 2010) and it is intensively visited all year round. The park's main programme supports many passive forms of leisure – walking, sitting on benches, sunbathing, picnicking, meeting other users, and also active forms of recreation – running, biking, roller-skating, outdoor gyms for yoga or Pilates, and other activities. Very popular are outdoor team games for teenagers and adults, and playgrounds visited by children. Many park users prefer to rest on the grass and organize their time spontaneously, as well as to attend organized events such as open-air concerts, sport competitions, etc.

2.1.2   Changes Observed in the Covid-19 Pandemic Period

From March 2020 – in the first period of the Covid-19 pandemic – the park just like other green spaces in Warsaw was closed and most of its group activities and events were reduced or abandoned. Restrictions were eased in stages for outdoor recreational purposes and then lifted altogether after April, with parks and forests opening first yet excluding playgrounds and outdoor group activities and events. The same rules, which included social distancing of 2 metres in public spaces, the need to use masks and closure of parks and/or parts of them (e.g. sport areas, playgrounds), were repeated during the second (from October 2020 to January 2021) and the third outbreaks (from March to May 2021) of the pandemic.

After the initial lockdown period in 2020, which resulted in an increasing number of visitors in the first weeks after the reopening of green spaces, some characteristic changes in the usage of the Pole Mokotowskie Park were

observed. Individual activities and those in small groups became more and more frequent. An intensification was also observed in walking, especially walking with a dog, and biking. Some of the most popular activities included sunbathing, spontaneous recreation on the grass and especially picnics in summer. This shows clearly that people continued to keep their distance from each other, as also noticed by the low number of users active in the same spot and time. Selected behaviours have been mostly restricted for long periods in 2020 and 2021 regarding the intensity of infection cases, e.g. meeting in big groups, organized events, etc.

2.2 *Quinta das Conchas*

Location: Lisbon, Portugal; the Quinta das Conchas park is located north-east of the city, in an area that is changing constantly and becoming more densely built up.

Size: 24 ha

Date of creation: 2005

In the wake of Expo '98 (the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition), several parks and green spaces were created or refurbished in the city. This is the case of the Quinta das Conchas, which opened in 2005. The area of the park comprises the remnants of an old farm with contemporary uses added. A *quinta* is a historic and typical farm estate in Portugal. Mostly they are family owned, with farm-houses, orchards and large plots for growing crops and rearing animals. Until the nineteenth century, there were several *quintas* around Lisbon that pro-vided the city with fresh vegetables. The urban expansion, in particular in the 1960s and 1970s, resulted in the urbanization of much of the open land around the city and many *quintas* were lost. The Quinta das Conchas is one of the few *quintas* that could be preserved and reused. In 2007, the park was expanded with the intervention in the adjacent Quinta dos Lilases with 4.5 ha, making it the third largest green space in the city (Smaniotto Costa & Loupa Ramos, 2009). In the midst of such extremely rapid urbanization, the park became a true oasis surrounded by residential neighbourhoods.

2.2.1 Main Characteristics of the Recreational Offer

The central idea for the park was to preserve the *quinta* atmosphere by adding some new uses and facilities. The park was designed and built by the staff of the Division of Studies and Projects, subordinated to the Municipal Directorate of the Urban Environment. The design language is gentle, using the existing structures, like the pond, the fruit trees and the grove and the open landscape.

New facilities include two buildings, one that houses an information centre, an exhibition room, a bathroom and a coffee shop, and a second one with a restaurant. Further facilities consist of a children's play area, a long water line (an artificial stream that connects a fountain with a pond), cosy bench sittings and picnic tables in semi-natural or planted spaces (Smaniotto Costa, 2012). Thus, rich with a variety of scenery and facilities, the park offers multiple use opportunities. The huge open (and sunny) area is frequently used as a football field, while the shaded areas are used for socialization and outdoor fitness. The park has become a centre of recreation for people living in the north of Lisbon. Among the activities performed here are gathering, hanging out and resting, walking, jogging, walking pets, cycling and other physical activities, such as yoga, Pilates and stretching (Smaniotto Costa & Loupa Ramos, 2009). In summer, evening open air events are often organized, such as music festivals or movies in the park, which have become popular in Lisbon, especially because of the park scenery and atmosphere.

2.2.2   Changes Observed in the Covid-19 Pandemic Period

To break the first corona wave, the Portuguese government strongly discouraged accessing and gathering in public spaces, including green spaces. During the two waves, a lockdown was imposed (from March to January 2020 and from March to May 2021) when the parks and green spaces were closed and people were not allowed to attend outdoor activities. This rule was easily enforced for the Quinta das Conchas, as the park is walled with only few entrances, unlike many other public spaces in the city. In some cases, the council even removed benches and tables in order to prevent their use, once warning signs and red ribbons were not enough to keep people away from the spaces.

During the lockdown, activities in the park came to a standstill, and they only started up again with the general opening of public spaces. In the "open" periods users followed the rules for social distancing and the restriction of the number of people gathering. It could be observed that almost everyone wore a mask and activities were mainly performed by single users or very small groups. No group activities, or group sports, could be detected. Similar observations have been also made in the Parque Dom Domingos Jardo by the project verDEsporto.[1] Since April 2021, people have been able to exercise outdoors with up to six others from different households.

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1   http://www.ceied.ulusofona.pt/en/directory-research/projects/verdesporto-en/.

It is interesting that during the enforced lockdown protesters demanded more lenient rules because people were recognizing the value of green spaces for walking, engaging in physical activities and working on their well-being.

2.3   *Parco della Pace*
Location: Senigallia, Italy
Size: about 2.3 ha
Date of creation: late 1980s

At the end of the nineteenth century, in 1887, a military facility named Piazza d'Armi (Weaponry Park) was transformed by the Società Ippica Marchigiana into a racecourse (Paci, 1984; Badioli, 2012). On 25 May 1987, a century later, the city council issued a municipal resolution changing the military name into Parco della Pace (Peace Park), affirming that "opportunities should not be neglected to always underline the values of peace" (Comune di Senigallia, 1987). It is unknown when exactly the racecourse became an urban park and who the designer was. The adjacent residential area was built at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, so the enclosed space was transformed into an urban park. Nowadays, the park is one of the most popular open spaces in the city.

2.3.1   Main Characteristics of the Recreational Offer
Parco della Pace is situated close to the city centre, surrounded by social housing, a kindergarten and a primary school. A pedestrian and cycling path crosses the park from north to south. There are some trees, but the dominant surface characteristic is its meadows. The municipality is in charge of the maintenance of the area.

Senigallia is a famous beach city on the Adriatic Coast and for most of the residents having a walk or jogging on the beach is one of their favourite outdoor activities. Most visitors are used to walking on the beach or travelling along it by bike because the landscape is flat. Parco della Pace is not so far from the beach and is always crowded with children and their parents. Teenagers and young people also enjoy relaxing in the meadows and chatting with each other. It is a plain space, except for a small area (in the south-east) where an artificial hill is located. Children and teenagers climb it or use it for skateboarding. Teenagers enjoy playing on the basketball court. In 2020, the court was named after Kobe Bryant, the renowned NBA player. The north area is designed for children and has colourful play equipment. Tables and benches are available, and elderly people can be observed sitting in the shade of the trees, especially during the hot summer months.

The park is surrounded by well-kept streets without much traffic. Over recent years, the Scuola di Pace (School of Peace), an active human rights association, organized several events in the park. One of the events, held on 2 June 2017, was dedicated to the installation of a monument dedicated to peace, a small pyramidal installation in memory of John Lennon.

2.3.2   Changes Observed in the Covid-19 Pandemic Period

Due to the firm restrictions, the usage of public spaces was affected. During the first wave, people were only allowed to go outside to walk their dogs. After the first lockdown, during the summer of 2020, spending time outside was very common for most Italians. Urban parks, such as the Parco della Pace, were a meeting point for many dwellers: children for playing, teenagers for hanging out, elderly people for having social interactions. Parco della Pace was very crowded during the summertime. Relaxing on the greenery was an alternative for those who did not like Senigallia beach. Yoga, tai chi and other fitness activities were practised outdoors, encouraging everyone to engage in sport or physical activities and be in contact with nature. Under the two following Covid-19 outbreaks, in autumn and winter 2020–2021, with more flexible rules in place, walking or jogging became allowed with many people enjoying the park, yet always keeping their physical distance from each other.

3   The Comparative Analysis

The main information on spatial practice patterns and changes of leisure and recreation activities in three parks are divided into two periods: before (2019) and during the Covid-19 pandemic (2020–2021). They are presented in Table 14.1.

Case 1 – The analysis on social behaviours in Pole Mokotowskie Park in Warsaw shows that despite people's desire to use the park they showed a willingness to adapt to the restrictions imposed, albeit with varied results. The main difference from the pre-pandemic period was that fewer organized recreational offers were made available, e.g. events were not organized or ran only for short periods throughout the year with a limited number of attendees. Team games were organized in much smaller groups, and generally the personal distance between the different users in all resting and recreational activities was greater than normal. This also includes passive uses of the park, like sitting and observing. However, the park's main features, such as its substantial grounds and its extensive path system, allowed the development of

TABLE 14.1   Relative popularity of outdoor activities observed in the parks before and during the Covid-19 pandemic (elaborated by authors)

Type of activity	Pole Mokotowskie Park		Quinta das Conchas		Parco della Pace	
	Before	During	Before	During	Before	During
Walking	xx	xx	xx	x	x	–
Walking a dog	xx	xx	xx	xx	x	x
Nordic walking	x	x	xx	x	x	–
Jogging	xx	xx	xx	xx	–	x
Biking	xx	xx (individual)	x (in particular by children	x (in particular by children)	x (children or people crossing the park)	x (individual)
Roller skating	x	x	xx	xx	x	–
Meeting, gathering	x	–	x	–	x	–
Sitting on benches	xx	x	xx	xx	x	x (individual or relatives)
Sunbathing	x	x (greater distance between users)	x	x	–	–
Outdoor gyms	x	x (fewer users)	xx (in particular dance and yoga)	x	x (individual or small groups)	x (individual)
Yoga, tai chi, Pilates or other class	x	–	x	–	xx	–
Picnic	x	x (fewer users and bigger distance)	x	–	x	–
Eating in restaurant gardens	x	Allowed only in selected periods	xx	x	Restaurants closed	Restaurants closed
Enjoy the playgrounds	xx	x	xx	x	x	x

TABLE 14.1   Relative popularity of outdoor activities observed in the parks (*cont.*)

Type of activity	Pole Mokotowskie Park		Quinta das Conchas		Parco della Pace	
	Before	During	Before	During	Before	During
Team games (volleyball, basketball, football)	x	x (fewer games and users)	xx	–	x	x
Spontaneously organized games on grass	x	x (bigger distance between users)	xx	–	x	x
Playing table tennis	–	–	x	–	–	–
Rowing boats	–	–	few	–	–	–
Participation in organized events (music concerts, etc.)	xx	–	xx	–	x	–

Outdoor activities: – – none, x – popular, xx – very popular

several spontaneous activities throughout the park, which favoured the intensification of those behaviour patterns and at the same time encouraged people to visit the park more often. The park was perceived to be a more secure place than other smaller green spaces in the city.

Case 2 – Despite the negative impacts of the pandemic on urban life, from social distancing and periods of confinement with restrictions on the use of the city, the results of field observations in the Quinta das Conchas park reinforce the general understanding that a good green infrastructure is one of the responses to the crisis. In Portugal, the opposition voices got louder after restrictions to access and/or close public spaces were imposed. This public pressure forced the Lisbon City Council to reconsider the restrictions and to grant what was called "sanitary walks" – people were allowed to leave their homes for short periods for walking, with or without pets, jogging, etc., but only alone or with two more people from the same household. This decision was welcomed by many people and resulted in parks being populated again, although further restrictions last until beginning of 2023, such as compulsory masks, contact restrictions, no big gatherings or large public events. After

some of the popular and frequent group activities were abandoned, the activities in Quinta das Conchas became diversified and intensified once more. Nevertheless, single or small groups are more frequently observed.

Case 3 – In Italy, national lockdowns were very difficult for people living in small-to-medium towns, like Senigallia, where the possibility of staying outside and maintaining physical distance was a challenge (Pouso et al., 2021). Covid-19 restrictions affected metropolitan areas in the same way as they did in the countryside and the debate on the need of distinguishing different situations/environments was not considered by the government and by the National Health Institute. Restrictions on having a walk or running alone will reflect on people's health in a way that, maybe, will affect a great part of the population in the future. Perhaps this is the first time in recent decades that people fully realized the fundamental and basic importance of green spaces, especially in small-to-medium cities, such as Senigallia. During the various lockdowns, people missed the possibility of being outside a lot. Although this affected children and teenagers most of all, elderly people – who feared contagion the most – were also impacted physically and mentally. This is something that is still not fully measured. Italian teenagers were the most affected by the restrictions: when they met, they often did not follow mask regulations, and, for this reason, they were the most direct cause of contagion for their parents and grandparents.

4   Discussion

Similar mechanisms of use restrictions and changes in the park usage patterns are observed in all three cases. The results show that the role of public parks in providing recreation and thus improving health and well-being are appreciated and valued. Further recent studies (Rice et al., 2020; Geng et al., 2021; Herman & Drozda, 2021) point to similar results. Parks still continue to provide crucial services to their users, particularly in stressful times when opportunities for recreation are limited (Volenec et al., 2021). At the same time, it can be assumed that users are aware of the risks and understand the need to follow the rules. The need to maintain a suitable distance and further restrictions are inconvenient, but they do not reduce the willingness to use green spaces. The programmes of the three parks, due to the prolonged threat and uncertain future, require an adaptation to move towards the changed behaviours of users, including individuals' preferred outdoor activities. Although the change process is being carried out spontaneously by the users, bottom-up activities may become key to future park design and maintenance to confront shifts caused by the pandemic.

The growing impact of ICT is undeniable. Restrictions on socializing (in- and outdoors) has accelerated the migration to digital and mobile technologies for communication and congregation. Public and green spaces are already becoming digitalized, so that two COST Actions[2] although with different foci are tackling the issue. The pandemic showed how sensitive social connections are, and emerging studies are highlighting the immense psychosocial problems (depression, anxiety, abuse, etc.) associated with the pandemic. Lee, Malcein and Kim (2021) detected an increase in the amount of time spent on ICT for social purposes. One result of the time spent online is associated with a rise in anxiety, in particular in more vulnerable groups, like children and teenagers. The case of Italy mentioned above is an evidence of this. Considering that the digital realm will continue to proliferate and be more pervasive in people's lives, such threats are also expected to increase. On the flip side, ICT enables people to capture and share personal experiences (outdoors) in new ways (Smaniotto Costa et al., 2019), and these create new and multiple forms of socializing, gathering and communicating. Digitalization of green spaces can also create opportunities to improve the quality of life and enhance health (Kimic et al., 2019). Interesting in the discussion of ICT pervasiveness are new developments in Portugal. To mitigate the fourth wave, Portugal will require working remotely from 20 December 2021 on until further notice; at the same time, on 1 January 2022, a new law enters into force, which establishes high penalties to those bosses/companies who do not respect the working hours.

These two main issues (shifts in use patterns and digital pervasiveness) bring us to the main question of how people change a park just by using it. The issue that just by using a space the users will change it, is widely discussed by De Certeau (2011). In the chapter "Walking in the City", De Certeau asserts an intimate view of the city and explores the intrinsic relationship between a space and the people who use it. Through the appropriation as part of people's "everyday life", the space imprint itself on the users while the users also mould the space. So park users are not merely "consumers" but also become "producers"; through such (spontaneous) behaviours, called spatial practices, users leverage a placemaking process. The analysis of the three cases confirm that people are changing their behaviours and with it how they use parks.

Apart from the positive aspects for health and mental/physical well-being, being outdoors during the pandemic can also be understood as a threat. When many users visit a park at the same time, it will become crowded and facilitate a SARS-CoV-2 transmission. To prevent a disaster, officials may decide to close them (Volenec et al., 2021), and city dwellers will lose key mental health

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2 CyberParks, 2014–2018 (http://www.cyberparks-project.eu); Smaniotto Costa et al., 2019; Dynamics of Placemaking, 2019–2023 (http://www.placemakingdynamics.eu).

resources needed to survive the pandemic. This is an important reason to understand the validity of certain restrictions and the need to comply with them (Slater et al., 2020). In practical terms, placemaking should therefore include cooperation between park users and officials to implement rules and to consciously share urban greenery.

5   Conclusions

The Covid-19 crisis has revealed vulnerabilities and inequities in cities at an unprecedented global scale. Restricted mobility forced people to interact with their surroundings in new ways. People became aware of the positive aspects of having a good green infrastructure in the immediate vicinity, as many explored their own neighbourhood, discovering new potentialities and anomalies. Most were confronted by the fact that cities have a biased distribution of green spaces. As Smaniotto Costa et al. (2008) pointed out, accessible and good quality green space are directly linked to better and more frequent use of green spaces. A good green infrastructure with diversified spaces and equipment, within walking distance of one's home, has the potential to mitigate health inequalities and deprivation. The three cases provide evidence that having a well-designed green spot in one's immediate vicinity is an asset that benefits everyone. Neighbourhoods also are popular places for interacting and socializing with others, and for this to happen, they need to be well kept (Gehl, 2010, 2011). This should be a concern, in particular, for those who face mobility restrictions, such as disabled people, children, teenagers and the elderly.

The Covid-19-related disruptions underscore the importance of preserving and further developing urban green infrastructure. Many people pointed out that the world will be deeply changed by the experience of the pandemic crisis, and the issues are still increasing and changing our everyday lives. It is clear that the development of urban green spaces has to be part of these changes. This calls for easing the hard competition for available land in urban areas. Available funding for additional green spaces will be a long-lasting challenge (Kleinschroth & Kowarik, 2020). The need for urban green suggests improving urban planning by integrating green spaces of different sizes within the fabric of cities and neighbourhoods, making them accessible to all residents (Larcher et al., 2021). Making new places and designing existing ones has to be done with and by people that use them – to consider place-based and people-based approaches.

Placemaking, understood as the participatory act of imagining and creating places with and by people (PPS, 2007), is taking new forms and faces due to the pandemic. The approach used in this study, integrating placemaking, in

the wave of De Certeau (2011), in the observation of everyday appropriation, allows researchers and practitioners to gain knowledge about park usage and user spatial behaviour patterns. This study also confirmed that the observation method is a valuable placemaking tool, which can be used to inform public policies in order to better transform public spaces into changing realities.

The results from the observation method become the direct data/knowledge which allows the creation of urban parks to be more adaptable and flexible to dynamic changes caused by growing needs and expectations of park users and, at the same time, to bring them many benefits. Therefore, that process may be successfully used and also be a rapid response tool of the placemaking process in the creation of more inclusive cities.

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The Perception of Personal Security in Urban Parks: A Comparative Analysis of Research Methods

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Abstract

Perceptions of personal security significantly affect human behaviour in geographical environments. The way public places are perceived determines their utilization and their attractiveness among urban residents. Various methods have been applied to study perceptions of security and the environmental factors associated with it. Urban environments comprise a variety of places, including those with urban greenery. The main objective of this chapter is to explore and compare different participatory research methods focused on analysing the factors that influence perceptions of

security in urban parks, and to explore their potential for placemaking processes. This overview is illustrated with three examples from the Czech Republic, Poland and the United Kingdom. The first case study explores perceptions of topophobia in places with greenery and parks in the town of Šternberk (Czech Republic). It employs cognitive mapping by a selection of local residents, and results are visualized on (by the help of) semantic maps. The second case study explores the extent to which park infrastructure and maintenance levels affect perceived security in urban parks in Warsaw (Poland). The third case study uses data recorded from the crowdsourcing Place Pulse project to analyse the spatial association between perceived security and the tree canopy (including trees in urban parks but also in the streets) in London (United Kingdom). The relation between greenery and perceived safety may be context-dependent and vary across areas. All three participatory research methods use residents' knowledge based on primary data gathering and digitization and as such offer practical tools for placemaking.

1   Introduction

Urban parks and urban greenery provide inhabitants of towns and cities with psychological, ecological as well as aesthetic virtues, while they can also affect the perceived security of citizens (Maruthaveeran & Van den Bosch, 2014). Perceived security refers to the degree to which urban residents feel safe from attacks and harm against them. Perceptions of security are known to significantly influence everyday spatial behaviour of urban residents (Golledge & Stimson, 1997). For this reason, it is key to consider how residents perceive places with greenery to advance our understanding about the effect of the environment on urban perceptions. This information can be later used by urban planners to design places with urban greenery that enhance perceptions of security. In other words, gaining a better understanding of how urban greenery affects perceived safety is fundamental for evidence-based efforts aimed at transforming public places to improve urban residents' experiences in parks. From this point of view, bottom-up knowledge production seems to be a crucial leverage for top-down organized/initiated placemaking practices.

Research in the domain of perceived security has often focused on urban environments (e.g. Maruthaveeran & Van den Bosch, 2014; Pain, 2000; Kimic, & Polko, 2022; Polko & Kimic, 2021; 2022). However, there is a gap in the application of participatory research methods as regards perceptions of security in urban green zones and parks. Previous research has primarily focused on inequalities in the accessibility of urban parks across different social groups (Kabisch & Haase, 2014), the importance of parks in the context of environmental, social, health or topo-ambivalent meanings (Konijnendijk, 2010) and on the perception of fear of crime within urban green spaces (Maruthaveeran & Van den Bosch, 2014). Thus, in this contribution, we explore the relationship between security perceptions, participatory research methods and placemaking processes in places with urban greenery. The main objective of this chapter is to explore and compare different participatory methods focused on analysing the factors that influence how urban residents perceive urban parks in the context of personal security, and to show the potential of participatory research methods for placemaking practices. Thus, this chapter contributes to a better understanding of the relationship between bottom-up knowledge production and top-down placemaking processes to enhance perceived safety in urban areas.

We present three case studies that illustrate how a variety of participatory research methods can contribute to knowledge production about perceptions of security in urban parks and urban greenery, and to the subsequent placemaking processes.

The case studies focus on three European municipalities of varying size, thus presenting studies about the utility of exemplary methods in different urban contexts. The first case study focuses on the town of Šternberk in the Czech Republic, which was selected to address small urban settlements. The other two case studies relate to research carried out in Warsaw and London, respectively, and, as such, address large urban settlements. Besides different geographical scales, the selection of cases was also directed by the assumed variety of roles of urban green zones and parks in people's lives across cities and towns in different regions and areas. Diverse participatory research methods are used for the collection and analysis of primary data. The three case studies presented here will illustrate how these methods can contribute to placemaking processes within the domain of urban greenery and parks.

In the scope of our research, the applied methodologies are based on the recording and analysing of primary data about perceptions. Golledge and Stimson (1997, p. 190) define spatial perceptions as "the immediate apprehension of information about the environment by one or more of the senses, as well as secondary environmental information culled from the media and

through hearsay via communication with fellow human beings". In order to better understand the role of green environments on perceptions of security, we used three specific techniques. First, we employed cognitive mapping, an approach that refers to "a process composed of a series of psychological transformations by which an individual acquires, stores, recalls, and decodes information about the relative locations and attributes of the phenomena in his everyday spatial environment" (Downs & Stea, 1973, p. 9). Cognitive mapping is a valuable tool for understanding how humans perceive and reflect their environment and therefore is appropriate to gain data that allow identifying security perceptions related to places with urban greenery.

Second, we used a web-based questionnaire to record data about residents' experiences and perceptions in urban parks. In doing so, descriptive statistical analysis of data recording is used to study the impact of a variety of features on the perception of security by users of local parks. And third, we analysed data recorded from an online crowdsourcing project called Place Pulse, in which participants were presented with two randomly selected Google Street View (GSV) images of urban areas and requested to choose which one looked safer (Salesses et al., 2013). Based on these data, we applied spatial regression models to analyse the relation between perceived safety and places with urban greenery.

This chapter contributes to theoretical explanations and methodological knowledge, and it also provides practical examples for urban planners dealing with deliberate transformations of public places to strengthen bonds between urban areas and their users.

2   Cases

2.1   *Šternberk (Czech Republic): Cognitive Mapping as a Tool for Exploring Topophobia in Urban Greenery*

2.1.1   Presentation

Gaining insight into the perception of topophobic places in the town of Šternberk is the objective of this research. Topophobia refers to "the expression of negative meanings of a place" (Šimáček et al., 2020, p. 311). Topophobic places are burdened with negative meanings and often subsequently perceived as dangerous, unpleasant and repulsive, and so are consciously avoided. The authors studied the occurrence and spatial distribution of topophobia in the context of a small town in the eastern part of the Czech Republic. Šternberk has approximately 13,000 inhabitants of which 133 residents aged 15 and over were selected following a quota sampling method and asked to share their own

experiences and feelings about the town. The applied χ^2 test (significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$) relating to age, education, sex and origin of participants confirmed the consistency of the research sample with the total population of the town. The area under study is comprised of continuous built-up areas, including a compact town centre with residential areas and especially places with urban greenery.

The final product of cognitive mapping, called a cognitive/mental map (Golledge & Stimson, 1997), can be visualized, displayed and usefully analysed using different techniques. To express topophobic perceptions, our participants were given paper maps of the area under study. They were asked to indicate places they considered to be dangerous, neglected/in bad condition or places they avoid when possible. Moreover, participants were asked to provide further details about the concrete reasons for their negative perceptions in each place. All maps were subsequently digitized, processed in GIS and analysed using a hexagonal overlay grid.

2.1.2 Placemaking

The use of cognitive mapping enabled us to identify and visualize topophobic hotspots in the town of Šternberk. This method allows for a better understanding of perceptions of topophobia in places with urban greenery. Acquired knowledge about the places perceived as topophobic enables a new practical approach for placemaking processes. The experiences of local actors who are users of urban spaces should be seriously considered by policymakers who are responsible for the planning of urban spaces. In this case study, for instance, residents' participation revealed places that they avoid on purpose or perceive as dangerous – key information for positive transformation of particular places with a damaged reputation.

Topophobia may be caused by bad conditions of buildings, poor lighting or the presence of people who evoke fear in others, but it often shows similar consequences – it has a significant effect on inhabitants' spatial behaviour in places with urban greenery and – more generally – on the use of this type of public space. Engagement of residents in placemaking by using cognitive mapping has a great potential and creates opportunities to transform negatively perceived public parks into topophilic places with an opposite positive meaning.

2.1.3 Results and Added Value

Participants highlighted many different topophobic places within the studied area. The most intensive hotspots were defined by 8.28% to 21.05% of

respondents (fig. 15.1). Areas containing parks and urban greenery are identified in green in Figure 1. Regarding the extensive area of the town of Šternberk, the authors decided to analyse only continuously built-up areas containing such parks and urban gardens. Urban forests, which cover a vast part of the municipal area, have not been analysed. As can be seen in Figure 1, many places with urban greenery are overlapped with topophobic hexagons. One of the most highlighted topophobic area covers the biggest park in the town –Tyršovy sady – and other adjacent green zones (fig. 15.1).

Based on participants' answers describing reasons of negative perception of these places, we created a semantic map (fig. 15.2). This map displays the reasons for perceived topophobia in topophobic places identified in Figure 1. Larger letters represent a higher frequency of these expressions by participants. The zoomed map clip at the semantic map visualizes the main problems that are causing a negative reputation of the park and adjacent greenery. First of all, respondents named "Romanies" as the reason for insecurities, followed by "fear at night", "dangerous after dark", "problematic citizens", and "lack of light". Most mentioned expressions are related to fear of crime after dark or xenophobic perceptions towards certain population groups.
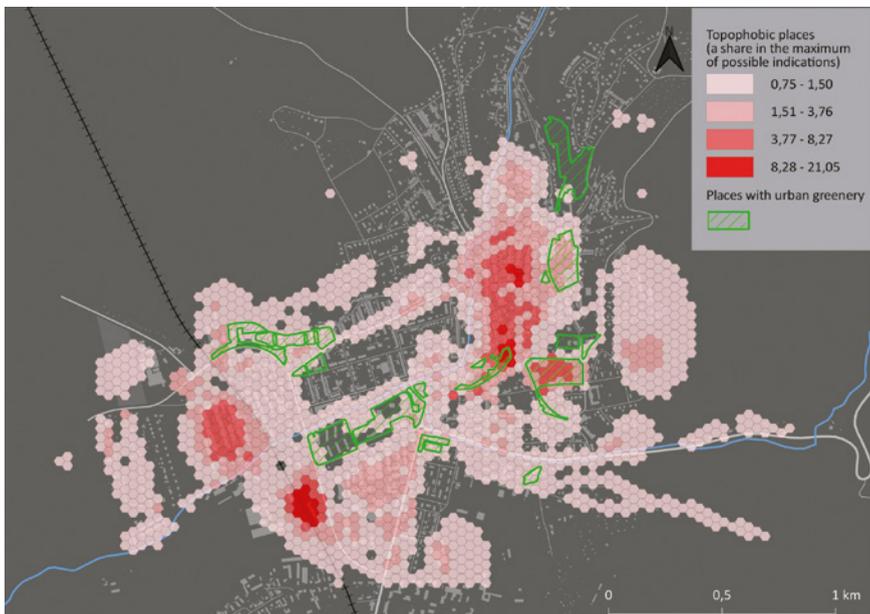
FIGURE 15.1   Topophobic places identified (2021)

FIGURE 15.2   Semantic map of topophobic places (2021)

2.2   *Warsaw (Poland): Web-based Questionnaire to Analyse Security Perceptions in Parks*

2.2.1   Presentation

This study aims to investigate how park users evaluate their security in urban parks in Warsaw, Poland. The study analysed the effect of a variety of factors on perceived security, including visibility, technical condition, cleanliness, external protection, presence of other park users and mobility facilities. A web-based questionnaire was designed and administered to a sample of 177 randomly selected park users. Interviews took place between March and August 2020. Respondents were probed about the importance of each factor for their perceived security. The demographic characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 15.1.

2.2.2   Placemaking

A web-based questionnaire was used to record information on park users' perceived security. It allows gaining information about the needs and expectations of various groups of park users. Moreover, the findings can be directly applied in the process of planning and designing places perceived as safer. The participation of respondents to identify factors related to their sense of

TABLE 15.1   Socio-demographic profile of the research sample

GENDER	N	%	AGE	N	%	EDUCATION	N	%
Male	48	27.12	18–29	50	28.25	Elementary and basic	2	1.13
Female	129	72.88	30–44	51	28.81	vocational education		
			45–59	44	24.86	Secondary education	27	15.25
			over 60	32	18.08	Higher education	148	83.62

security in places with urban greenery is key for effective, bottom-up place-making. Taking into account the needs of users representing different genders, age groups and education levels allows designing more friendly and accessible urban parks. Identifying the factors that shape the sense of security of park users is important for the placemaking process and might be considered as an important tool supporting planning and design.

2.2.3   Results and Added Value

All respondents declared that they had access to at least one urban park and were regular users of urban parks (once a week – 29.94 %; 2–3 times a week – 25.42 %; a few times a year – 18.64%; once a month – 18.08%). On a scale from 1 to 5, the average perceived security in parks was 4.22. Many respondents (84.18%) declared a high and very high security perception in urban parks. In contrast, only 3.39% indicated very low and low perceived security.

Nine security-related factors from 5 (of 6) categories had an average score above 4 and were identified as relevant to enhance security perceptions in urban parks: VISIBILITY (bright day and possibility to be visible and to see others); MAINTENANCE (condition of equipment items and pavement condition); EXTERNAL PROTECTION (police patrol and CCTV surveillance); OTHER PARK USERS (users who drink alcohol and disturb), and MOBILITY FACILITIES (presence of park paths). The results of mean perceived security ratings related to all factors included in the survey are presented in Table 15.2.

The results of the study show that a diversity of factors affect urban parks users' perceived security. Our results illustrate which factors are more important for the perceived security of park users and should be taken into account in the process of shaping urban green places. This knowledge should therefore be used by policymakers and urban planners to design new parks that enhance perceptions of security and refurbish existing parks to improve their perceived security, thus making them more inclusive.

TABLE 15.2   Mean ratings of particular security-related factors according to the research
sample

VISIBILITY		MAINTENANCE	
Bright day	4.21	Condition of equipment items	4.22
Dark night	3.99	Pavement condition	4.00
Artificial lighting	4.20	Condition of greenery	3.73
Season: spring	3.43		
Season: summer	3.66	EXTERNAL PROTECTION	
Season: autumn	3.31	Access to the internet	2.61
Season: winter	3.30	Information boards	3.24
Possibility to be visible and to see others	4.26	Police patrol	4.21
		Video surveillance	4.07
Presence of hidden or hard-to-reach places	3.85	Fence, night closure	3.81
Greenery with leaves	3.40		
Greenery without leaves	2.99		
OTHER PARK USERS		CLEANLINESS	
Bikers, scooter users	3.65	Level of filling the rubbish bins	3.31
Runners	2.95		
Sports equipment users	2.58	Level of litter	3.72
Passive users	2.53	Graffiti on park facilities	2.90
Children in the playground	2.57		
Users who drink alcohol or cause disturbances	4.34	MOBILITY FACILITIES	
		Park paths	4.04
Free-living animals	2.49	Functional aids (ramp, lift)	3.92
Dogs	2.95	Varied topography	3.15
		Water (ponds, lakes, brooks)	3.07

2.3   London (UK): Place Pulse Data to Study Perceived Safety and Greenery

2.3.1   Presentation

Place Pulse was an online crowdsourcing project designed to record percep-
tions of safety, beauty, wealth, liveability, boredom and depression in pub-
lic places across areas in 56 cities from 28 countries (Salesses et al., 2013).
Participants were presented with two randomly selected Google Street View
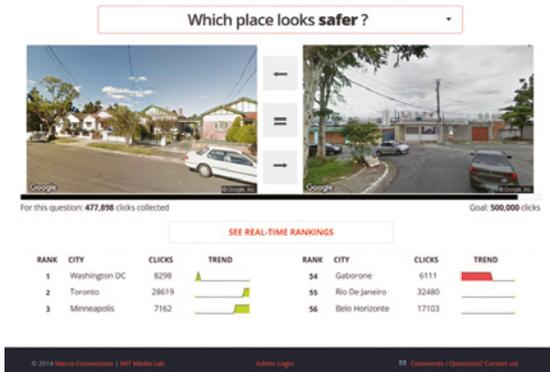
FIGURE 15.3
Place Pulse website

(GSV) images and asked to answer a question by choosing one of the images. For example, the question "Which place looks safer?" was used to measure perceived safety (see fig. 15.3). Participants did not receive any further information about the city of each picture, and thus could only assess the visual elements of each image before selecting one or the other, or clicking on "equal". More than 1.5 million votes were collected across nine years. While the Place Pulse platform closed in late 2019, the authors were given access to data recorded and granted permission to make the data open access.[1]

2.3.2 Placemaking

Such community-based participatory research allows researchers and practitioners to gain knowledge about citizens' perceptions of urban areas. For instance, digitized Place Pulse data may be used to highlight areas in each city where perceived safety is relatively low, and to study which environmental features are associated with lower perceptions of safety, beauty and liveability, thus enabling the transformation of public places to promote greater interaction between residents and to strengthen well-being in local communities. Data recorded in Place Pulse was used to study which features of places may foster perceived safety in New York (Salesses et al., 2013) and other cities (Buil-Gil & Solymosi, 2023). These data were also used to analyse the relationship between greenery and perceived safety (Li et al., 2015).

2.3.3   Results and Added Value

The authors studied the relationship between perceived safety and greenery by calculating the average score of safety votes in pre-defined geographic areas, and analysed whether mean safety scores are associated with vegetation cover

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1   https://figshare.com/articles/dataset/Place_Pulse/11859993.
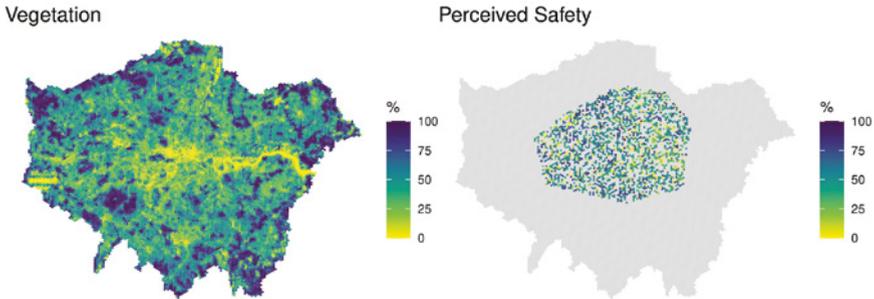
FIGURE 15.4   Vegetation cover (*left*) and perceived safety scores (*right*)

scores. First, we selected all votes for images from London (n = 24,616). We then mapped the location of the images, and overlaid a hexagonal grid, dividing London into 15,041 hexagons, each 350 metres across. For each hexagon containing at least one image (n = 1,894), we computed the proportion of votes where the image was rated "safer". Vegetation cover scores were downloaded from the London Open Data Sharing Portal.[2] Analytic codes used are available from GitHub.[3] Figure 4 shows our scores of vegetation cover and perceived safety.

There is a statistically significant, but weak, correlation between areas with more vegetation and those with higher perceived safety (Spearman's rank correlation coefficient = 0.13, p-value < 0.001). Figure 5 shows a bivariate choropleth map illustrating how both variables vary across our study space.

A spatial lag model shows similar results (direct effect = 0.028, indirect effect = 0.009, p-value < 0.001). However, the relationship between vegetation cover and perceived safety appears to vary across London areas. A geographically weighted regression illustrates that while the coefficients between vegetation cover and perceived safety are positive in most areas, in the north-east area vegetation cover is actually negatively associated with perceived safety (fig. 15.6, left). While it is important to consider the standard errors (fig. 15.6, right), results indicate that the relation between greenery and perceived safety may be context dependent. In some places more green space may lead to higher perceived safety, but the relationship might be the inverse in other contexts. We have not analysed if this association is driven by other variables (e.g. deprivation, architecture), and including these in future analyses may help uncover factors that mediate the relationship between greenery and perceived safety.

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2   https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/curio-canop.
3   https://github.com/davidbuilgil/safety-trees.
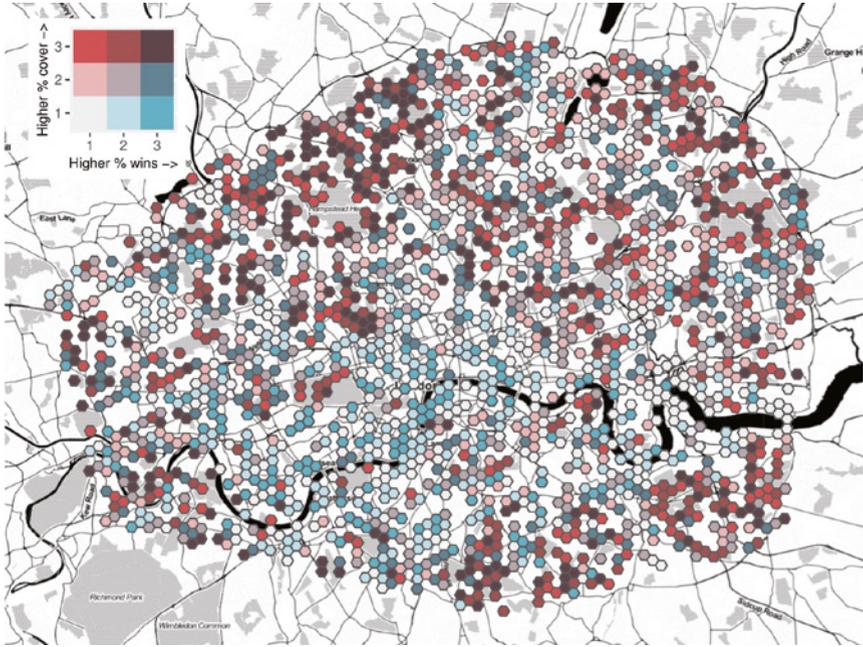
FIGURE 15.5   Bivariate map of perceived safety and vegetation cover
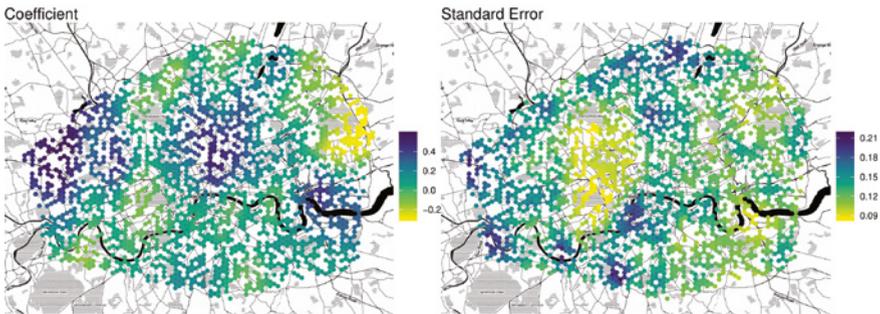
FIGURE 15.6   Geographically weighted regression coefficients for relationship between
                   vegetation cover and perceived safety (*left*) and standard errors (*right*)

3   Discussion on Outcomes and Results of the Three Cases

In this section, we discuss the main findings of each case study, focusing espe-
cially on the advantages and disadvantages of applied participatory methods
and their implications for theory and practice in the context of knowledge pro-
duction and placemaking of public places.

The first case study, which employed cognitive mapping, revealed a significant perception of topophobia in some places with urban greenery in the analysed town. This application of cognitive mapping showed the potential of this research method for the placemaking process. Cognitive mapping offers citizens the opportunity to participate and interfere in the creation of urban strategic documents which should lead and organize further steps in urban planning and development processes, including placemaking. This approach should subsequently support residents' sense of belonging to their neighbourhood or city. The advantages of cognitive mapping for studying urban perceptions were also identified in Šimáček et al. (2020), who applied a method of cognitive mapping in several urban environments, including Šternberk, in the Czech Republic when mapping the fear of crime within an urban environment. The Šternberk-situated research revealed a high level of topophobia in several urban parks and other places with urban greenery, which is in line with the results of our case study. The fact that findings from similar research offer suitable content for strategic documents has also been confirmed by Brisudová et al. (2020) and Pánek (2019), whose results were incorporated in strategic documents that led to the further development of studied urban settlements. However, the research method of cognitive mapping applied in this research does not take into account the temporal dimension of perceptions. When defining topophobia in public places, especially in urban greenery, it is important to differentiate between security perceptions during the day and the night, as these are known to vary not only across public places but also in time (Solymosi et al., 2015). Security perceptions are known to vary across hours but also across months and years, which was also confirmed in the above-mentioned study (Šimáček et al., 2020).

The second case study presents the results of a web-based questionnaire and points to important factors determining security perceptions in urban parks amongst their users. It is a practical tool used to expand the knowledge of security perceptions and their predictors (Maruthaveeran & Van den Bosch, 2014; Mak & Jim, 2021). Important factors include those related to visibility, which varies depending on the time of day or season, the presence of artificial lighting, and other related factors, which is also confirmed by the research of Nasar and Fisher (1993) and Van Rijswijk and Haans (2018). The factors related to maintenance of park facilities as well as cleanliness of urban greenery represent the second group of key aspects for security perception, which is also confirmed by Hilborn (2009) and Robinson et al. (2003). The presence of police patrol and video surveillance were also assessed, finding that they also affect perceived safety (Iqbal & Ceccato, 2016). Finally, security perception is strongly affected by the presence of other park users, especially disruptors,

alcohol drinkers, etc. The results of a survey conducted in Warsaw urban parks are consistent with other general research (Jorgensen et al., 2013; Kimic & Polko, 2021; Polko & Kimic, 2021). For specific groups of park users, such as seniors or families with young children, mobility facilities are an important factor that impacts their sense of security in urban parks, which is confirmed by other, though limited, studies (Park, 2017). The research results conducted in Warsaw and presented here are in line with the general sense of security of urban park users. At the same time, our findings provide recommendations for urban greenery planners and designers. Thus, they directly support placemaking in places with urban greenery, making them more inclusive by responding to the expectations of the city residents. This approach has become more popular and valuable in recent years.

In our third case study, we analysed crowdsourced data about perceptions of security in London. We observed a significant, but weak, relationship between greenery and perceived security, but this relationship was in fact inverse in some areas under study. The relationship between greenery and crime is known to be non-linear and to vary depending on the level of disadvantage of the area (Hipp et al., 2022). Similarly, studies on fear of crime show that the relationship between green areas and perceived safety is mediated by a series of individual and structural factors that operate on different levels (Maruthaveeran & Van den Bosch, 2014). The relationship between greenery and security perceptions appears to be non-linear and context dependent. Moreover, not all green areas have the same characteristics, which may explain why their association with perceived security is positive in some areas and negative in others. Li et al. (2015), for example, used Place Pulse data to analyse the visual cues of vegetation in images and participants' perceived safety. The visibility of vegetation higher than 2.5 metres was significantly associated with perceived safety, while vegetation below 2.5 metres had no statistical association with safety perceptions. It is thus key that future studies, which analyse the relationship between greenery and perceptions of security, account for all possible variables that may mediate the effect of vegetation on perceived security. Similarly, urban planners should consider the characteristics of each place with urban greenery before applying one-size-fits-all measures that may work in some areas but not in others. We have shown how crowdsourced data offer valuable knowledge to study urban perceptions at highly localized geographic scales. Crowdsourcing allows the recording of large samples at a very low cost that can be utilized for a variety of purposes both in research and placemaking practice. It is important to note, however, that unlike most crowdsourcing platforms, the Place Pulse data may be affected by measurement issues. Salesses et al. (2013) noted that the majority of participants were males and young, and Buil-Gil and Solymosi

(2023) reported that a small proportion of participants was responsible for very large volumes of votes (i.e. "super contributors"). Moreover, some areas are under-represented, and participation decreases over time.

4   Lessons Learned

Our case studies utilized three different methods, the common denominator of which was a participatory approach to gaining and analysing knowledge concerning residents' perceptions of security in places with urban greenery. The exploration of these methods brings new insights into the relationship between knowledge production and placemaking processes. We formulated the following lessons learned based on the three case studies:

– In general, the participatory methods presented and discussed above constitute an appropriate tool to gain knowledge that can form the basis for evidence-oriented and top-down placemaking processes. The main advantage of the applied methods, which are based on bottom-up approaches to gaining knowledge about urban environments, is their ability to take spatial context into account.

– When such participatory methods are used, the geographical scale must be considered. The method used in the first case study seems appropriate for neighbourhoods and towns. In contrast, the method used in the third case study seems relevant to large cities. In general, different methods are suitable for towns and cities of various sizes. It is, therefore, necessary to assess whether or not the application of a certain method is appropriate for the area under study before using it.

– Our case studies gathered evidence that the relationship between places with urban greenery and perceived safety is non-linear and context dependent. One-size-fits-all policies, such as increasing the number of green areas without further consideration, may contribute to improving security perceptions in some areas while aiding perceived insecurity in others. Further studies are needed to explore the individual and contextual variables that mediate between greenery and security perceptions in each place.

– A diversity of factors affects personal security. The knowledge of these factors is crucial for different phases of decision-making on places with urban greenery and as such should guide officials who are responsible for managing public places. In general, this knowledge is useful for all top-down activities that are aimed at planning, designing, modernizing and adapting places with urban greenery. Only when this knowledge is taken into account can these activities result in safer and more community-inclusive places with urban greenery.

– The knowledge gained from methods applied in our case studies can represent a starting point for preparing cities' strategic documents. The main results and placemaking recommendations emphasized by citizens who took part in the research can be incorporated into municipal developmental strategies. The inclusion of these results in strategic planning documents symbolizes an imaginary bridge that links the theory and practical implementation and may lead to real placemaking processes.

– On the other hand, it must be stressed that the implementation of this knowledge in planning documents does not necessarily make real changes in the physical settings of places with urban greenery. Although planning documents should guide further urban development, the reality may be different. Any changes proposed in planning documents may not occur in reality.

5   Conclusion

In this chapter, using the examples presented in our case studies, we examined three different methods aimed at collecting urban residents' knowledge of their living environment. This was motivated by an effort to understand how this knowledge can be used in placemaking processes. Even though the applied methods differ in various aspects, their common feature is their accentuation of the direct participation of city residents. This bottom-up approach, despite some methodological limitations of the individual methods (see discussion), makes these methods seem appropriate for acquiring knowledge about citizens' perceptions of places with urban greenery. More specifically, these methods have allowed us to highlight the knowledge that city dwellers possess about the security within places that offer urban greenery. This particular knowledge is a necessary condition for placemaking processes, which are essentially aimed at promoting changes in the physical structure of places with urban greenery to increase perceived security in those places. However, it is evident that these placemaking processes must be carried out with a top-down approach. Here we refer to the active involvement of municipal councils. Evidence-oriented placemaking processes are only feasible when the political representation of individual councils is interested in working with the knowledge gained from the methods used. Otherwise, these methods will generate data that will not find application in the planning practice. It is thus important to transfer the evidence obtained from empirical research to policymakers and other stakeholders, especially since the main virtue of the methods described here is their ability to take spatial context into account. Applying these methods does not bring knowledge about urban greenery as a

homogeneous set, but about specific places with urban greenery. This enables urban planners and designers to take an individual approach to places with urban greenery, allowing the local specificities of each place with urban greenery to be taken into account.

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Digitalizing Trauma: Virtual Re/Presentations in Central Europe

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Abstract

The primary aim of this chapter is to comparatively analyse digital representations of trauma in Central Europe. While trauma has traditionally been understood as a radical form of insecurity describing the emotional impact of a horrendous event, recently it has been defined – instead of naturally existing – as something constructed by society. Using this notion of cultural trauma and "post-memory" as a point of departure, we are interested in how various places of trauma become reconstructed in the digital space. Within this process human agency plays a key role and, as such, we will also reveal what kind of "carrier groups" take the lead during "meaning making" and who becomes the audience of these new "framings". Thus, our chapter has a double focus: besides elaborating on the dialectics between actual and digital placemaking activities related to certain traumas, we will also lay out the specific sociocultural processes that produce, challenge and adopt these new master narratives. After an introduction that will relate the theory of cultural trauma to the concept of post-memory, as well as to the digital turn in memory studies, our interdisciplinary team of an art historian, a media scholar and a sociologist will discuss three case studies from Koper-Capodistria (Slovenia), Belgrade (Serbia) and Budapest (Hungary). While all the cases reflect the historical event of World War II and its consequences, they represent three different modes of digit(al)ized trauma "making". The case of Koper-Capodistria studies the formation of

various Facebook groups that mirror the post-World War II event of the "Istrian exodus", when the Italian population got largely displaced by newcomers from Slovenia and Yugoslavia. The two sides met again only in 2016 when the history of the city got in the spotlight on a social media site, which started to function as a vessel for divergent historic narratives and collective memories between Italians and Slovenes. In contrast to the digital dialogue the social media site generated and presented about the actual urban experiences of two distinct groups in Slovenia, the Serbian and Hungarian cases aimed more at an interaction between the urban and digital sites through various tools. While the case study from Serbia encompasses four projects of digital mapping of the Holocaust ("Semlin Judenlager in Serbian Public Memory", "Staro Sajmište: The Living Death Camp Project", "Visit to Staro Sajmište" and "Mapping the Holocaust"), the one from Hungary discusses the USC Shoah Foundation's mobile app, IWalk, which connects concrete physical locations with testimonies of Holocaust survivors and witnesses. The social media site (set up in 2016), the multimedia maps (created between 2008 and 2013) and the educational app (first launched in 2013) will all be understood as digitexts where histories, digital memories and trauma narratives meet: as digital cultural traumas. We believe that through the "reading" together of these cases from Central Europe, we will not only contribute to the understanding of the potential of digital placemaking and its role in processes of remembering that are often hindered by taboos, but we will also be ourselves able to "make" place for a deeper social solidarity and well-being.

Keywords

Central Europe – World War II – cultural trauma – digital memory – citizens' participation

1   Introduction

The seminal theory of Jeffrey Alexander (2004) explains that trauma does not exist per se, but that the traumatic quality of the event is revealed and acquired later through narrative returns of the past. The recurring narrative marks the event as so "horrendous [...] that [it] leaves indelible signs" upon the nation, shaping its memories and changing its "future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (Alexander, 2004, p. 1). An event of such magnitude can never be assimilated in memory but keeps haunting survivors and post-generations resurging rhythmically in diversely mediated and temporally structured cultural trauma. The three case studies discussed in this chapter are

identified as cultural traumas related to specific sites and events, which are narrativized by collective actors in a way so that they represent "social pain as a fundamental threat to their senses of who they are, where they came from, and where they want to go" (Alexander, 2004, p. 10). Events are reconstructed as existential threats to the community – to its identity, to its nation building, to its right to remember, to preserve national history and to construct its own memory.

In this sense, a particular event can be the cause of a variety of injuries. Firstly, it can be an injury around which national history is constructed in the "course of creating national identity". As Alexander (2004, p. 1) argued, social groups not only can "cognitively identify the existence and source of human suffering" but, by recognizing the existence of the trauma of others, they can also take responsibility for it, raising the issue of solidarity to a macro level. However, by refusing to participate in what Alexander calls "the process of trauma creation" (Alexander, 2004, p. 1.), the same event – secondly – can also be an injury that cries out for acknowledgement in a symbolical sense, especially if it has not been recognized in historical or identity narratives (see, e.g., how the Holocaust was pushed to the historical limina in Tito's Yugoslavia or how the Hungarian government displaced the responsibility for the Holocaust to the Germans through the 2014 erection of the Memorial for the Victims of German Occupation in Budapest) (Alexander, 2004, pp. 5–10).

Cultural trauma as the evocation of the past in the present is intrinsically bi-temporal: it is a narrative of "double occupancy", set in the time of the original event and evoked in the shifting present-day context. The trauma, thus, can be relived – in the terms of LaCapra (1994) – as "acting out" or it can be "worked through" in a way that brings about a mixture with the ingredients of dream-trauma-memory-fiction: it results in a text that represents a radically disorienting and chaotic experience, as the real event must have been. The traumatic surplus is the very "something" that resists symbolization, something "real" that cannot be fully mastered or conceptualized and that resists full narrative closure. Accordingly, any reconstruction or re-enactment of the trauma prevents the closure of the trauma narrative and its assimilation into memory.

The very impossibility or the lack of closure also perpetuates the everlasting conversation of post-generations. Within this framework, traumatic memory narratives become recognized as post-memories (Hirsch, 2012) that describe the relationship that the "generation after" bears to the personal, collective and cultural trauma of those who came before – to experiences they "remember" only by means of representations. The transmission of (traumatic) memories to the (post-)generations who have not really experienced them is done

through mediated images, stories, objects, behaviours and affects passed down within the family and the culture at large.

This gap between the event and – narrative, visual, bodily, etc. – representation is precisely what Alexander calls the "trauma process" (2004, p. 11): a process that is the focus of this chapter. Agents of this "meaning making" can be various "carrier groups" who are situated in particular social, political or cultural contexts and whose main aim is to re-signify collective identities: throughout the chapter we will present several groups who took a lead in the course of "meaning making" in Central Europe.

Using the notions of cultural trauma and post-memory as a point of departure, we are interested in their modus operandi in the digital field. Following the rapid progress of digital media technologies, academic interest in digital memory culture, including in social networking sites, has radically increased (e.g. Erll & Rigney, 2009; Garde-Hansen et al., 2009; Richardson & Hessey, 2009; Garde-Hansen, 2011; Ernst & Parikka, 2013; Rutten et al., 2013; Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014; Hajek et al., 2016; Hoskins, 2017; Kunt et al., 2017; Merrill et al., 2020; Zucker & Simon, 2020; Walden, 2021). Among these analyses discussing the formation and deformation of memory through digital channels, there are several authors who argue for a paradigm shift in memory studies. After Hoskins' often cited notion of new memories (Hoskins, 2001) generated by traditional media in the broadcast era, now, in a post-broadcast age, we seem to face yet another "memory boom" (Huyssen, 2003), also known as a "connective turn" (Hoskins, 2011). Hoskins argues that in the case of digital memories the moment of connection functions as a moment of memory: "Memory is not in this way a product of individual or collective remembrances but is instead generated through the flux of contacts between people and digital technologies and media" (Hoskins, 2011, p. 272).

Accordingly, our primary goal is to explore: (1) how various places of trauma reconstructed in the digital space function as the channel of memory transmission; (2) how the symbiosis of the construction of cultural trauma and digital placemaking equal practices of "meaning making"; and (3) how digital practices as such play well within contemporary participatory culture.

2   Cases

Within the framework of this chapter, we will discuss three case studies from Koper-Capodistria (Slovenia), Belgrade (Serbia) and Budapest (Hungary). While all the cases reflect the historical event of World War II and its consequences, they also represent three different modes of digitized trauma

"making". The case from Slovenia studies the formation of various Facebook groups that mirror the post-World War II event of the "Istrian exodus", which resulted in the emergence of divergent historic narratives and collective memories between Italians and Slovenes regarding "place". At the same time, while the creation of the Facebook group raises questions about the possibility of a dialogue between two distinct groups in Slovenia, the Serbian and Hungarian cases aim for a greater interaction between urban and digital sites through various tools. While the case study from Serbia encompasses four projects of digital mapping of the Holocaust ("Semlin Judenlager in Serbian Public Memory", "Staro Sajmište: The Living Death Camp Project", "Visit to Staro Sajmište" and "Mapping the Holocaust"), the case study from Hungary discusses the USC Shoah Foundation's mobile app IWalk, which connects concrete physical locations with testimonies of Holocaust survivors and witnesses. The social media site (set up in 2016), the multimedia maps (created between 2008 and 2013) and the educational app (first launched in 2013) will be all understood as digitexts where histories, digital memories, and trauma narratives meet as digital cultural traumas.

2.1   *Slovenia: Border Area Traumas Reflected in Social Media Groups*
2.1.1   Presentation: Istria – a Border Region with Conflicting Histories
Border regions along the Iron Curtain frequently experienced tensions in the twentieth century, which holds true also for the Istrian peninsula. As borders were redrawn and political systems shifted numerous times, the relations between the local Romance- and Slavic-language-speaking communities were deeply impacted. In 1920 the area became part of Italy, where the fascist regime exercised brutal repressive policies towards the local Slovene and Croat communities. After 1947 the situation shifted: Istria became part of Yugoslavia, with Italians becoming a minority in a socialist Slavic-speaking state. This resulted in a massive emigration wave of Italians from Istria to Italy, also known as the Istrian exodus. The result was a complete shift in the ethno-linguistic composition of the seaside historic towns, where the vacant homes of the fled "*esuli*" (meaning "the exiled") were soon nationalized and settled with Slovenes and Croatians from near and far. The remaining Italians became a very small ethnic minority.

The exodus especially affected Koper/Capodistria, which was chosen to become Slovenia's main harbour and regional industrial centre. The result is a disconnection between the meanings imbued in the historic urban fabric and the collective memories of the novel inhabitants, which was sourced from completely different places and social contexts. While the new inhabitants carried the trauma caused by Italian fascist violence, the *esuli* (many of them

settled in nearby Trieste) hold the trauma of the exodus. The Italian minority, confronted with an environment where the official narrative conflicted with their collective memory, turned to silence, often refusing to speak about their memories publicly. The resulting conflicting historical narratives and traumatic collective memories are strongly present in the local communities and afflict the inter-ethnic and cross-border relations until this very day (Hrobat Virloget, 2021; Ballinger, 2002).

2.1.2   Placemaking: Historical Traumas Emerging in Social Media Groups
Facebook has emerged as one of the most widely used, accessible and versatile digital tools. The social network allows for various types of interactions, where public groups centre around certain topics that have become increasingly popular. In the last few years, the Slovene Facebook community has seen the growing numbers of city-centred history groups, where local communities gather to share historic images of their town with related information. This was also the case with Koper/Capodistria, the main urban centre of Slovene Istria. In 2016 the group "Koper, kot je bil nekoč – Capodistria com'era una volta" ("Koper, as it once was") was founded by some members of the local Italian minority. The rules of the group emphasize respectful and tolerant dialogue, while the membership is open to everyone free of discrimination. All the rules and texts are bilingual, as is the title. This resulted in an ethnically mixed membership composition, with the Slovene and Italian languages (and their dialects) used interchangeably in posts and comments. The group welcomes members who were former inhabitants of the town (including the *esuli*), as well as current inhabitants, whether they be Slovene, Italian or members of other ethnicities.

Over the years the group formed a thriving community of contributors of pictures and related content, allowing people to collectively recall past events, places and people, to dive into nostalgia and to engage with current issues about cultural heritage. It has thus become a medium of cross-community (re) construction of digital memories about urban space. However, some of the posts also sparked conflicts. One of the most extreme heated debates occurred in January of 2020 and was related to political views about the Istrian exodus. The related post was deleted, and the initial author responded by creating his own history group, called "Koper embot – Koper nekoč" ("Koper back in the days", expressing the Slovene Istrian dialect and Slovene). The content in this group often reinforces the official Slovene/Yugoslav historic narrative, which considers the Istrian exodus a voluntary choice and portrays Slovenes as victims of fascism while holding no responsibility for the exodus itself. (These views are being challenged by contemporary research [e.g., Hrobat, 2021].) The Italian perspective on the matter is generally overlooked, while their historic narrative is dismissed as questionable and arrogant. The breakaway Facebook

group can be considered as a consequence of Slovene cultural trauma persisting in post-generations.

2.1.3 Results and Added Value

City-centred history Facebook groups function as digital platforms where urban knowledge can be created and shared. However, it is important to note, that where separate ethnic communities share or relate the same urban environment, conflicting historical narratives and traumas could manifest. Such Facebook groups can either help ease communication processes between diverse communities or lead to escalation of conflict, thereby further complicating inter-ethnic relations. This ambiguous role suggests that social media might not be the best platform to address historic traumas. Also, as the searching and archiving functions are poor, valuable contents are hard to trace after some time.

2.2 *Belgrade (Serbia): Digital Maps of a* Lieu de Trauma

2.2.1 Presentation: The Old Fairground as "Lieu de Trauma"

The Old Fairground (Staro sajmište) in Belgrade is one of the most traumatic national *lieu de memoire*, *de trauma* and *d'histoire* that still has not been officially marked and memorialized. In 1936, the Belgrade city council donated 363,000 m² of land on the previously uninhabited left bank of the Sava River to a group of businessmen, entrepreneurs and investors for the construction of a fairground that would become the emblem of the new state turning toward Europeanization, progress and modernization. By the time of the ceremonial opening on September 11, 1937, the central tower, the five "Yugoslav pavilions", the Italian, Hungarian, Romanian, Czechoslovakian pavilions and Nikola Spasic's pavilion were finished. Until the beginning of World War II, German and Turkish pavilions were also added to the symbolic landscape of the area. On 23 October 1941 it was decided that the pavilions would become the barracks of the Judenlager Semlin, a Holocaust site and the largest German-run concentration camp in south-eastern Europe (Byford, 2011). After World War II, the damaged and partially devastated complex continued to be used for various purposes. The history or timeline of the site is divided into several nodes that look to the World War II era as the key point in relation to which ethically, memory-wise, narratively, emotionally, all others are identified. Jovan Byford (2011) proposes systematic recognition of several periods: The Old Fairground (1937–1941); Judenlager Semlin (1941–1942); Anhalterlager Semlin (1942–1944); from the HQ of youth brigades to artistic colony (1948–1960); first steps toward memorialization (1957–1974); the Old Fairground as an anti-fascist monument (1984–1990); from a place of mass execution to a symbol of Serbian martyrdom: Serbian Yad Vashem (present).

2.2.2   Placemaking: Digit(al)ization of Trauma through Maps

In contrast to the plans for the actual memorialization that exist only on paper and in legal documents, the Old Fairground has already been digitally remade and memorialized several times. The formats of digital memorialization are discernible as simple websites/digitizations and more complex and interactive digital platforms/repositories/digitalizations. Two minimalist websites – "Semlin Judenlager in Serbian Public Memory" (Byford, 2008) linked to a British Academy-funded research project and maintained by the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Open University, and "Staro Sajmište: The Living Death Camp Project", created by the Centre of Archaeology of the Staffordshire University (Centre of Archaeology, n.d.) – are conceptualized as "analogous" books or texts converted to digital ones: as digitized materials (photos, maps, texts) organized under convenient headings without any real freedom for "ergodic reading" or individual moving among the segments. Two others have more complex formats and function as digital platforms or repositories: they are the products of the digitalization conceptualized after the emergence of new media and digital paradigms. "Visit to Staro Sajmište" (2009, produced in the frame of Fond B92 and supported by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation) welcomes visitors to stroll through a virtual map, both in time and space, and to create stories as well as to discover previously hidden or unaccounted narratives involving Holocaust histories and testimonials, Jewish identity, the past of Belgrade and the Balkans, and other memory narratives (as well as narratives of forgetting and oblivion). It allows the political narrativization of the present and ideological imagining of the future. By offering an extended timeline of the place for the period from 1937 to 2009 and by hinting at the future, the platform flattens the linear historicization by projecting it onto a map of the space. "Living Death Camp: The Archaeology of Staro Sajmište" (Forensic-architecture.org, 2013) is part of the work of the multidisciplinary research group Forensic Architecture based at Goldsmiths (University of London), dedicated to the production and presentation of architectural evidence within legal and political processes. In partnership with institutions across civil society (from grassroots activists to Amnesty International), it investigates human rights violations, including violence committed by states, police forces, armies and corporations. Among the multiple systematized case studies in which Semlin Judenlager is presented through GPR shots, the film documents the research of the site *Inverted Horizon* and the report that "sought to unpack the history of the site as a process of ongoing transformation". Searching for historical and material continuities as well as ruptures, it argues that "all layers of the site, including and in particular those composed of its recent and present daily use, are regarded as archaeologically significant" (Forensic-architecture.org, 2013). Further, they provide the basis for making the strategy and concepts of memorialization. Both platforms are

dynamic, interactive, developing and offering plenty of chances for their own ergodic reading and hyperlinking.

2.2.3 Results and Added Value

All four cases of digital memoryscape are spaces of digital memory making, knowledge production and sharing, but only two platforms/repositories figure as tools for "true" digital placemaking of the memory and trauma spots. Nevertheless, the two digital platforms as places where online groups coalesce also present a challenge whether the online groups can stay alive, active and survive offline. Can the digital community function in real space and can the aggregation, production and sharing of knowledge become an impetus for real actions that effectuate change?

2.3 *Budapest (Hungary): A mobile Application of Historical Trauma*

2.3.1 Presentation: A mobile Application "Unlocking a Window" into Historical Traumas

IWalk is a mobile application of the USC Shoah Foundation that – as the description in the PlayStore says – "unlocks a new window into our past". Visitors and students at authentic sites of history and memorials can discover curated IWalks – tours that connect specific locations of memory and memorialization with testimonies from survivors and witnesses of genocide, violence and mass atrocity. With the cooperation of local organizations, IWalks were (and still are) created for various cities in several countries, among which Central European cities dominate (Czech Republic, Hungary, Luxembourg, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, United States). Here, we will pay attention to IWalks available for Budapest in Hungary, where a Hungarian non-profit organization, the Zachor Foundation for Social Remembrance, took a major role in producing, organizing and teaching the know-hows of thematic walks.

Within the context of Hungary – where memory of the Holocaust still functions as a locus of various political, social and cultural stances for denying responsibility over the happenings of World War II – IWalk has an extra high stake: as a pedagogical resource it indeed has a potential of spreading knowledge about the Holocaust, but also advocating tolerance and acceptance: the conditions of a secure life.

2.3.2 Placemaking: "Digital Flaneurs" Re-signify Traumas

IWalks – which focus on authentic historical sites related to the Holocaust – are primarily orchestrated by curators who, besides designing the route of the walks, select the exact reminiscences of the past, that is, they carefully insert excerpts of video testimonies, photographs and documents into the app. Within this process, witnesses become summoned whose absent presences

become present absences: we never hear their whole testimonies, only edited versions of their narration (See Fig. 16.1). At the same time, ultimately, it will be the user who – with the help of the curator and the witness – performs practices of meaning construction.

IWalks in Budapest are either focusing on larger neighbourhoods (such as the Jewish Quarter or the 14th District) or specific locations (such as the Jewish Local History Collection of Elizabethtown, the Glass House, the Shoes
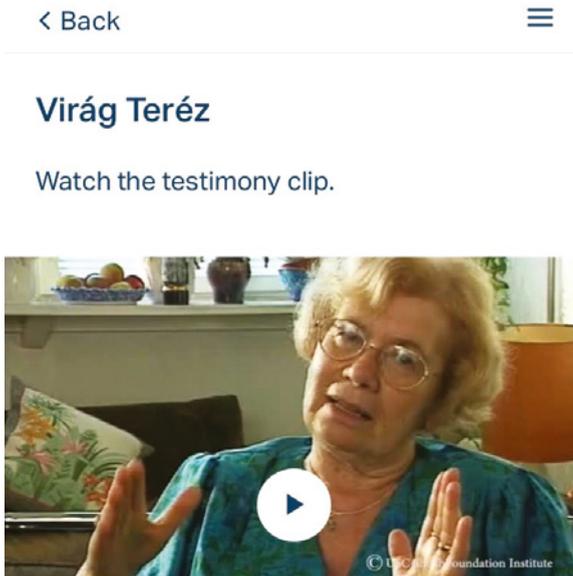
FIGURE 16.1   Screenshot of the App IWalk showing the
               Testimony Clip of Teréz Virág
               PHOTO: JÚLIA SZÉKELY, 2023

Memorial on the Danube Bank and Memento Park). In each case, the aim is to establish various kinds of connections.

This aim is already evident by opening IWalk: users not only become immediately presented with a map that pinpoints the exact stations of the specific urban walk, but, ideally, they are already standing at that very physical location (See Fig. 16.2). This mingling of the actual and digital places or the blurring of reality and representation becomes further emphasized by the parallel act of
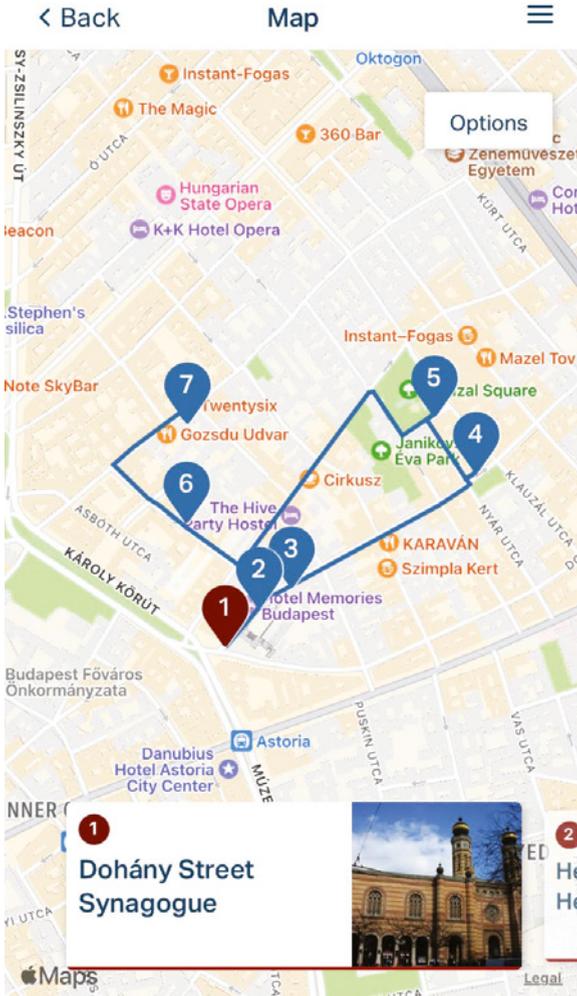
FIGURE 16.2   Screenshot of the App IWalk showing the Map
               of the Jewish Quarter Walk in Budapest
               PHOTO: JÚLIA SZÉKELY, 2023

walking through the present-day conditions of certain sites and experiencing stories and images from the past.

Michel de Certeau (1998) argued that "walking in the city" can be understood as a way of operating that constitutes "the innumerable practices by means of which users re-appropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production" (De Certeau, 1998, p. xiv). Walking – similarly to the verbal and visual memories represented in the app – re-appropriates, re-signifies spaces, and makes them places.

This continuous process of reinterpretation is also echoed in the questions built in the app that target one's changing perception of a place. Questions often inquire about first impressions of a historic location, which then recur, asking for second opinions after a short excerpt from a video testimony (e.g. in the case of the Glass House).

Within these specific spatio-temporal settings, everyday geographical realities, such as the Danube in Budapest, become reconstructed as heavily loaded signs of historical, social, cultural and – finally – emotional processes. Feelings of security and insecurity are not only thematized by the interviewees (several witnesses talk about their feelings of insecurity during the Holocaust or their anxieties about revisiting certain sites, such as the river or a building after World War II), but users (who can also be labelled as post-generations) are also asked to reflect on notions, such as fear, threat, heroism or protest. The city becomes rewritten as a place, in which it becomes evident that one's well-being is not only dependent on taking responsibilities for ourselves, but for each other as well.

2.3.3   Results and Added Value

IWalk "unlocks a new window into our past", which has a double meaning: it indeed opens a new window on our phones, but it also reveals memories suppressed by the present layers of urban architectures or socio-political unwillingness to remember. Users as digital flaneurs (Sonnevend, 2009, pp. 29–31) stroll the city and conduct excavations. Nevertheless: will these users – who are primarily high school students – be able to change the course of remembering in cities like Budapest?

3   Discussion on Outcomes and Results

While our cases from Koper-Capodistria (Slovenia), Belgrade (Serbia) and Budapest (Hungary) all reflected the historical event of World War II and its consequences, there were significant differences in the subject of traumatic experiences, especially regarding the Sloven case, on the one hand, and the

Serb and Hungarian, on the other. The case study from Koper-Capodistria elaborated on the post-World War II event of the Istrian exodus that functions as a breaking point in the historic narrative and collective memory of Italians and Slovenes. In contrast to this event, which can primarily be understood as a catalyst of divergent narratives and memories between two groups, the case studies from Belgrade and Budapest concentrated on the historical event of the Holocaust and it's invisibility in the actual urban space. Despite these differences in the focus of trauma, in all cases the historical events have a rather ambivalent position in the state narratives, that is, they are either the subjects of heated debates or simply suppressed. As a logical consequence, all three projects discussed here were initiated by private individuals, representatives of civil society or grassroots organizations.

These carrier groups of the "trauma process" were all engaged in digital practices. Our cases – which we consciously selected along the lines of representing a variety of strategies in digital "trauma making" – focused on several digital platforms in Slovenia, Serbia and Hungary that also reinforced a renewed relationship between the witness and the user.

In her book *The Era of the Witness*, Annette Wieviorka (2006) discusses how the social figure of the witness emerged as an influential actor in contemporary culture. Focusing on the memory of the Holocaust, she argues that from the 1970s we have reached a phase that not only marks the establishment of the authority of the witness, but also its now privileged position in understanding history. At the same time, re-examining Wieviorka's work, Susan Hogervorst (2020) urges us to re-evaluate the role of testimonies and to consider the effects of the digital age. She argues that the development of new technologies brought about a new approach to testimonies, in which, instead of the witness, the user becomes foregrounded. This process – through which *The Era of the User* (Hogervorst, 2020) surpasses *The Era of the Witness* (Wieviorka, 2006) – can very well be illustrated by the various projects of the USC Shoah Foundation: the route from the Visual History Archive (which contains c. 55,000 video interviews with eyewitnesses of the Holocaust and other genocides) to the IWitness (which is an educational platform providing students access to numerous testimonies for guided exploration) unambiguously describes the growing emphasis on the "I".

Although in all cases private recollections or testimonies played an important role in the reconstruction of historical trauma, the position of users in this process is somewhat different. The case study from Slovenia focused on the formation of various Facebook groups ("Koper, kot je bil nekoč – Capodistria com'era una volta" and "Koper embot – Koper nekoč") that allowed a lot of engagement in the sharing and discussing of personal memories, ultimately also merging the role of the witness and the user. The Serbian case study

encompassed four projects of digital mapping of the Holocaust ("Semlin Judenlager in Serbian Public Memory", "Staro Sajmište: The Living Death Camp Project", "Visit to Staro Sajmište" and "Mapping the Holocaust") showing essential differences in the creation of digital platforms that regarded users either as passive consumers of information or as active actors of meaning making. The case study from Hungary discussed an interactive and educational mobile app (IWalk) that shed light on how users can perform processes of reconstructions through the simultaneous act of walking in the physical and digital place where they encountered various testimonies, documents and archival images.

In this sense, our cases also showed that digital platforms can have a huge difference in terms of (non-)interactivity. As the Serbian case study underlines: interactive and digitalized platforms or repositories – in contrast to non-interactive but digitized websites – can enable the extraction of multiple narratives according to the choices of readers/users, their wishes and their previous knowledge. Due to the options of interactivity the number of users that access the platform coalesce into "collective readers", or into – as Pierre Levy (1997) noted – "collective intelligence" that indicates the specific result of the impact of internet technologies on the cultural production and consumption of knowledge. One of the key characteristics of collective intelligences/collective readers or the community of knowledge is that they can be very quick and effective in gathering, sharing information and coming to decisions/consensus. The developing conversation and dialogue among them and the digital text allows the community to overgrow the earlier established joint cumulative level of knowledge as well as to enhance its own authority. Collective readers as knowledge and interest communities come to hold tremendous power for addressing social issues. In their habitat and ecosystem on the internet, they can fully and smoothly realize potentials of their contributable knowledge. But what are the interests and abilities of those communities for social action offline, in their own physical surroundings?

Within the framework of the Facebook group, the digital map and mobile app, histories, digital memories and trauma narratives were mingling from the past and the present reinterpreting places of traumas in the urban space out of which digital cultural traumas indeed emerged. However, while the case study in Slovenia raised questions about the possibility of a dialogue between two alienated groups, the case studies from Serbia and Hungary pose the dilemma of how "digital flaneurs" can bring about changes in the actual memory landscape of cities.

Summarizing the results of the three cases, we argue the following:

– All the cases showed that digital tools are – even if to various extents – effective in helping to reconstruct the past of places that has been erased or forgotten.

– In all three cases we can see the evidence that all "layers of memory" should be considered, and that perhaps digital tools are the most effective in presenting them.
– All three cases emphasize one of the basics of placemaking – that engaging with public space can be and should be a bottom-up process.
– Public engagement and the creation of collective readers aided with digital tools can help reshape the memory landscape in a way that promotes pluralistic and tolerant ways of remembering.
– The development of advanced hybrid digital tools theoretically could generate – beside a centripetal force responsible for the creation of collective intelligences online – complementary centrifugal forces capable of converting the collective intelligence online into the communities of intelligible and expert action offline (Daković & Uspenski, 2014).

4   Lessons Learned

As we have seen, collective memory (traumatic and non-traumatic) is inescapably connected with the physical (urban) space. Narrative reconstructions add layers of meaning to these spaces, with which they can become part of the process of collective remembering and transforming into places which carry social and cultural meaning for post-generations too. This very process, which was also described by the theoretician of collective memory, Maurice Halbwachs (1992), means that memory is one of the main forms of "urban knowledge" that should be respected and/or could be exploited for the purpose of placemaking activities. As the three presented cases show, digital tools could play a significant role in reconstructing past places in the current physical urban space. However, they should not be seen as a panacea in aiding the process of remembering or in addressing cultural traumas linked to urban places, as their mode of functioning is dependent on several different variables.

A glimpse of those can be seen just by comparing the tools used in the three presented cases, which obviously differ in the dynamics and directions of information flows, in the capacity to effectively store, organize and disseminate knowledge and in size and structure of the target group they can effectively address. The Hungarian and Serbian cases show the effectiveness of targeted web pages and mobile applications made for the exact purpose of reconstruction of the urban past through remembering; however, they function mostly as one-way channels of communication from the witnesses to the users. Among the digital surfaces, mobile applications seemed superior to websites in the ability to deliver information-related experiences directly in the physical space, which activates the user by walking and thus symbolically re-creating

the personal inner image of the explored space in the meantime. Social media on the other side can reach a much wider public than targeted web pages and mobile applications and can make the wider public actively participate; however, they lack organization, focus and curatorial insight, which could turn out to be a crucial element in topics related to cultural trauma, where delicate and fragile social relations and complex discourses intertwined with conflicting historical narratives are at play. Social media groups, which often lack clear rules and active moderation, could thus do more harm than good where cultural trauma is involved. Further research and experimenting with digital tools are needed to determine the clear pros and cons of various digital tools for various processes involving collective memories linked to urban places and possibly such collective memories that contain elements of cultural trauma.

To sum up, the main differences between the presented tools are in the following points:

– Curation and moderation: Selection of content and moderation of dialogue and discussions (important if we aim not to escalate traumas and ensure empathic communication)
– Archiving: Efficient storage and organization of information with the capacity to find it in case of need
– Interactivity/communication flows: one direction of communication (monologue) or both directions (dialogue), or in other words, the level of interactivity (user activation) that is possible to achieve
– Target groups and outreach: which groups do the digital tools address and how large can they be

5   Conclusion

In this chapter we have focused on how various places of trauma become reconstructed in the digital space, primarily in the context of Central Europe. All our case studies from Slovenia, Serbia and Hungary reflected the historical event of World War II and its consequences: they elaborated on events that were claimed to be cultural traumas and that were mediated by various representations into the present, where previously they manifested in ambiguous, conflicting or non-existent historic narratives related to urban spaces. As such, the primary actors of these digital meaning making processes – instead of the state – have been private individuals, representatives of civil society or grassroots organizations: cultural traumas emerged in a bottom-up process.

We also presented how they translated in digital placemaking activities or digital urban knowledge creation through the utilization of divergent digital tools, such as social media, websites and a mobile app. Although the

discussion of the memory of World War II, especially the Holocaust, in the "Instagram era" has a growing reception in the field (see e.g. the discussion of Eva.stories from 2020 by Tirosh, 2020, or Ebbrecht-Hartmann, 2020), our aim was to focus on the similarities and differences of the modus operandi of various digital placemaking activities within particular socio-political contexts where the state representation of these events can be regarded as rather problematic. Obviously, the various forms of digital media can simultaneously be present in one "place" too. For example, besides the mobile app, the events of World War II in Hungary are also represented in websites (e.g., "Yellow Star Houses", 2014) and social media (e.g. "A Holokauszt és a családom", 2014). As such, our selection of cases did not focus on the differences in the memory politics between the various countries, but rather on the pros and cons of digital representations that continue to be active to the present day. Certainly, digital representations are growing everywhere and are open to approaches that include AR and VR material – however, they do not always "make it" to the public. For example, in Belgrade the project "Memory of Crises/Crises of Memory: Belgrade 1920–2020", created by the team of the Belgrade Faculty of Dramatic Arts (under the leadership of Prof. Nevena Dakovic), was rejected by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia.

The digital tools from our three cases mostly differed in terms of extent of curation and moderation, quality of archiving information, level of interactivity and size and structure of target groups. Based on all these characteristics, we have argued that tailor-made applications and platforms might be the best medium in the field of collective traumas, as they allow higher levels of interactivity and outreach blended with the possibility of quality curation and archiving approaches. These are not only important because of creating "collective readers" that precisely emphasize the potentials of digital platforms in terms of reinventing cultural production and consumption of knowledge by (post-)generations, but also because careful collective cultural traumas are imbued with traumatic emotions and complex discourses and narratives, that need to be dealt with attention and empathy.

Finally, our cases underline the importance of considering the complexity of memory narratives attached to places while planning their future transformations. The layers of meaning created by different collectivities in the urban space are one of the active features that shape the relationship between a community and the space inhabited, a relationship that must be thoroughly explored during placemaking activities that aim to empower a certain community in the shaping of its living environment. When cultural trauma comes into play, the avoidance of this consideration could further escalate social conflicts arising from the traumatic memories, conflicts that could translate into social conflicts related to transformations of the physical space in the present.

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Index

Placemaking has become a key concept in many disciplines. Due to an increase in digitization, mobilities, migration and rapid changes to the urban environments, it is important to learn how planning and social experts practice it in different contexts. *Placemaking in Practice* provides an inventory of practices, reflecting on different issues related to placemaking from a pan European perspective. It brings different cases, perspectives, and results analysed under the same purpose, to advance knowledge on placemaking, the actors engaged and results for people. It is backed by an intensive review of recent literature on placemaking, engagement, methods and activism results - towards developing a new placemaking agenda. *Placemaking in Practice* combines theory, methodology, methods (including digital ones) and their application in a pan-European context and imbedded into a relevant historical context.

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