Julie Clark · Nicholas Wise   *Editors*

Urban Renewal, Community and Participation

Theory, Policy and Practice

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Introduction

This edited collection investigates the human dimension of urban renewal, using case studies from Africa, Asia, Europe, North America and beyond to explore how the conception and delivery of regeneration initiatives can strengthen or undermine local communities. Ultimately aiming to advance our understanding of how urban residents can successfully influence or manage change in their own communities, the contributing authors analyse the complex relationships between policy, planning, economic development, governance systems, history and urban morphology. With a focus on policy, planning and practice, chapters in this book offer a range of theoretical approaches and concepts to show how urban renewal, community and participation are valued and assessed across different geographies. Alongside more conventional methods, the investigative approaches taken include built form analysis, participant observation, photographic analysis and the use of urban labs.

The level of both scholarly and professional interest in urban renewal is evidenced by the ongoing attention upon the topic across a number of recent academic contributions (see Roberts et al. 2016; Tallon 2013; Watt and Smets 2017; Wise and Clark 2017). In earlier collections, Porter and Shaw (2009) critique the concept of an urban renaissance, while Hutton's works (2009) examine the economic challenges facing inner-city communities. More recently, Kee et al. (2016) have contributed a valuable analysis of the intersection between social factors and community well-being. Like Tallon (2013), O'Brien and Matthews (2015) adopted a UK focus in relation to urban renewal, exploring studies from the Arts and Humanities Research Council Connected Communities programme (primarily in England). Numerous other authors have also addressed critical topics pertinent to urban renewal, concentrating on an individual case (e.g. Corbett and Corbett 2000; Hyra 2008; MacLaran and Kelly 2014) or on an environmentalist agenda (Shand 2013; Warburton 2009).

While these texts engage with community as an important issue, this book extends the existing literature by contributing contemporary research on a range of international cases, which examine urban renewal as it relates to community and participation across different geographical scales. Smith (2000. p. 724) defines scale as 'one or more levels of representation, experience, and organisation of

geographical events and processes'. In an increasingly connected world, there is a need to maintain focus on how the local, regional, national and global forces act upon neighbourhood communities, affecting residents socially and economically. The micro-community, or micro-locale, depending on the site and situation, can encourage people to mobilise in a manner that will benefit a community when burdened by exclusion or austerity measures. Micro-locale academic research helps to create awareness by giving people a voice to share their wants, needs, demands and frustrations. Intended for students and scholars engaged with urban and social geography, as well as those with an interest in community activism and policy, this book offers a rich combination of theoretical insight and empirical analysis, contributing to the literature on gentrification, the right to the city and community participation in neighbourhood change.

Contributors stress the significance of the social impacts of policy, challenging theoretical assumptions and examining the effects of both the presence and the absence of community participation in urban change. The urban spatial lens offered by this volume, emphasising the importance of place and context for community well-being, adds a further dimension to Kee et al.'s timely analysis, furthering critical debates on regeneration as gentrification, the right to the city, social inclusion/exclusion and community engagement, alongside examination of urban planning, development and capacity policies. In order to explore ideas about how change can transform wider urban areas—for better and for worse—the authors examine micro-cases impacted by change in a range of different urban contexts, from neighbourhood level down to the case study of an individual market. Case studies are drawn from China, Hong Kong, India, Italy, Korea and South Africa, as well as different examples from both the United Kingdom and the United States, finishing with a cross-European theory–practice chapter on the use of Urban Labs.

Outline of the Book

The 12 chapters that make up this collection extend our knowledge of the importance of community and the critical role that community participation can play in driving and adapting to urban change. The contributing authors question the theoretical basis on which interventions are made and present case study evidence intended to highlight community agency as central to policy and practice for thriving city neighbourhoods with strong social networks.

The opening chapter, by 'Mee Kam Ng', deploys the concept of place-framing to understand the impacts of macro socio-economic and political contexts on competing discourses of community within two case study areas in Hong Kong. Ng argues that, in a liberal political economy dominated by the state, debates concerning urban renewal have a strongly infrastructural focus, which can result in the break-up of communities. The chapter emphasises the scope for a civil society to resist and reframe discourse around the proper function of place, supporting community and social capital to benefit the health and well-being of residents. The

contrasting case studies offered demonstrate the value of place-*reframing*, when local actors resist imposed place-frames and build their own community identity. The chapter concludes by revisiting the theoretical implications of the research for case studies.

Linking theoretical writings across disciplinary boundaries, which encompass political philosophy, geography and community psychology, 'Amie Thurber', a scholar-practitioner focussed on small-scale neighbourhood geographies in the United States, continues the discussion of the ways in which community truly matters. Drawing on her work alongside vulnerable, low-income residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods, Thurber analyses neighbourhood in terms of material, epistemic and affective dimensions. As well as offering a deeper understanding of the harms done by gentrification, the chapter proposes its 'more than material' conceptual framework as a means of imagining then enacting positive interventions to create spaces of resident representation, build relationships between neighbours and support participatory action.

Motivated by the imbalance of power between community, state and private actors, 'Julie Clark and Valerie Wright' interrogate the 'successful' regeneration of a working-class neighbourhood that has been subjected to repeated cycles of renewal: the Gorbals area of Glasgow, in Scotland. Taking a research approach that prioritises the meaning and experience of regeneration within a community, the authors explore the impacts of policy in relation to the history and changing geography of an area that has been widely celebrated as an exemplar of regeneration practice. Over the span of a lifetime, material conditions have improved dramatically and stigma associated with living in the area has reduced, However, changes to population and well as place obscure the question of who might, ultimately, be the intended audience for this showpiece regeneration. The authors argue that to call any regeneration a genuine success requires a longer lens and wider field of vision than is generally applied and advocate for the centrality of both current and previous resident narratives in evaluating the complex interrelations between space, place, community and time.

The role of governance systems in supporting community aspirations is a core concern as 'Pablo Sendra' investigates the regeneration of social housing in London, contrasting state-led with localist, 'Big Society' state-enabling models. The chapter considers tensions and limitations in different governance mechanisms intended to foster community involvement and participation, considering resident involvement in Partnership Boards in 'New Deal for Communities' areas, examining neighbourhood planning as an approach to community-led regeneration, and exploring initiatives that support resident-led funding proposals. Sendra's work emphasises the need for targeted support and funding sources, not dependent upon private investment, to encourage active community involvement in regeneration and avoid negative or displacement impacts.

The following three chapters develop the issue of urban renewal and disadvantage, discussing community displacement, marginalisation and the impact of infrastructure decisions on adjacent neighbourhoods. Investigating the experiences of displacement of inner-city residents in Johannesburg, South Africa 'Delia Ah

Goo' is also concerned with at-risk citizens, given urban renewal is all too often associated with the displacement of working-class residents. Highlighting that the greater part of gentrification research has focussed on cities in the global north, the author uncovers the unfolding processes of gentrification in the Maboneng Precinct of the inner city of Johannesburg, where an old, industrial quarter is being developed into a global city-style arts-orientated complex. In emphasising the lived experiences of people evicted from the area, Ah Goo challenges the contention that suitable, affordable housing is available elsewhere and warns of escalating protests, if the voices of the dispossessed remain unregarded.

Echoing earlier discussions of the community as central to the meaning of place, 'Sungkyung Lee' examines the Jagalchi Market Modernization, a street renovation accompanied by the redevelopment of an existing building in one of the most historic seafood markets in Busan, South Korea. The historic market has considerable cultural significance as an important space for urban life in traditional Korean society. However, in the face of declining commercial competitiveness, national agencies and local governments across Korea have launched various market revitalization programmes to assist with modernising market facilities and improving business management. Lee uses photographic analysis to unpack the significance of the market's historical particularities and authentic sense of place, contrasting the functionality of the renovated street for outside users and tourists with the loss of community and an inclusive cultural space for, particularly, female street vendors. The chapter endorses policy approaches that regard physical redevelopment as a starting point, supporting the restoration of local community and culture, rather than as the end goal.

Studying the long-term relationship between railway terminals and their surrounding neighbourhoods, 'Tom Bolton' uses a combination of historical investigation, land use mapping and built form analysis to examine Paddington and Marylebone stations in London during two periods of time, the 1890s (at the height of railway activity) and the 2010s. While research into urban renewal tends to focus on housing developments, Bolton contends that the social implications of separation caused by railway lines are under-examined, impacting upon the social, cultural and economic development of communities, separated from city centres, on the 'wrong side of the tracks' behind large stations. Counter-posing the once-in-a-generation investment required by major infrastructure developments against the long-term exclusion and entrenched disadvantage suffered by communities close to the busiest stations, the chapter closes with a call for attention to the neighbourhood dominated by railway stations and planning to mitigate exclusion.

In the next two chapters, different research approaches are used to illustrate how community perceptions might influence urban renewal policies and practice. 'Xiaolin Zang and Bouke van Gorp' are concerned with resident participation in local heritage conservation in Qingdao, China. Although public participation in heritage conservation and area revitalisation is increasing, the authors argue that traditional, expert-led heritage practices are challenged by multi-participation and dissonant heritage narratives. Drawing on a blend of heritage review, professional interviews and community survey approaches, the chapter demonstrates that

although community residents generally support heritage conservation, there are obstacles to overcome before the aspiration of community participation in heritage preservation can become a reality. Residents who encounter that heritage on a daily basis value it differently from professionals and visitors, connecting through intangible factors, such as personal connections, stories and associations, rather than what professionals regard as the 'right' reasons. The authors advocate connecting with the lay understandings of the historical and cultural environment as a means of building greater community support for an investment in local heritage.

'Nicholas Wise, Lucia Aquilino and Tanja Armenski' assesses how residents of Matera, Italy view their destination's competitiveness ahead of the 2019 European Capital of Culture (ECoC) using the Integrated Model of Destination Competitiveness. Cities (and regions) across Europe use events to catalyse culture and aid community development. This chapter analyses results from 200 competitiveness surveys completed by residents from Matera and the immediate Basilicata region, identifying strengths and weaknesses across 83 indicators. The ECoC promotes economic production using culture to drive the restructuring of social legacies, job creation and civic re-positioning, which will influence community practice and participation in the lead up to during and after the event. Based on the information from local residents, a new determinant is considered (social conditions to improve local well-being), as a way to understand how the event will benefit the local city community of Matera. Such perspective from local residents offers insight on the need for urban renewal, social impacts and community well-being as the destination prepares to host events and future, increased tourism.

The following two chapters are underpinned by the theme of agency in the practice of urban interventions, as both practitioners and community members find different ways of engaging with formal policy systems. Focusing on the Community Development Block Grant programme for neighbourhood revitalisation in the state of Ohio (in the United States), 'Amy E. Rock' argues that, although demonstrating citizen participation is a key requirement of publicly funded community development projects, more work is needed to better understand citizen and community engagement. In particular, given that some groups are known to have greater involvement in public decision-making, it would be advantageous to have insight into whether low participation rates in community-based grant applications and levels of citizen participation might be a product of demographic factors. In seeking a predictive model for participation, the chapter warns that a demographic model with a good fit in urban neighbourhoods may not function well across a large group of rural communities. The author emphasises a correspondence between spatial patterns of higher participation scores and the presence of outreach initiatives by programme administrators and dedicated staff before adding, as closing note, that study which resulted in the simplification of funding application processes.

Researching in India, where cities are seeing increased investment and institutional reform, 'Priti Narayan' takes a multi-scalar approach to examining participation in urban renewal. As a means of investigating the rise of cities as investment epicentres, Narayan situates the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Project (JNNURM) within a wider trajectory of attempts to improve infrastructure and

empower governance at urban level. Commencing in 2006, this modernisation project involved over 7bn US dollars made available to deliver world-class urban infrastructure. Asking the question, *where does democracy thrive*, this chapter points out both the foreclosures from participation and the agency of the poor, navigating urban renewal at local scale, beyond formal, institutionalised participation.

In the final chapter of the collection, 'Thomas Höflehner and Friedrich M. Zimmermann' introduce the URB@Exp project, an EU-funded transdisciplinary research initiative which ran from 2014 to 2017. The chapter outlines findings from multi-method action research projects conducted in five Europeans cities, in order to improve the engagement of diverse groups of actors and citizens in Urban Labs. Stressing governance as a core mechanism through which sustainable urban development might be achieved, the authors highlight the potential of labs in new governance structures. The chapter investigates the benefits and challenges of implementing Urban Labs, offering a more open, inclusive, democratic and creative approach through which policymakers, civil society and academics can come together and collaboratively develop ways to meet today's 'grand challenges'. Amongst the evidence-based guidelines and design principles for implementing labs presented, the authors profile aligning agendas and fostering plurality as crucial in the functioning of the labs: perspectives from non-traditional and excluded groups, and consideration of how all participants, including marginal actors, can initiate and manage their own processes within the lab are key to fostering genuine democratic governance.

This edited book is the result of four special sessions on urban renewal organised at the 2016 Association of American Geographers annual conference in San Francisco, California. The themes, discussions and debates from these sessions are brought forward in this collection in the following 12 chapters.

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Julie Clark
Nicholas Wise

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Chapter 1
Urban Renewal, Sense of Community and Social Capital: A Case Study of Two Neighbourhoods in Hong Kong

Mee Kam Ng

Abstract Through comparing and contrasting two neighbourhoods in Hong Kong, this chapter aims to examine how the broader evolving socio-economic and political contexts affect competing place-framing discourses. It is argued that in a liberal political economy dominated by the state, urban renewal adopts primarily a 'slash and burn' approach, redeveloping the physical fabric for more intensive growth, breaking up communities and diminishing the sense of place and community. The Kwun Tong Town Centre Redevelopment Project was announced in 1997 but due to financial reasons, actual redevelopment did not take place until 2012. As landlords stopped maintaining the buildings, the district suffered from serious urban blight and a vicious cycle of poor environmental conditions, faltering social capital and sense of community. The story is completely different in the Blue House, a cluster of tenement buildings providing various services to the community. When the renewal authority announced in 2006 a HK$100 million project to displace residents and transform the 80+ years old building into a shopping mall, local residents and civil society organisations worked together to change the place-framing discourse to a need of enriching the urban fabric with creative and entrepreneurial uses, strengthening of bonding, bridging and linking capitals among different stakeholders and their sense of community. Eventually, the Government was persuaded to include the Blue House building cluster into the Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme. The local alliance eventually succeeded in bidding for the project, turning the building cluster into residential cum community facilities to serve local socio-economic needs.

Keywords Urban renewal · Sense of community · Social capital
Place-frames · Discourse · Values · Hong Kong

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1.1 Introduction

As argued by Martin (2003), neighbourhoods are space–time configurations (or trajectories), shaped by competing discourses that she calls 'place-frames'. Place-framing occurs at different geographical levels, through different stakeholders over time. Competing for place-framing in urban renewal (including its meaning, nature and processes) can lead to different outcomes in terms of sense of community, social capital and well-being in neighbourhoods, depending on how discourse politics play out in space and time (Pierce et al. 2011). Through two different case studies, this chapter aims to examine how the broader evolving socio-economic and political contexts affect competing place-framing discourses. It is argued that in a liberal political economy dominated by the state, urban renewal tends to emphasise a need to redevelop the physical fabric for more intensive growth, breaking up communities, weakening their sense of belonging and social capital accumulation. However, a maturing civil society will help change the place-framing discourse and hence transform the fate of a community. An active civil society would reframe the place discourse towards a need to conserve a sense of community and the accumulated social capital for the health and well-being of its dwellers, rather than growth per se.

The following chapter first conceptualises the relationships among urban renewal, social capital, sense of community and people's well-being. This framework is then used to examine two case studies in Hong Kong during a period when the place-framing discourse by the government has been increasingly challenged by reframing discourses put forward by a rising civil society. The cases, therefore, highlight the impacts of macro-socio-economic and political contexts on discourse politics. The concluding section revisits the theoretical implications of the case studies.

1.2 Urban Renewal Discourse Politics, Sense of Community, Social Capital and Well-being

Neighbourhoods are constructed by socio-economic and political processes in time and space (Martin 2003, p. 732). They are the settings where people interact in the course of meeting their daily needs. Some neighbourhoods are better developed, providing their inhabitants with great use values, while others may not be particularly friendly to everyday users. As argued by Lefebvre (1991, p. 33), the production of space 'implies [for the users] a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance'. Many scholars have contended that place is socially constructed by different stakeholders through various political and institutionalised mechanisms, including discourses and cultural practices (Cresswell 2014; Gottdiener 1985; Merrifield 1993; Pred 1984). As a result, how places are characterised, represented or perceived may have real consequences on people's perceptions of, and practices in, space. This is why Martin (2003) argues for the importance of 'place-framing'.

Erving Goffman first put forward the concept of 'frames' to explain how people make sense of their experiences through certain mental representations of reality (see Goffman 1974). Frames can also be texts, narratives, ideologies and metaphors (Barnes and Duncan 1992 cited in Martin 2003). An individual's 'framing' or conception of their neighbourhoods will affect their sense of identity, their image and sense of the meaning of a place, and even their everyday spatial practices. The 'frames' adopted by individuals could be hegemonic in nature, that is they are imposed by those in power and accepted by space users without much reflection (Lefebvre 1991). However, if people's individual place-frames are different from the hegemonic ones and they share more commonalities and aspirations with their fellow community members, there will be a higher chance for these individuals to work together to articulate a 'place-frame' that will promote their common local interests (Martin 2003). In fact, we can understand 'place-framing' as a contest of 'competing discourses' put forward by different stakeholders, including the state, the market and the civil society. The outcome of such a contest will depend on the inter- and intra-networked power play among the various stakeholders within the formal and informal political, institutional and multi-scalar spatial contexts (Pierce et al. 2011). In Asian or Confucian culture, a developmental or paternalistic state could be seen as benevolent (Wong and Wong 2005). However, the literature on the politics of multi-stakeholder place-making seems to suggest otherwise. There is usually the domination of a hegemonic place-frame by those in power that tends to 'exterminate' a neighbourhood and may bring grief and loss to those who are forced to relocate (Fried 1963). However, if counter place-framing exists, usually steered by local community leaders and enlightened intellectuals (Ng 2014), a place may be reborn, leading to a strong sense of community, cumulative social capital and individual well-being (Baba et al. 2017).

In the context of urban renewal, the hegemonic discourse is normally related to redeveloping a neighbourhood to boost its ability to promote development, based on an ideology that equates economic growth with the 'well-being' of a place (Gottdiener 1985). A vicious cycle will develop if members of the concerned neighbourhood are isolated individuals who in any case do not think highly of their neighbourhood, feeling insecure or even unsafe with a sense of 'entrapment' (Rogers et al. 2008, pp. 364–71). Residents in this kind of neighbourhood tend to handle their perceived daily threats individually and feel little control over the future of the place, resulting in lower levels of social capital and personal well-being (Rogers et al. 2008). If such neighbourhoods receive no outside help or enlightenment, the entrapped individuals will normally not proactively organise among themselves and generally display a very 'low sense of collective efficacy' (Rogers et al. 2008, p. 366). Their exclusion from making decisions can further lead to a feeling of powerlessness, disenfranchisement or even mistrust, directly affecting their individual and collective well-being (Allen 2000; Baba et al. 2017).

The neoliberal discourse on urban renewal has been under increasing critique (Norris and Gkartzios 2011; Bacque and Biewener 2013). Indeed, a reframing of the purpose of urban renewal may produce a different cycle of events. As argued by Trueman et al. (2013), if urban renewal aims at pursuing the broader goals of promoting justice, equality and inclusion, this may inspire people to perceive their

neighbourhood in a different light, increasing their sense of 'self-value' and willingness to work with others to improve their quality of life, creating employment opportunities and improving social services provision. Such working together, the development of friendship through social interactions, produces social capital as well as a sense of empowerment that has direct bearing on individual well-being: improved self-efficacy and self-esteem; greater sense of control; increased knowledge and awareness; behaviour change; greater sense of community; and broadened social networks and social support (Woodall et al. 2010). Hence, reframing the goals of urban renewal in a neighbourhood will have real consequences for the living community, providing a mental structure for the residents not only to understand but also to act (Brewer 2007).

The following two community case studies, focusing on Kwun Tong and Wan-Chai, will trace the evolving urban renewal in these places. These cases consider the notion of place-framing by the government and civil society over time, highlighting how competing discourses help to frame various issues as well as people's common understanding and, hence, acceptance of a particular perspective of their circumstances, along with the consequent impacts on their actions, sense of community, social capital and well-being. This research started with the author's pro bono involvement in community developments in the city since the 1990s. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods have been adopted to understand the two cases. Besides discussing with various stakeholders through participation and organisation of various community-based activities and formal research interviews with involved stakeholders, two small-scale questionnaire surveys were conducted in 2015 to collect data on the affected communities. Since the community in the now demolished Kwun Tong Town Centre no longer exists, and those who chose to stay in the Blue House in Wan-Chai refused to be interviewed, the remaining community members in the vicinity of both projects were surveyed. Residents in the Blue House have suffered from interview fatigue as their victory in saving their community had attracted intensive media and research attention from 2007 to the early 2010s. Due to resource limitations, the sets of questionnaire surveys for Kwun Tong and Wan-Chai numbered 90 and 31 respectively. Nevertheless, the quantitative results do provide some pointers for a better understanding of the different place-frames in the sense of community, social capital and well-being in the two communities.

1.3 Kwun Tong Town Centre Redevelopment Versus Revitalising Blue House in Wan-Chai: From Government-Led Place-Framing to Community-Led Place-Framing

Figure 1.1 shows the location of the Kwun Tong Town Centre redevelopment project and the Blue House revitalisation partnership scheme. Both cases show that the interactions of the wider evolving socio-economic contexts and local

Fig. 1.1 Map of Hong Kong showing the location of Kwun Tong Town Centre and Wan-Chai Blue House. *Source* Author

stakeholder relationships affect the final negotiation and adoption of a place-frame for renewal practices. The turn of the millennium seems to mark a watershed in Hong Kong's state–civil society relationships (Ng 2008a). Figure 1.2 shows the economic context of Hong Kong before and after 1997, when the city changed from a British colony to China's Special Administrative Region. Before the 2000s, mostly during the post-WWII colonial era, the government dominated the place-framing discourse, which often led to a vicious cycle of 'place and community-breaking' as evidenced in the case of Kwun Tong below. However, since the turn of the millennium, an actively growing civil society has challenged the dominant place-frame and advocated alternative discourses some of which have succeeded to invoke a virtuous cycle of 'place and community-making' as in the following case of the Blue House.

Before the return to Chinese rule, Hong Kong experienced rapid economic growth, partly due to the construction of many mega infrastructure projects. The 'glorious retreat' of the British government was marked by the completion of the 10 core projects related to the relocation of the airport in the last decade of colonial rule. This speed was possible because the then dominant place-framing discourse, that is spatial development for economic growth, had been generally accepted as the prime reason for the existence of Hong Kong, a 'borrowed place, borrowed time' (Hughes 1976 [1968]). However, a series of events after Hong Kong's return to
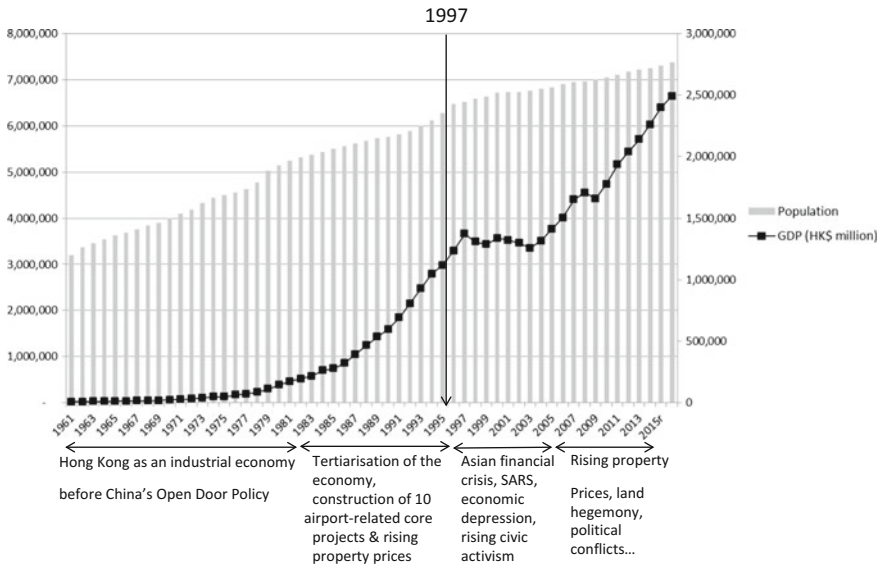
Fig. 1.2 Economic development in Hong Kong. *Source* Compiled by the author from data collected at the Census and Statistics Department, http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp250.jsp?tableID=031&ID=0&productType=8

Chinese rule changed people's perception. In 1998, Hong Kong's economy was beset by multiple challenges: the Asian Financial Crisis; a property slum; a subsequent economic depression; Severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) (a viral respiratory disease that started in southern China and was transmitted to Hong Kong by a mainland Chinese doctor resulting in 299 deaths in Hong Kong); and political resistance to the government's attempt to pass a law to ensure national security (Ng 2008b, 2013). Hard hit by these events, Hong Kong residents began to reflect on the desirability of the dominant ideology of growth at all costs and started to reframe their understanding of value in spatial development. The economy re-bounced slowly afterward and reached new heights in recent years. While per capital GDP has grown, the Gini coefficient (measuring inequity) has worsened (Fig. 1.3).

This economic and political transition has important implications for the two cases. Table 1.1 outlines the timeline of the two projects. The Land Development Corporation (precursor of the Urban Renewal Authority) announced in early 1998 (when the severity of the Asian financial crisis was not yet fully felt) the carrying out of 25 redevelopment projects, including the Kwun Tong Town Centre. This announcement had the effect of further blighting a not particularly well-maintained set of properties in the Town Centre as owners expected the renewal to take place soon. Figure 1.4 shows two photographs taken in 2006. It is obvious that building conditions in the Kwun Tong Town Centre were much worse than the surrounding buildings constructed in the same period.
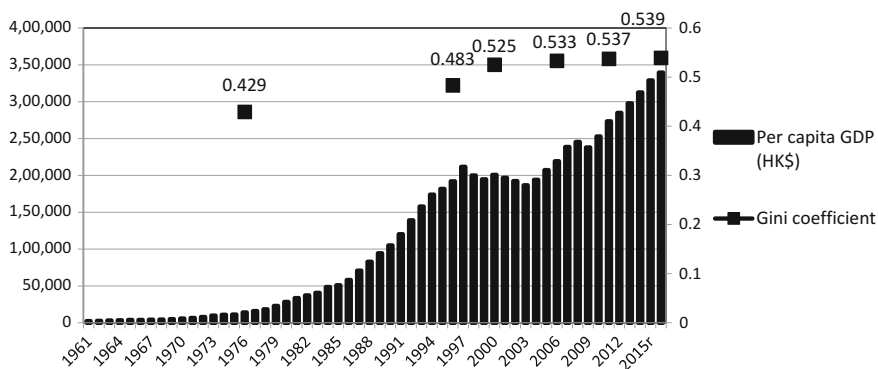
Fig. 1.3 Per capita income and Gini coefficient. *Source* Compiled by the author with per capita GDP: from Census and Statistics Department, http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/showtablecust.jsp; Gini Coefficient: 1976 figure: Wong, 2015; 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016 figures: Census and Statistics Department, http://www.bycensus2006.gov.hk/en/press/070618/index.htm; http://www.census2011.gov. hk/pdf/Press%20release_Eng_final__Gini_table_en.pdf; and http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/press_release/pressReleaseDetail.jsp?charsetID=1&pressRID=4180

Table 1.1 Timelines of the two cases

	Kwun Tong Town Centre redevelopment	Wan-Chai Blue House
1274	Song Dynasty: the area surrounding present-day Kwun Tong was covered by 'salt pans', a trade monopolised by the state. The region was called 'Kwun Fu Chang', literally means 'Government Wealth Place'	
1662	Retreat of coastal settlements 50 miles inland, leading to the demise of the 'salt pans'[a]	
1840s–1860s	• 1842: Hong Kong Island was ceded to Britain • 1868: Part of Kowloon was ceded to Britain	
1872–1886		As a hospital and a temple for a Chinese medical deity
1898	The New Territories was leased to Britain for 99 years	
1920–1922		The hospital was demolished and rebuilt into a four-storey tenement building
1940s	• 1941–45: Japanese occupation of Hong Kong for 3 years and 8 months • 1949: Setting up of the socialist People's Republic of China and influx of Chinese capitalists and refugees into Hong Kong, unleashing a 'transferred industrialisation' process	

(continued)

Table 1.1 (continued)

	Kwun Tong Town Centre redevelopment	Wan-Chai Blue House
1950s	• 1954: Government decided to reclaim land from the sea in Kwun Tong to accommodate industrial development • 1959, 33 hectares of land was reclaimed	A kung-fu school was opened in 1950
1960s	• Further reclamations in Kwun Tong and its surrounding areas, completed in the 1990s	A Chinese medical centre was set up in 1960
1990s	• Kwun Tong Town Centre was built in the 1960s • Kwun Tong became one of the largest industrial districts in Hong Kong until China started her urban reforms in the 1980s	
1997	• Return of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereign rule • Asian financial crisis	
1998	The Land Development Corporation, precursor of Urban Renewal Authority (URA), announced 25 redevelopment projects, including the **Kwun Tong Town Centre** one	
2000		Blue House was listed as a Grade One building[b]
2001		URA decided to conserve the Blue House
2004–2005	2005, URA announced the setting up of the Kwun Tong District Advisory Committee and launched public consultation of the redevelopment project	St. James Settlement, a local charity, obtained support from the Sustainable Development Fund to develop the Wan-Chai Livelihood Place in Blue House
2006		• URA and Hong Kong Housing Society announced a HK$100 (US$12.8) million Community Revitalisation and Heritage Preservation project to turn the **Blue House** into a shopping facility for tea and medicine • Community objected and put forward a counterproposal: 'Living in the living place'

<div align="right">(continued)</div>

Table 1.1 (continued)

	Kwun Tong Town Centre redevelopment	Wan-Chai Blue House
2007	• URA announced the project on 2 March and conducted a freezing survey on the estimated 4,500 residents • URA submitted the plans for the approval by the Town Planning Board	• Wan-Chai Livelihood Place in operation • Blue House Concern Group succeeded in persuading the Town Planning Board to include residential use in the zoning plan • Heritage Hong Kong joined St. James Settlement to conserve the building
2008		The Blue House was included in the Government initiated Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme
2009	The Town Planning Board approved the Master Layout Plan of Kwun Tong Town Centre	
2010		St. James Settlement won the bid to conserve Blue House Cluster

Source Synthesised from news and publications related to Kwun Tong and Wan-Chai in the reference list

[a]The Qing Government worried that coastal settlers would offer help to Zheng Chenggong who endeavoured to revive the Ming Dynasty

[b]Grade One buildings are those with 'outstanding merits, which every effort should be made to preserve if possible' (Antiquities and Monuments Office, http://www.amo.gov.hk/en/built2.php)

Fig. 1.4 Building conditions within and beyond Kwun Tong Town Centre redevelopment project. *Source* Author, 2006
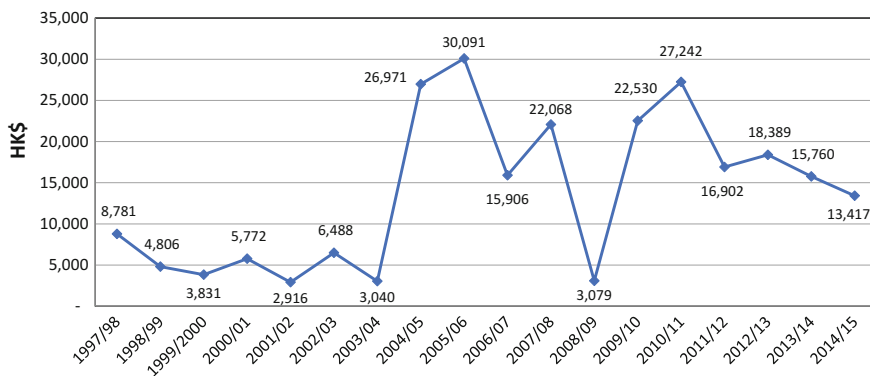
Fig. 1.5 Land premium per square foot. *Source* Compiled by the author with data from Lands Department, The Government of Hong Kong, Land sale records, various years, downloadable from http://www.landsd.gov.hk/en/landsale

The return to Chinese rule (driven by socialist China's early worry of capital flight from the post-colonial city) and the economic downturn after 1998 have probably accounted for the bias of economic-related development policies towards the interests of the property-related sectors (Chu and So 2007; Poon 2011). For instance, the Urban Renewal Authority Ordinance enacted in 2000 no longer requires the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) to pay a land premium after a redevelopment project, unlike its precursor, the Land Development Corporation. As land prices have increased dramatically in recent years (Fig. 1.5), this arrangement has been seen by many as 'land grabbing' on behalf of the developers. Civil society, therefore, has started to question the wisdom of this kind of economic growth, especially when those with lower socio-economic status have no avenue to share the fruits of economic development. For instance, official figures show that for those aged 20–29 in full-time employment, their median monthly income remained at around HK$10,000 in the first decade after the turn of the millennium (The government of Hong Kong 2013). In the name of urban renewal or development, heritage sites were vacated and communities were driven out to make way for expensive real estate developments, raising the cost of living for those who remained (Ng 2013). In fact, since the early 2000s, civil society has started to mobilise, to resist development projects that are perceived to harm the environment (such as reclaiming land from sea) or breaking up long-time communities (Ng 2008a). Hence, the macro-socio-economic trends and the embedded place-framing discourses have led to different fates of the two communities in the following case studies, outlined in the subsections below.

1.3.1 Kwun Tong Town Centre Redevelopment Project: Place-Framing Led by the Government?

An examination of the Urban Renewal Authority Ordinance (2001, Sect. 5 on purposes of the Authority) reveals that the focus of the Authority is to upgrade the built environment and improve the standard of housing, to better utilise land in dilapidated areas and to make land available for various development needs. The word 'people' is not found in the ordinance and 'community' appears only once when 'community facilities' are mentioned in passing. According to the unpublished District Urban Renewal Strategies prepared by the Land Development Corporation (1997, p. 79), the degree of degradation of the Kwun Tong study area 'is not particularly significant' and most buildings were graded as 'fair', primarily due to inadequate maintenance. The document also mentioned that the redevelopment project would 'clearly act as a major catalyst for upgrading surrounding areas' (Land Development Corporation 1997, p. 79). Hence, the Kwun Tong Town Centre then had no immediate need to be redeveloped, other than the possibility of increasing its 'efficiency' for other land use developments. As an old 'new town' developed first to accommodate transferred industrialisation from communist China in the 1950s (see Table 1.1), Kwun Tong, while known to be polluted and 'chaotic', has been a very dynamic place full of street-level activities that provide diversified goods and affordable living for local residents.

According to the 2001 population census, the population in the Town Centre was 3,572 and the household size (2.9) was lower than the territorial average (3.1) (Law 2005). Almost a decade elapsed between the LDC's announcement and the URA's initiation of the redevelopment project. The uncertainties surrounding the project not only led to rapid deterioration of the building conditions but the composition of the residents also changed during this time. According to the Social Impact Assessment (SIA) Report by the URA (2007), there were 1,472 living units in the project. The URA interviewed 1,401 households (with 4,763 residents—an increase of 33% compared with 2001): the average household size was 3.4 persons (higher than the then territorial average of 3.0) (URA 2007). The following characteristics show that the area had been inhabited by a more marginalised population, probably a result of the site's uncertain fate as there had been no timetable about project implementation for a decade (URA 2007):

- Overcrowding: the degree of sharing was 1.12 (territorial average 1.0)
- Lower income: 35% of households earning less than HK$10,000 per month (territorial average 28%) and 10% households receiving Comprehensive Social Security Assistance
- New immigrants: 19% of the residents had lived in Hong Kong for less than 7 years
- Long-term residents: 32% had lived in the area for over 20 years
- Over half the residents were owner-occupiers: 58 and 34% were tenants
- The unemployment rate was higher than the territorial average: 6 versus 4.3%

Based on the SIA Report (URA 2007), 80% of the respondents believed that project would have positive or no impact on their employment. Only 19% thought that there might be negative impacts such as 'inconvenience, loss of job opportunities, increase in transport expenses and travelling time' (URA 2007, pp. 8–9). Yet in terms of economic impacts, about half (49%) worried that living expenses would increase and 66% trusted that their social network would not be affected while 28% considered otherwise (URA 2007). In another survey conducted by the URA, over 81% of the residents considered redevelopment necessary (Law 2005, p. 26). More interestingly, people did not think highly of the Town Centre. In a workshop conducted in 2005, participants identified the Town Centre as a dilapidated residential area, a hub for transportation, with poor environment, lots of hawkers, food stalls, buying and selling, inadequate community facilities and problems of 'prostitution, drugs and gambling' (Law 2005, pp. 28–29). In another survey of affected residents, the majority of whom had lived in the project area for over 10 years, about 60% of the respondents considered nothing was worth conserving in Kwun Tong, 67% agreed that redevelopment was necessary and indeed 53% were happy with redevelopment (Law 2005).

As the Town Centre had been bulldozed, one could imagine that very few residents would eventually move back to the regenerated place. Yet, the community echoed URA's rhetoric to improve the Kwun Tong Town Centre. According to 'The Community's Choice', promulgated by the URA after its engagement workshops, people supported the following (URA 2011):

- All-weather public transport interchange and improved transport facilities
- Building setback and pavement widening
- A new Kwun Tong Town Centre—the best green Town Centre in Hong Kong
- Improved ventilation
- Extra public open space
- Preserving local character and street life
- Improved housing conditions

One may argue that URA's place-framing had been very successful and did gain the full support of the local community even though the Town Centre community had been dismantled slowly since the redevelopment project was announced. Furthermore, it is highly likely that the relocated residents would not enjoy substantially the results of the redevelopment process.

1.3.2 The Revitalisation Project of the Blue House, Wan-Chai: Successful Place-Reframing by the Civil Society?

In the unpublished District Urban Renewal Strategies prepared by the Land Development Corporation (1997), the Blue House cluster and its vicinity were

identified as having high to moderate potential for comprehensive urban renewal. Wan-Chai was one of the earliest developed areas during the colonial era and used to be seen as a district for the less well-off. Similar to Kwun Tong, the district used to have very vibrant street-level activities, satisfying the daily needs of many Hong Kongers, within and beyond Wan-Chai. The Blue House cluster is located in Stone Nullah Lane in Wan-Chai and consists of the Blue House, the Yellow House and the Orange House (Fig. 1.6). On the same street is a charity organisation, St. James Settlement. Modelled on the Settlement Movement in the United Kingdom, the charity was set up in 1949 and has remained a very important non-government organization in the district.

According to DiStefano et al. (2002, p. 3), a two-storey building was constructed at the Blue House site in 1867 and was first registered as Wah Tong Hospital (name of the Chinese God of Medicine), probably as a facility to provide medical services to the neighbouring community. Due to financial problems, the medical facility was closed in 1886 and the building was turned into a temple dedicated to the same deity (DiStefano et al. 2002). In the late 1910s and early 1920s, the building was redeveloped into the Blue House (DiStefano et al. 2002). The building consists of four attached housing units spanning four street numbers, three of which were surrendered to the government in 1978 (LWK and Partners 2011). To differentiate this part, the government used surplus blue paint to mark the government-owned portion and hence the name of the Blue House (Fig. 1.6). In terms of architecture, it is a typical early twentieth-century tenement building with shops at the ground level and residential units on the upper floors (LWK and Partners 2011). Part of the building had continued to be used for medical practice until recent years. Over the years, the building had been used as a location for free schools for the local community. As argued by DiStefano et al. (2002), the historical significance of the Blue House lies in its on-going association with traditional Chinese medicine. In the year 2000, the Blue House was listed as a Grade I heritage building (buildings of outstanding merit of which every effort should be made to preserve if possible) and the Yellow House was listed as a Grade II heritage building (buildings of special merit; efforts should be made to selectively preserve) (Heritage Hong Kong 2007).

With the support of the Sustainable Development Fund, the St. James Settlement started renting a ground level unit of the Blue House to develop the Wan-Chai Livelihood Museum. This was designed to exhibit items donated by local residents and to serve as a gathering place for them to promote local culture and character as well as developing the place identity (Yu 2009). When the preparation of Wan-Chai Livelihood Museum was in full swing, the URA and the Housing Society in 2006 announced a HK$100 million project to transform the Blue House cluster into a tourist attraction with the theme of tea and medicine (Chan 2006). This proposal was met with immediate objections from the local community. The District Council and St. James Settlement co-organised a campaign to conserve the Blue House. With the help of urban planners, architects, cultural activists, academics and the social workers, they discussed with the local residents and local shop owners to investigate a way to extend the life of the building while conserving the lifestyle of those who would like to continue living in the building cluster (Lam 2007).

Fig. 1.6 Blue House cluster. *Source* Author

The group put forward a counterproposal, 'Living in the Living Museum', in order to preserve residents' right to stay in the Blue House cluster (Lai 2006).

The group recognised the architectural and community values of the Blue House. Architecturally the Blue House represents a typical tenement structure of the

1920s to 1940s (Lam 2007). These unique brick and wooden structures are also marked by the existence of balconies, a place for residents to greet their neighbours on the street (Fig. 1.6). They also argued that the Blue House is a special cultural landscape, providing the space for people to interact, build up their sense of belonging and place identity (Lam 2007). As a result, they argued for the following principles (see Lam 2007, pp. 4–5) put forward to conserve the building cluster (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Conservation principles for the Blue House (content from Lam 2007, pp. 4–5)

Principle	Conservation effort
Conserve the building in order to conserve the social network	The project should aim at conserving and enhancing the social network, starting from Blue House and building a new community identity to encourage community members to conserve the environment and participate in community affairs. The physical existence of the Blue House plays a crucial role in (re)cultivating this sense of community
Bottom-up participation in the designing, planning and managing	A participatory process should be in place to develop a community conservation plan to build a sense of community and to accumulate social capital
Conserving existing architectural characteristics	As typical tenement buildings constructed in the 1920s, the mixed wood, brick and concrete structures together with the balconies should be conserved as a typical cultural landscape for housing the grass-root population in old Hong Kong
Conserving the building cluster to witness the past development of Hong Kong	For mixed residential and commercials uses; buildings for community and commercial purposes; different housing choices including partitioned rooms, bunk bed spaces, lofts, front shop and back residents
Liveability	Incumbent residents should be allowed to continue living in the Blue House because emotionally they are deeply attached to the community. They are also the knowledge source of the community. Vacant units in the Blue House should be renovated for those who would like to live in a community
Satisfying rehousing needs	For those who would like to leave the Blue House, the Government should satisfy their needs as soon as possible
Conserving community culture and history	The Blue House had once been a hospital, a temple, schools, commercial and community uses and the neighbourhood was instrumental in organising festive events. Conserving these histories is important to bind communities and accumulate social capital

Table 1.2 (continued)

Principle	Conservation effort
Social enterprise	Bringing in social enterprises to boost local economic activities that reflect the character of the place
Avoiding gentrification	Establishing a maintenance fund to avoid gentrification and to conserve the community ecology
Linking the local community	With the Blue House as the starting point, to regenerate the District through an integrated conservation plan

Source Author

In interpreting the content presented in Table 1.2, what the community group had succeeded in doing was to reframe the discourse of the place. To the URA, renovating the Blue House and transforming its function into a shopping facility meets the heritage conservation function. However, the community group led by the social workers in St. James Settlement questioned the meaning of this approach because if the community were not conserved, the social network, cultural capital, historical heritage, local character and economic activities would be destroyed (Lam 2007, p. 9). The community-led Wan-Chai Living Museum was eventually set up in January 2007. In the same month, the community members succeeded in persuading the Town Planning Board to allow 'flat use' in the zoning plan (Ming Pao Daily News 2007). The turning point of the fate of the residents living in the Blue House came when Heritage Hong Kong, a conservation group founded by a wealthy surveyor couple, intervened. Heritage Hong Kong not only helped contact the then Minister for Development but also succeeded in persuading the government to consider conserving the Blue House by a social enterprise so that the community network could be conserved intact (see Sing Tao Daily 2007; Ta Kung Pao 2007).

Unlike the Kwun Tong Town Centre which had been bulldozed, the Blue House has undergone a virtuous cycle. With the help of St. James Settlement, social activists including academics and Heritage Hong Kong, the local community formulated a multi-dimensional proposal to revitalise the Living Museum. In early 2008, the government included the Blue House cluster in Batch II of the Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme. The St. James Settlement led team bid for the project and was eventually selected to join the Scheme in 2010. At the time of writing, the project is close to completion and the building cluster, called Viva Blue House, will serve as a multi-functional complex, providing residential accommodation, restaurants and social enterprises to be run by local community members, cultural and education programmes, exhibition areas, classroom and recreation areas, office space, public open space etc. (Legislative Council 2011).

According to the Detailed Social Impact Assessment Report by the URA (2006), in terms of socio-economic status, the residents in the Blue House are even more

marginalised than those in the Kwun Tong Town Centre. Among the 60 residents registered in 28 interviewed households, based on a report by the URA (2006, pp. 3–9):

- Small household size: the average household size is 2.14 persons (territorial average 3.1)
- Elderly population: 41% were aged 60 and above (territorial average 15%)
- Low income: 43% of the households had an average household income less than HK$10,000 per month (territorial average 24%) and about 29% of households were receiving social welfare assistance
- Long-term residents: 64% of the households had lived in the area for over 20 years
- All tenants: 100% were tenants (territorial average 45%)
- Perceived negative impacts: 57% expected bad impacts by the project and 48% considered their social network would be affected

Even though residents in the Blue House were much more marginalised compared with those in the Kwun Tong Town Centre, the support of St. James Settlement and other civic and academic participatory action groups have helped them re-perceive their place, encouraging them to take a different course of action. Through participation, they have developed a much stronger sense of community, have accumulated social capital and have succeeded not only in saving their living place but have the hope of transforming it into a hub to rebuild a new community identity.

1.4 Renewal Results and Impacts on Sense of Community, Social Capital and Well-Being

Baba et al. (2017, p. 1633) found a 'statistically significant positive association between individuals' perceptions of their sense of empowerment and mental health' in the urban regeneration process, especially when they worked collectively. While it is very difficult, if not impossible, to replicate such a study in the two cases, two small-scale questionnaire surveys on people's sense of community, social capital and well-being were conducted in Kwun Tong and Wan-Chai in 2015. As mentioned, the surveys were of current residents in both communities, as the relocated residents could not be identified in the case of Kwun Tong, and residents in the Blue House refused to be surveyed due to interview fatigue. Table 1.3 shows the profile of the respondents, who were older, less educated and poorer than their respective district profile. Hopefully, the quantitative results may nevertheless provide useful insights on how place-framing discourses affect people's sense of community, their state of social capital and self-perceived sense of well-being in the two neighbourhoods. Table 1.4 summarises the results. One interesting observation is that for all the measured components, the scores for Wan-Chai are consistently higher than those for Kwun Tong.

Table 1.3 Profiles of Surveyed Population in Wan Chai and Kwun Tong

	Wan Chai (%)		Kwun Tong (%)	
	District profile	Survey profile	District profile	Survey profile
Age				
0–14	10	0	12	0
15–24	9	0	12	6
25–44	34	23	30	12
45–64	31	45	30	36
65+	16	32	16	41
No answer	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6
Education				
Primary and below	20	32	34	29
Secondary	38	55	49	56
Post-secondary	42	13	18	11
No answer	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	4
Household income				
<$10,000	6	54	17	46
$10,000–$19,999	14	24	32	33
$20,000–$29,999	13	15	21	8
$30,000–$49,999	67	4	29	8
>$50,000		4		4

Source Surveys conducted in 2015 by the author. Statistics of Wan-Chai were downloaded from Census and Statistics Department, http://www.census2011.gov.hk/en/district-profiles/wan-chai.html; and statistics of Kwun Tong were downloaded from Census and Statistics Department, http://www.census2011.gov.hk/en/district-profiles/kwun-tong.html

Table 1.4 Sense of community, social capital and sense of well-being

	Kwun Tong	Wan Chai
Values on development		
Values of development: first two choices	Economic development; harmonious family	Harmonious family; spiritual satisfaction and health
Work done for the community in the past 12 months (% yes)	45.5	67.7
Will contribute time to community work not directly benefiting oneself (%)	64.0	74.2
Will contribute money for community work not directly benefiting oneself (%)	50.0	64.5
Willing to sacrifice oneself to bring about economic growth (%)	73.5	62.1
Willing to see changes in the community to facilitate economic growth (%)	81.9	69.0

(continued)

Table 1.4 (continued)

	Kwun Tong	Wan Chai
Willing to move house to bring about economic growth (%)	63.0	50.0
Willing to support redevelopment that brings about gentrification (% yes)	44.2	37.9
Sense of belonging	(1–5, 5 being most agree)	
I love living in this community	3.84	4.49
This community is important for me	3.61	4.17
I want to continue living in this community	3.88	4.19
Social capital		
Relationship with family (% harmonious or very harmonious)	71.3	87.1
People interact in this community	3.84	4.42
I know most of my neighbours	3.70	4.35
Not belonging to any organisation (%)	39.5	13.3
People in the community will always offer me help (% agree or strongly agree)	63.3	80.6
Well-being		
Are you happy? (% happy or very happy)	52.2	80.6
I feel like I can control my own life (% agree or very agree)	63.3	80.6
I love the people in my community	3.62	4.22
I can influence or change the community	2.47	2.90
I have the ability to solve the problems in the community	2.74	3.00

Source Surveys conducted in 2015 by the author

In Wan-Chai, 31 questionnaire interviews were conducted at Stone Nullah Street, location of the Blue House cluster, and 90 were conducted in Kwun Tong in the open space near the redevelopment site. The interviewees were asked to provide the name of the local organisation that they had actively participated with. In the case of Kwun Tong, over 35 organisations or groups were named. However, over 40% of those interviewed in Wan-Chai cited St. James Settlement related organisations. One may infer that the interviewees in Wan-Chai were affected in one way or another by the place-framing discourses advocated by the St. James Settlement. The respondents were asked to prioritise five values of development: economic growth, spiritual satisfaction and health, harmonious family, rich social capital and strong social network, and balanced ecological environment. For Kwun Tong respondents, economic development was seen the most important, followed by harmonious family. The results were different in Wan-Chai. The harmonious family

had the top priority, followed by spiritual satisfaction and health. These perceived values of development seem to affect their choices of community actions. Over 67% of Wan-Chai respondents had done work for the community but less than 46% in Kwun Tong. A higher percentage of those in Wan-Chai were willing to contribute time and money to the community, 74 and 65% respectively compared with those in Kwun Tong, 64 and 50%. However, in Kwun Tong more were willing to sacrifice other values for economic growth, including gentrification, compared with those in Wan-Chai.

The scores for the sense of belonging questions in Wan-Chai were much higher than those in Kwun Tong. The same is true for the level of social capital. While a clear majority in both communities considered their relationship with family as harmonious, respondents in Wan-Chai showed more faith in collective efficacy in the community. Their scores for local people interacting and knowing their neighbours were, respectively, 0.58 and 0.65 points higher than those of Kwun Tong. Many more respondents in Wan-Chai belonged to at least one organisation (87%) when compared with Kwun Tong (60%). Wan-Chai respondents also had more faith in receiving help from their fellow community members compared with their counterparts in Kwun Tong (81% vs. 52%).

How would these situations translate into people's well-being? Over 81% of respondents in Wan-Chai considered themselves to be happy or very happy but the figure for Kwun Tong was only 52%. The sense of self-control was much higher among the respondents in Wan-Chai too: 81 versus 63%. It seems that people in Wan-Chai had a more positive relationship with their fellow community members. The score for loving the community was 4.22 in Wan-Chai and 3.62 in Kwun Tong. Although the scores related to abilities to change or solve problems in the community were higher in Wan-Chai, the scores in both communities tended to be low, reflecting a sense of powerlessness in an increasingly polarised socio-economic setting.

1.5   Concluding Remarks

This chapter examines the politics of 'place-framing' (Martin 2003) in two cases related to urban renewal in Hong Kong and affirms that how places are perceived actually affects people's practices and competence in space (Brewer 2007; Lefebvre 1991). The cases reveal the importance of having a historical perspective in understanding the evolution of the place-framing discourses within the wider socio-economic and political contexts. The Kwun Tong Town Centre redevelopment project was announced at a time when the hegemonic place-frames put forward by the government were generally accepted. Redevelopment was seen as a positive and necessary means to boost economic growth and, hence, the local communities had to cooperate with the development process. In reality, the announcement of the redevelopment project presaged the death of the community. Coupled with a delayed redevelopment process, a vicious cycle developed from

neglect, zero maintenance, and falling values to occupancy by marginalised population. This kind of redevelopment, this chapter argues, diminish people's sense of community and social capital, lowering the evaluation of their subjective well-being.

However, place-framing is related to discourse politics. Communities that recognise the importance of a place as lived spaces, embedding heritage, history and culture, fostering social networks and nurturing local economic development can be inspired not to passively receive the hegemonic place-frames imposed from the top. In the case of the Blue House, the enlightened intellectuals such as the social workers in St. James Settlement, the university academics who advised the Settlement and the heritage conservationists have done a very important job to educate, inspire and work together with the Blue House community to fight for their right of 'place-making'. It is a kind of renewal that is completely different from bulldozing a place or commodifying a heritage building. Instead, it has used the physical fabric as the base to rebuild a changing community, enhancing their sense of community and social capital, making people happier and healthier. This kind of renewal helps to cultivate a kind of resilience within the community by using the place in a meaningful fashion so that they can regenerate it from within, convivially and sustainably.

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Chapter 2
Keeping More Than Homes: A More Than Material Framework for Understanding and Intervening in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods

Amie Thurber

Abstract **Amie Thurber**, a scholar-practitioner working with small-scale neighbourhood geographies in the United States, also builds on the need to understand the participation and involvement of vulnerable, low-income residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Linking theoretical writings across disciplinary boundaries, encompassing political philosophy, geography and community psychology, Thurber analyses neighbourhood in terms of material, epistemic and affective dimensions. As well as offering a deeper understanding of the harms done by gentrification, the chapter proposes its 'more than material' conceptual framework as a means of imagining then enacting positive interventions to create spaces of resident representation, build relationships between neighbours and support participatory action.

Keywords Gentrification · Community development · Community practice Neighbourhood · Intervention

2.1 Introduction

Gentrification is commonly understood as the transformation of areas with relatively high levels of affordable housing in areas targeting middle and upper income uses (Mallach 2008; Hackworth 2002). Given that low-income residents experience particular vulnerabilities in gentrifying neighbourhoods, gentrification has long been a focus of inquiry for geographers and urban studies scholars (Glass 1964; Marcuse 1985; Lees 2007). Although healthy debate exists regarding the gentrification's causes, there is a broad agreement on its primary consequences: rising land values in booming markets results in the loss of affordable housing and the displacement of poor and working-class residents. Research documenting these

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displacements has driven policy strategies designed to create and preserve affordable housing, with varying degrees of success. Some city governments have created affordable housing funding streams, incentivized construction of affordable units, and launched programs to help people on fixed incomes retain their homes amidst rising property taxes. As more residents are (or are at risk of becoming) displaced, social service providers offer assistance in navigating the complex terrain of affordable homeownership, rental and shelter options. And, as gentrification spreads to new markets, this cycle continues: researchers document physical displacement, policymakers wrestle with housing-related policy solutions and practitioners try to keep people housed.

But what if the opposite of gentrification is not affordable housing? Certainly, residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods want to keep their homes. But people may also lose their neighbours, places of worship and sites of historical significance, as well as their *sense* of place, belonging and history. These losses can have profound effects on individual, family and community level well-being, and yet accounting for and responding to these harms requires thinking beyond the materiality of a home. By bringing together theories of place from across disciplines (such as philosophy, geography and community psychology), and integrating findings from empirical studies of gentrifying neighbourhoods, this chapter offers an emerging, 'more than material' framework for considering gentrification. With this broader lens, it may be possible to imagine alternative community development responses that help people keep more than just their homes.

This emergent framework is incomplete, shaped by my own experiences and commitments as the U.S.-based scholar-practitioner working alongside residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods to affect change in their communities. In this chapter, I centre my analysis on gentrification as a particular type of spatial transformation, draw largely on the U.S. literature to inform my conceptual base and then focus on residents' experience within their neighbourhood (a relatively small scale of geography). This framework may well be relevant to other spatial transformations (such as disinvestment, migrations and natural disasters), have utility outside the U. S., and provide insight in relation to larger and smaller geographic scales, though I leave it to others to consider the transferability of this work.

2.1.1 Why Neighbourhoods Matter

Broadly defined, neighbourhoods are geographic areas contained within a larger city, town or suburb. Forms of governance at multiple scales rely on the unit of the neighbourhood for research, planning and the delivery of programs and services. However, these varied actors frequently use divergent boundaries to delineate a given neighbourhood. Furthermore, residents may have a mental map of their neighbourhood, or, in the words of Rob Nixon, 'a vernacular landscape', which does not align with 'official landscape[s]' as determined by various agencies (2011, p. 17). Given these complexities, the boundaries of any neighbourhood are in flux

and contested, rather than fixed over time or even commonly understood by all residents. Imprecise definitions notwithstanding, neighbourhoods provide compelling and critical sites of inquiry.

For most people living in urban areas, one's neighbourhood is the place where one will experience both the greatest opportunities for well-being and the most significant threats to it, thereby shaping life experiences and life chances. As such, ensuring equity within and across neighbourhoods is a foundational ethical and democratic concern. Yet not all neighbourhoods are created equal. Geographic concentrations of risk and opportunity have been well documented (Lipsitz 2007; Pulido 2000). It is not an accident that some neighbourhoods have lead in their water and others do not, some areas of a city are subject to floods and others are not, and some communities have strong public schools and others do not. Social inequities are emplaced. In the United States, opportunities abound and increase in areas where, disproportionately, White people and people of affluence reside, while risks pool in neighbourhoods that are home to poor, working-class people and people of colour. Today, gentrification poses a particular kind of risk to low-income communities. In the U.S., urban neighbourhoods are now gentrifying at twice the rate of the 1990s, with 1 in 5 low-income neighbourhoods experiencing rapid increases in median home values (Maciag 2015).

2.1.2   The Need for Holistic Community Development

Since the 1960s, gentrification has been the subject of numerable studies—a simple search in ProQuest for peer-reviewed articles on the subject returns nearly 700 academic articles in the past 15 years alone. The term was first coined by Ruth Glass to describe the transformation of modest London homes into high-end residences (Glass 1964). Stabrowski (2014) contends that since Glass' pioneering work there have been three generations of gentrification scholarship. Though each emerged at a different moment in time, all three remain in circulation, and each is associated with a different set of political, regulatory and/or cultural practices. The first wave, beginning with Glass, critiques the negative effects of the revitalization of urban neighbourhoods on poor and working-class residents, chiefly, the residential displacement of people unable to afford rising housing costs. The displacement definition of gentrification has remained salient, and measuring displacements continues to be an important dimension of gentrification scholarship. Critically, this first wave makes evident the disproportionate impacts of gentrification on communities of colour (Gibson 2007), and distinguishes approaches to revitalization that foster gentrification from those that promote equitable development, that is efforts to improve the quality of life for residents of all incomes (Mallach 2008).

A second wave of gentrification scholars emphasize the need for improved housing, infrastructure and commercial development in declining areas. Influenced by neoliberal ideologies, these scholars laud the economic benefit of increasing

housing values (and the corresponding tax base), dismiss calls for housing market regulations, and shrug concerns of widespread residential displacements—questioning if and how such changes could be measured (Vigdor et al. 2002; Freeman 2005). In doing so, this wave of scholarship equates gentrification with revitalization (Lees 2007).

More recently, a third wave of scholarship has returned to a critical analysis of gentrification. There are a diverse field of scholars in this third wave, and divergent perspectives among them (for a robust accounting of current debates within gentrification scholarship, see Brown-Saracino 2009). Like the first wave, these scholars remain fundamentally interested in the damage gentrification causes to poor and working-class residents, however, they have broadened understandings of the range of harms gentrification may produce. Although residential displacement remains a critical concern, third wave scholars posit that gentrification also produces political, community, cultural and social displacements (Davidson 2008; Fraser 2004; Hyra 2013). This reflects a recognition of residents' *lived experience of place* (Davidson 2009), which extends beyond the materiality of a home. Residents may, in fact, keep their homes, but suffer other losses as a result of gentrification.

Yet, insights provided by third-generation efforts have been slow to affect policy recommendations. In recent years, there have been at least five comprehensive and widely cited reports on gentrification in the United States published by national policy organizations such as the Urban Institute (Levy et al. 2006), The Brookings Institution (Kennedy and Leonard 2001) and NeighborWorks America (Hill 2005). These reports have a shared starting point—recognizing that gentrification adversely affects poor and working-class communities—and recommend interventions to address these harms. However, these reports overwhelmingly focus on the need to address physical displacement through interventions related to funding, building and preserving affordable housing. Nearly absent are interventions that target more than material outcomes—such as repairing social fissures, building historical knowledge or mobilizing resident organizing—as ends in themselves.

One explanation for the research–policy gap could be that although third wave scholars have called for broadening the conceptualizations of gentrification, the recommendations have remained disparate and have not yet been conceptually integrated so that policymakers and practitioners can easily apply them in community development. This chapter hopes to begin such integrative work, with a focus on gentrification within a U.S. context.

2.2 The Multiple Dimensions of Neighbourhoods

Although policy responses to gentrification often reduce neighbourhoods to individual housing units, neighbourhoods have multiple dimensions. Materially, neighbourhoods are the places people live, have the potential to build wealth and often access school, work and needed services. Epistemically, neighbourhoods can be sites where people come together to share and build knowledge and participate in

Fig. 2.1 Dimensions of
neighbourhoods
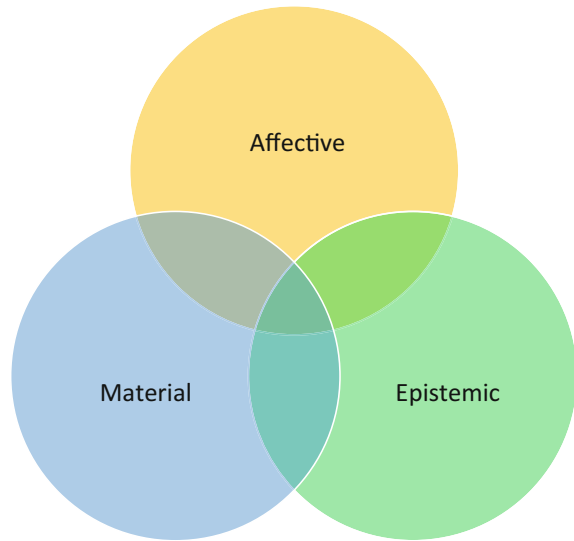
civic action. Affectively, neighbourhoods are places where many people enact
caring relations with others and the environment. As reflected in Fig. 2.1., these
dimensions are co-constituting. Just as the human body cannot help but experience,
think and feel, a neighbourhood cannot help but have material, epistemic and
affective dimensions.

Yet, these three dimensions do not always interact in predictable ways. For
example, a neighbourhood may become more materially just (the quality of the
schools may improve) while at the same time become more epistemically unjust
(the knowledge of residents of colour may be dismissed in neighbourhood
planning).

Using these three dimensions as a starting point for exploration, the following
pages offer a partial mapping of harms that may be experienced by residents of
gentrifying neighbourhoods. Clearly, gentrification is not experienced identically in
all neighbourhoods, nor do all residents of a single neighbourhood experience
gentrification the same way. Yet, in spite of variance between and within neigh-
bourhoods, considering the more than material effects of gentrification demonstrates
the need to expand community development responses beyond a singular focus on
housing.

In the interest of conceptual clarity, in the following sections I describe the
material, epistemic and affective dimensions of neighbourhoods in turn, artificially
teasing apart that which is entangled. In reality, if you are kept up at night filled
with anxiety about whether or not you will be able to keep your home, longing to
see the face of a friend recently priced out of her apartment, and frustrated by
developers who do not seem to care about your community's history, you will not
experience these as distinctly material, affective or epistemic concerns. Thus, the
chapter will close by returning to a call for considering neighbourhoods holistically.

2.2.1 Material Injustices in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods are where most people get their basic material needs met. Neighbourhoods contain places of residence (which include houses, apartments, shelters and homeless encampments); access to food, health care, employment and school; and provide exposure to environmental conditions—such as air and water quality—that impact health. The greater an individual's economic resources, the less she must rely on her immediate neighbourhood to meet her material needs. Conversely, the lesser an individual's economic resources, the greater the impact of what material needs are—or are not—provided for in the neighbourhood. Gentrification can adversely affect the material conditions of life in terms of housing, resource access, and health risks.

2.2.1.1 Housing Instability

When neighbourhoods gentrify, the most obvious form of material injustice is displacement. As property values increase, residents may be forced out by rising rents and/or property taxes (Kennedy and Leonard 2001; Zuk et al. 2015). If displaced residents must move away from the urban core to find affordable housing, this suburbanization of poverty can result in increased costs for the already cost burdened. Although housing costs may go down, these residents must now spend more for transit to and from work, grocery stores and school (Kneebone and Garr 2010).

While displacement from any home represents a significant injustice, the displacement of homeowners has a compounding generational effect. Traditionally, homeownership has been a critical avenue for American families to build wealth. Yet, opportunities for homeownership have been tightly constrained so as to disproportionately benefit White people. It was not until the 1960s that Black Americans had systematic access to home loans, and then many Black households were targeted with predatory lending practices (Coates 2014), practices that resurfaced in the most recent sub-prime lending crisis (Rugh and Massey 2010). As of 2011, the average White household had $130,000 greater net worth than their Black and Latino counterparts. The lack of homeownership is a primary cause for this glaring wealth gap (Shapiro et al. 2013).

Wealth has profound implications, allowing families of moderate income to help children through college, to make a down payment on a home, or to weather a period of unemployment or illness. In many cases, the working-class neighbourhoods currently experiencing gentrification were the only locations in the city where people of colour could own homes, and their residents were some of the first and second generations that did so. Given the legacy of restricted opportunities for homeownership and wealth production in communities of colour, the displacement of homeowners in gentrifying neighbourhoods is particularly troubling, and has repercussions for the economic well-being of future generations.

2.2.1.2 Loss of Neighbourhood Resources

In addition to residential displacement, businesses may be displaced due to rising rents and property taxes, reducing jobs for—and amenities targeted to—lower income residents (Kennedy and Leonard 2001). Replacement businesses may exclusively cater (by price point and types of products) to middle and upper income residents, requiring lower income residents to travel further to purchase affordable products (Shaw and Hagemans 2015). Other changes to the built environment may materially privilege newer residents, such as replacing street parking for historically Black churches with bike lanes (Stein 2015). Thus, even when residents do not lose their homes, they may lose access to other material resources in their communities.

2.2.1.3 Health Disparities

Because of racial and class disparities in social and political power, an increase of White and higher income residents into an area may aid neighbourhood advocacy efforts for improvements that have universal health benefits (such as environmental cleanup and safer roads). Yet, gentrification may also increase risks to health and safety for some residents. For example, gentrification has been correlated with increases in landlord surveillance (Stabrowski 2014) and neighbourhood policing (Smith 2002), which heightens risk for Black residents. On average, unarmed Black men are 3.49 times more likely to be shot by police, and in some communities, the risk rises to 20 times above that of unarmed White residents (Ross 2015). In addition to the bodily harm or loss of life that may result from police violence, living with the threat of such violence increases stress, and has adverse health impacts (Paradies 2006).

2.2.2 Epistemic Injustices in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods are not only places in which people materially experience their daily lives, they are also one of the most fundamental geographic scales in which people come together to build and share knowledge, to participate in civic life and —in the context of persistent racism—to imagine alternative ways of surviving and thriving. The epistemic terrain of gentrifying neighbourhoods is shaped by inequalities of who is known and knowable, whose knowledge counts and is considered in shaping the neighbourhood, and what histories are remembered.

2.2.2.1 Dismissed Knowledge

Not everyone can be an expert in city planning or national economic policy. However, many people become resident experts in their own neighbourhood. Some

residents may serve as story keepers, passing on tales of anchor families and businesses, beloved cultural spaces and neighbourhood turning points, such as the encroachment of a freeway or building of a new community centre. Other residents gather to share insider knowledge about where they live: the best routes to travel at different times of the day, the names of the children on the block, and who in the neighbourhood can help with car repair. These examples of knowledge production result from social and spatial interaction over time in a shared place (Mills 1998).

Gentrification changes the kinds of interactions in a neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods become occupied by people of different racial and economic backgrounds, life experiences and ways of thinking, producing what social epistemologist Jose Medina (2013) terms *epistemic friction.* Such friction can be beneficial. As people interact across difference, they may critically reflect on their beliefs and assumptions and develop greater insight. However, Medina (2013, p. 50) cautions that friction can also be detrimental, and result in 'censoring, silencing, or inhibiting the formation of beliefs'. Public portrayals of lower income people of colour as 'the other' of society simultaneously perpetuates harmful stigma about these residents, and creates conditions in which residents of working-class communities of colour are rarely seen as having expertise about their own lived experiences. In gentrifying neighbourhoods, detrimental friction can manifest in the dismissal of longer time residents as knowers.

Case studies in gentrifying neighbourhoods bear this out. In Cahill's (2007, p. 215) participatory study of a gentrifying New York City neighbourhood, one young researcher reflected on the ways that young women, (such as herself), are ignored by society: 'they're not thought of […] they're just not considered. There's no space made. They're not considered for anything at all…They're just there'. Similarly, in her study of a gentrifying neighbourhood in Portland, Oregon, Drew (2012, p. 110) offers the account of one Black resident, who shares

> This neighbourhood used to be ours, the one place I could go to escape the problems of being Black every day. And now when I come home, I am ignored by White adults and harassed by White kids, and I am made to feel like an outsider on my own block.

Not thought of, ignored, treated as outsiders—in gentrifying neighbourhoods, this results in a blanket silencing of a large demographic of residents.

It is worth noting that newer residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods may not be consciously aware that they devalue the knowledge of their long-time neighbours. In fact, given that most people have been socialized into colour-blind ideologies and thus trained to not see oppression, it is more likely that they do not see themselves as biased (Bonilla Silva 2013). Yet, as Hardin and Banjaji (2013, p. 14) write, implicit biases operate 'unwittingly, unintentionally, and unavoidably'. Despite the widespread belief that racism is in the past, research indicates that most Americans—and a vast majority of Whites—carry and act on implicit biases against people of colour and other marginalized groups (Sue, 2010). In the context of knowledge claims, these biases result in newer residents discounting or dismissing the contributions of their neighbours.

2.2.2.2 Marginalized from Participation in Civic Life

Through formal interactions—such as participating in a Parent Teacher Organization or a neighbourhood association—and informal exchanges, members of neighbourhoods come to understand one another, identify the strengths and challenges of living in a shared space, and work toward changes that might improve their own and one another's well-being. Yet, when some residents are dismissed as legitimate knowers, it follows that they may be marginalized in, or excluded from, participation in civic life. The limited opportunities for poor people and people of colour to be involved in shaping the redevelopment of their neighbourhoods has been well documented (Bennett 2000; Chaskin et al. 2012; Duke 2009; Fraser 2004). When such residents are able to participate, that participation is often constrained to giving input rather than having any actual decision-making authority. The more socially marginalized and economically vulnerable the residents—such as tenants of public housing—the more likely they will have to fight to be included in public process at all (Thurber and Fraser 2016). Even in settings that have the appearance of being democratically open (such as a neighbourhood association), the perspectives of poor residents and residents of colour may be so consistently ignored as to render that participation meaningless. Urban studies scholar Derek Hyra cautions that this political displacement is not without consequence, writing (2013, p. 125) 'the loss of political power among longstanding residents can lead to increased mistrust and civic withdrawal by low-income people, further exacerbating preexisting social inequalities and isolation'. Ultimately, marginalizing long-time residents from civic life threatens the efficacy of democracy.

2.2.2.3 Constrained Spatial Imaginaries

The spatial imaginary can be understood as the meanings, histories, hopes and values ascribed to place. These meanings are particularly important in Black and other communities of colour where survival has depended on residents' abilities to first imagine—and then build—places in which individuals, families and communities might thrive, in spite of sustained attacks on the sovereignty, sanctity and dignity of their lives (Collins 1990; Lipsitz 2011). Collective memories of resilience and continued practices of imagining alternatives have been central to the advancement and uplift of Black communities over generations, as in other communities of colour and poor and working-class communities (Lipsitz 2011).

Yet, gentrification constrains long-time residents' ability to imagine and act towards alternatives in their neighbourhood. Gentrification is frequently accompanied by political and social elites re-narrating historical meanings of a place (Chidester and Gadsby 2009) and other forms of symbolic erasures, such as rebranding neighbourhoods and changing place names (Hodkinson and Essen 2015). A recent promotional film by Arial Development in Nashville, TN offers a poignant example. Featuring a new housing development in a rapidly gentrifying eastside neighbourhood, the video begins by panning over a modest single-family home

while the narrator says, 'some bad news lived here before…' (Trageser 2015). While the 'bad news' remains racially unmarked, the cast of actors representing those here now—shown jogging, drinking lattes, doing yoga and hosting roof-top dinner parties—is all White (or racially ambiguous). It is clear that certain bodies are imagined to be *in place* in this changing neighbourhood, and others are not.

The removal of poor and working-class people of colour from the dominant spatial imaginary—especially while they are still physically living in the neighbourhood, requires a kind of hegemonic ignorance. As Mills (2007, p. 28) explains

> White normativity manifests itself in a White refusal to recognize the long history of structural discrimination that has left Whites with the differential resources they have today, and all of its consequent advantages in negotiating opportunity structures.

This denial of racism is made possible by a collective selective memory (Mills 1998) which simply remembers that the neighbourhood was 'bad news' before White people arrived (which is not so different from the selective memories of the settler-colonial past). This selective memory literally shapes the built environment, constructed in homes, businesses and services built for and catering to White, affluent residents. The displacement of Black (and other alternative) spatial imaginaries constitutes the violence of erasure (Said 2000).

2.2.3   Affective Injustices in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods

In addition to having material and epistemic dimensions, neighbourhoods are highly affective. They are the contexts in which people enact caring relationships with other people and with the place itself, both of which are central to individual and collective well-being (Perkins et al. 2002; Manzo and Perkins 2006).

2.2.3.1   Diminished Social Bonds and Sense of Belonging

Increasingly, feelings of isolation have been recognized as intimately connected to physical health (Hawkley and Cacioppo 2007; Heinrich and Gullone 2006), with the American Society of Aging concluding that 'loneliness is the most powerful mortality predictor' (Qualls 2014). Wide-ranging research has demonstrated how strong social connections function as a protective factor, promoting recovery from complex trauma (Van der Kolk 2002), preventing the transmission of disease (Compare et al. 2013; Fraser et al. 2014), and preventing interpersonal violence (Mazerolle et al. 2010). Clearly, many people access social connections outside of their immediate neighbourhoods. However, the less financial resources, transportation or technology access one has, the more important proximal relations are to well-being.

Determining the importance of social ties within one's neighbourhood can be difficult to empirically investigate (for an excellent review, see Mannariri and Fedi

2009). Nonetheless, scholars agree that neighbourhood relations can provide a critical source of emotional support and other forms of mutual aid (Perkins et al. 2002), and many case studies of low-income communities find that residents often have strong social ties (Darcy 2013; Hodkinson and Essen 2015). Furthermore, a positive sense of membership in and belonging to a neighbourhood correlates with social and civic engagement (Mannariri and Fedi 2009; Mihaylov and Perkins 2014). For example, a study of gentrifying neighbourhoods in three southern cities found that those neighbourhoods that took collective action in response to gentrification were distinguished, in large part, by strong cohesiveness and collaboration (Hill 2005).

Yet, as people are displaced, gentrification disrupts social ties, increasing social isolation and limiting the possibilities of collective action (Clampet-Lundquist 2010; Marcuse 1985). While in theory, new social ties could be established between older and newer residents, in practice they rarely are. A significant body of research on mixed-income developments demonstrates that proximity alone does not foster interaction across group lines, and that relationships are hampered by stigma from higher income residents and/or property management directed towards low-income residents (for a review of this literature, see Thurber et al. 2017). Although prejudices may be multi-directional (older residents may carry assumptions about newer residents, for example), newer (wealthier, and Whiter) residents often wield the greater power to translate their beliefs into behaviours that harm their neighbours.

This can occur through micro-aggressions—such as a long-time Latino resident receiving suspicious looks from a White neighbour while walking in his neighbourhood. These ostensibly singular acts compound to create hostile climates for members of oppressed groups, and have measurable physical and mental health effects (Sue 2010). New residents' stigma may manifest in other behaviours as well. A recent analysis of one gentrifying neighbourhood in Nashville, Tennessee found a significant uptick in residents reporting their neighbours to the city for codes violations, such as having high grass, or cars parked on lawns (Gupta 2015). More concerning are increased police calls in gentrifying neighbourhoods (Cahill 2007; Smith 2002). As previously discussed, policing is not universally correlated with safety, and can put residents of colour at greater bodily risk.

Given the disruptions of social ties and the prevalence of social stigma, it is not surprising that residential instability has been associated with damaged community cohesion and care for the collective (Samson 1999). In mixed-income developments, strained intergroup relations are threatening the very stability of these neighbourhoods (Joseph and Gress 2013). Unlike the material injustice of displacement (which is borne by those who are forced to leave the neighbourhood), affective injustices are experienced by those who leave *as well as* those who stay. Even for long-time residents who remain in place, gentrification can result in a lost sense of belonging, and increased feelings of isolation, fear and distrust.

2.2.3.2 Lost Sense of Place

Just as bondedness—positive relations towards people—promotes human health and well-being, rootedness—positive place attachments—can promote environmental and non-human health and well-being (Riger and Lawakas 1981). The stronger the ties people have to a place, the greater the likelihood they will mobilize in response to environmental concerns, such as gentrification (Mihaylov and Perkins 2014). Rootedness thus serves as a protective factor, supporting individual and collective well-being, and also as a condition for collective action.

Rootedness has particular salience in places where people have had to fight to exist. As McKittrick and Woods (2007, p. 5) contend, 'The act of making corners, neighbourhoods, communities, cites, rural lands, rivers, and mountains sacred is central to their defense and the defense of the communities that love and cherish them'. In the shadows of the Trail of Tears, slavery, Indian boarding schools, Japanese internments, lynchings, Jim Crow, English-only laws, mass incarceration, broken treaties and the countless other methods by which communities of colour have been and continue to be targeted for annihilation, people have come together and made places to survive. Consequently, when those places are lost, the result is even more devastating.

Fullilove (2004) poignantly describes the individual and collective trauma Black communities experienced as a result of the Urban Renewal projects that decimated their neighbourhoods in the 1950s, writing

> …buildings, neighbourhoods, cities, nations—are not simply bricks and mortar that provide us shelter. Because we dance in a ballroom, have a parade in the street, make love in a bedroom, prepare a feast in the kitchen, each of these places becomes imbued with sounds, smells, noises, and feelings of those moments and how we lived them (2004, p. 10)

Moreover, Fullilove (2004, p. 11) contends that Black communities targeted by Urban Renewal experienced *root shock*, a 'traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem'. Her research suggests this trauma is experienced inter-generationally, and whether or not Black residents of gentrifying urban communities lived through Urban Renewal, they may remain affected by the shock of earlier displacements. In this context, contemporary concern and outrage over gentrification as a perceived threat to the well-being of communities of colour can be understood as historically accurate and psychologically predictable: a trauma response to the prospect of another uprooting.

History and context powerfully shape residents' experiences of gentrification. In a study of Huntington Park, Chicago, a historically Puerto Rican neighbourhood, Nam (2012, p. 69) finds that

> gentrification was regarded as a serious attempt to demolish their ethnic identity and presence in U.S. mainstream society… preserving Huntington Park was about more than simply occupying a physical space. It strongly symbolized resistance to U.S. colonialism and actualization of Puerto Rican independence in the community.

Indeed, many gentrification studies point to the significance of lost place attachments, even when people remain in place as the neighbourhood around

them changes (Drew 2012; Hodkinson and Essen 2015; Marcuse 1985; Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Stabrowski 2014).

Clearly, not all long-time residents have strong ties to their neighbours and/or their neighbourhood, nor are those ties always positive. Cahill (2007), for example finds that young women of colour in a gentrifying New York City neighbourhood were attached, though not sentimental, towards the often-challenging conditions of their childhood. Yet place attachments need not be positive to be powerful, and it is critical not to underestimate the affective impacts of neighbourhood change for those who have laid roots in place.

2.2.4   The Hands, Head and Heart of Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods serve as sites to access opportunities, to engage in the production of knowledge and democracy, and to enact caring relations with other people and the environment. In bringing the material, epistemic and affective dimensions of neighbourhoods back together (see Fig. 2.2), several points are worth underscoring. First, these three dimensions are mutually constituted: what we materially experience, know and feel are bound up in one another, held, like the hands, heads and hearts, in one body. The material experience of having (or not having) a secure place to live cannot be disconnected from what we know about that place; and how we feel about ourselves, our neighbours and our neighbourhood. As such, neighbourhoods cannot be reduced to 'the built environment'; they are imbued with meaning, history, affect and agency. The material dimension of a neighbourhood is always already more than material: being physically displaced has epistemic and affective consequences, just as a lost sense of place is intimately connected to the materiality of the land and one's knowledge of it.
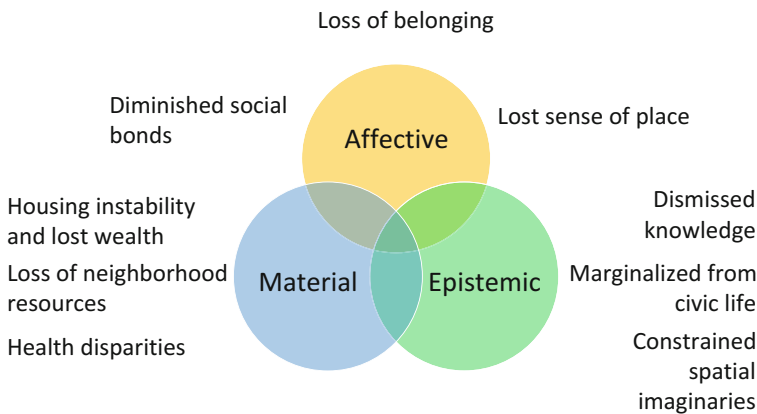

Fig. 2.2   Mapping injustices in gentrifying neighbourhoods

Second, gentrification can cause injustices in any of these dimensions, in combination or in isolation. Residents do not have to be physically displaced to be epistemically or affectively harmed, to lose their place as knowledgeable and known, or to lose their relationships to neighbours and their sense of place.

Third, residents are differentially impacted by, and differentially rely on, their neighbourhoods. The greater the heterogeneity within a neighbourhood, the wider the spectrum of material, epistemic and affective experience among members. Children, elders and poor and working-class people are more impacted by the risks and opportunities that exist in their neighbourhood, as they often do not have the economic resources to make up for things not provided in their immediate proximity.

Finally, the material, epistemic and affective damages experienced by long-time residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods represent serious injustices. Yet, these residents are not the only people harmed. When gentrification forces out poor people and people of colour, and neighbourhoods re-segregate by race and class, there are material, epistemic and affective losses for incomers as well. Political philosopher Iris Marion Young describes the 'pleasure of being drawn out of oneself to understand that there are other meanings, practices, perspectives on the city, and that one could learn or experience something more and different by interacting with them' (1990, p. 240). Left to run its course, gentrification removes and replaces the people and places with whom one might experience such pleasure. Further, when knowledge claims of those neighbours likely to have the most expertise about the neighbourhood are suppressed, newer residents lose the opportunity to develop insight, learn more about their community and understand other perspectives. Finally, in the absence of taking action to address gentrification, newcomers suffer a loss of humanity. Over time, the racialization of space in the United States has constituted and contributed to immense violence towards indigenous, Black, Latino and other communities of colour. Gentrification is a contemporary manifestation of this violence. To leave these spatial practices uncontested represents a failure of social responsibility. As Rose contends, 'abandoning one's own moral agency, one explicitly or implicitly becomes an instrument of the violence that excludes, denies, suppresses, abandons, or destroys' (2004, p. 23). There is no way to become such an instrument of violence without damaging your own humanity.

In highlighting the material, epistemic and affective, I am not suggesting these are the only or most important dimensions of neighbourhoods. For example, I considered including a social dimension, and concluded that the material, epistemic and affective dimensions of neighbourhoods are enacted through social practices and engagements. As such, I did not find the social to be distinct from, but rather an expression of, the other dimensions. One might also consider adding the political, which closely relates to how I construct the epistemic dimension, and/or the cultural, which relates to how I construct the affective dimension. My broader contention is that we apply a 'more than material' framework to understand and intervene in neighbourhoods.

The call for holistic conceptualizations of neighbourhoods is not novel. Indeed, a number of scholars recognize multiple dimensions of neighbourhoods (for a

comprehensive review, see Nicotera 2007). Sociologist Hyra (2013) recently recommended broadening housing interventions in gentrifying neighbourhoods to include minimizing residential displacements, facilitating meaningful social interactions and addressing ethnic, racial, religious and other differences, suggestions that map onto a material, affective and epistemic conceptualization of neighbourhoods. In a more strongly worded call, Lipsitz (2007, p.14) advocates for material and epistemic change, calling for

> a frontal attack on the mechanisms that prevent people of color from equal opportunities to accumulate assets that appreciate in value and can be passed down across generations, and second, the embrace of a spatial imaginary based on privileging use value over exchange value, sociality over selfishness, and inclusion over exclusion.

Yet, as previously noted, *policy responses* to gentrification have overwhelmingly and almost exclusively targeted a single aspect of the material dimension of gentrification—physical displacement. Political struggles for more affordable housing are hard fought, and not won nearly enough. Yet a singular policy focus on building and preserving affordable housing falls short on at least three counts. First, it forgets that the material is always bound up in affective and epistemic dimensions of place. Gentrification's opposite is not simply remaining housed, and thus building housing alone cannot fully address the harms of physical displacement. Second, to look for and register only physical displacements are to ignore and deny other life-shaping, and even life-taking, epistemic and affective injustices that may also be occurring. Ensuring affordable housing, for example does not in and of itself strengthen social ties, or ensure opportunities for low-income residents to participate in their neighbourhood. Finally, an exclusive focus on a limited form of materiality forecloses more than material possibilities for intervening.

2.2.5 Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this chapter was to offer a conceptual framework that recognizes a wider range of harms caused by gentrification, and in so doing, make intelligible a wider range of responses. How might the more than material harms of gentrification be addressed? In response to the dismissal of long-time residents' knowledge, diminished opportunities for their civic engagement or disregard for culturally significant places, additional interventions might seek to amplify residents' place stories, create spaces of resident representation, and commemorate important places, moments, and/or people in the neighbourhood. In response to disrupted social ties, escalated social stigma, and ruptured place attachments, additional interventions might aim to build relationships among neighbours, reduce bias and discrimination and create contexts for people to care for and enjoy their neighbourhood. And in response to displaced homes and businesses, rental evictions and rising property taxes, additional interventions might mobilize and/or support existing resident organizing efforts, engage residents in participatory action

research to investigate and respond to their concerns, and provide technical assistance to resident advocacy efforts.

Such 'more than material' interventions are already taking place. In San Francisco, a choreographer used mural art and site-specific dance to raise consciousness about the legacy of displacement in the Mission District (Somdahl-Sands 2008). The City of Portland sponsored the Restorative Listening Project, a series of monthly public meetings where newer, predominantly White residents listened to stories of long-time African-American residents (Drew 2012). The Residents' Voices Project—an international collaboration among low-income residents, community workers and scholars working in Sydney, Australia and Chicago, U.S.—used participatory action research to fight for material and epistemic justice in gentrifying communities (Darcy 2013). Future inquiry is needed to (1) catalogue the 'more than material' interventions already being deployed in gentrifying neighbourhoods, and to (2) investigate the effects of these interventions on advancing material, epistemic and affective justice in changing neighbourhoods.

There is no doubt that neighbourhoods often reflect deep racial and economic disparities within a city. Yet, they can also be viewed as sites of resistance and transformation. Explicitly engaging the affective and epistemic dimensions may open up new possibilities for responding to place-based injustice, including those related to gentrification. Adopting a wider view of neighbourhoods, and the possibilities for intervening within them, need not replace or dilute material efforts. Indeed, it may create additional avenues for more community members to come to know, live with, care for and fight on behalf of one another.

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Chapter 3
Urban Regeneration in Glasgow: Looking to the Past to Build the Future? The Case of the 'New Gorbals'

Julie Clark and Valerie Wright

Abstract The Gorbals area of Glasgow, Scotland, is widely regarded as a successful example of urban regeneration. However, this neighbourhood, like many similar working-class urban areas, has been subjected to repeated cycles of renewal. This chapter seeks to explore the history of a 'successful' regeneration, looking both spatially and socially at what has happened in Glasgow's Gorbals over the long term. In the past, 'regeneration' was often a process enacted on behalf of residents by planners, architects and municipal authorities. We posit a multi-method approach, tracking changing policy ambitions, physical change, and exploring the resulting physical and social environments in order to investigate the complex inter-relations between space, place, community and time. The authors argue for the centrality of the narratives of those who have lived in the area both in the past and today in any assessment of relative 'success'.

3.1 Regeneration or Renewal?

Regeneration has been defined as a 'holistic process of reversing economic, social and physical decay in areas where it has reached a stage when market forces alone will not suffice' (ODPM 2004, p. 19). Although the terms are often used interchangeably, it has been argued that the language of urban regeneration and

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revitalisation—rather than renewal—suggests moving beyond the physical rede-velopments associated with large-scale slum clearance towards a more ambitious approach to resolving urban problems (Couch 1990). Certainly, the experience of the UK highlights three particular concerns with approaches to urban disadvantage that focus narrowly on improving the built environment.

First, who is development intended to serve? The term 'gentrification' was derived to describe the social impacts of London's changing housing markets in the middle of the twentieth century as more affluent middle-class residents moved into traditionally working-class neighbourhoods, buying and redeveloping property (Glass 1964). In contemporary western culture, the word 'exclusive' is often con-sidered as a good thing, associated with luxury, privilege and desire. Within the context of housing, the more desirable a property or neighbourhood, the greater the cost of living there and, by definition, the more people are excluded. Under an unrestricted free market system, even with the best of intentions, attempts to change the nature and quality of housing available, to improve the amenities and reputation of an area, are also likely to change *who* can continue to live in that area. Rather than benefitting people from the 'renewed' area, displacement can occur through direct actions, such as eviction or rising rents, or through more subtle pressures, as friends and family leave the area while familiar shops and services are replaced with others targeted at the new, more affluent local market (Marcuse 1985).

Second, how can private sector interests be aligned with those of people in disadvantaged neighbourhoods? The urban policy strategy of *entrepreneurial regeneration*, pursued under Britain's Conservative administrations of the 1980s, took a top-down, neoliberal approach, where government endeavoured to attract and facilitate private sector development (Tallon 2010). Although this led to private investment in former industrial areas, including London Docklands, 'arguably the most famous piece of urban regeneration in Europe', local communities saw little benefit from this and the level of public money going to subsidise private interests was unsustainable (Tallon 2010, p. 42).

Third, what governance structures are required to ensure that place-based interventions are effective? From the late 1990s, there was growing policy recog-nition not only that the challenges faced by those in poorer neighbourhoods require multi-scalar interventions, which take into account local, regional and national drivers of disadvantage, but that an emphasis on supporting people is an integral part of revitalising place (Roberts and Sykes 2000).

In order to explore what might constitute successful regeneration, this chapter begins by unpacking the idea of 'success', examining the positional nature of the concept and the mechanisms through which a plan gains a place on the policy agenda and moves through to development. Thereafter, a multi-method approach to understanding regeneration from a community perspective is introduced. The main sections of the chapter focus on the Gorbals area of Glasgow, in Scotland, which is widely regarded as a successful example of urban regeneration (Parker 2004; Rodgers 1998; Scottish Executive 2006). Following a historical perspective on the

remaking of the Gorbals, the links between space and social environment are explored. The chapter ends with an argument for privileging the experiences of long-term residents, especially, in both planning and evaluation.

3.2   The Road to Regeneration

This section examines the components necessary to initiate a regeneration intervention, with particular reference to the imbalance of power between community, state and private actors. What, then, does it take, to 'successfully' regenerate a disadvantaged urban area? Any answer to this question is necessarily positional, based on who is doing the asking and how they believe the city should change, although a narrative thread can be drawn, as above, from unmanaged gentrification through the dominance of private interests to a more integrated approach incorporating community voices. However, in doing so, it is important not to elide what Couch and colleagues have called the 'frequently incompatible goals of maximising economic development on the one hand and minimising social and environmental deprivation on the other' (2011, p. 48). Most particularly, within the triumvirate of community, market and the state, the community has the weakest voice, while policy frequently struggles to identify and accommodate conflicting interests (Burbank et al. 2012).

There are difficulties inherent in both the design and implementation of regeneration policy that exacerbate this situation. It is therefore useful to assess how an urban intervention comes to be on the policy agenda. A policy problem is the product of interpretation and negotiated definition rather than a simple matter of fact (Cobb and Elder 1983). The argumentative turn in policy research demonstrates the limitations of attempting to understand policy creation as a purely technocratic process, where problem issues are identified and solutions implemented (Fischer and Forester 1993). For any given issue to be recognised and agreed upon as a policy problem, there must be an imperative to action, power to devise and execute a strategy, capacity to build consensus around that strategy, and the ability to marshal necessary resources.

An **imperative to action** is generated based on a normative stance in relation to empirical concerns. This can be driven by corporate, expert or social interest groups, an individual policy 'entrepreneur' promoting an issue, or public and media response to events (Fischer and Gottweis 2012). The normative element involved in designating an area as *in need of regeneration* can be seen in that, of the many urban areas which could benefit from additional investment and amenities, few receive them; indeed, further perspective questions the whole concept of area-based regeneration, on the grounds that the majority of poor people do not live in poor areas (Spicker 2001).

However, regardless of the source of the imperative to action, **the power required to devise and execute** urban interventions has meant that, historically,

top-down, state-led approaches have been dominant in regeneration (Tallon 2010). In the United States, Arnstein (1969) codified her formative investigation of citizen involvement in planning into a 'ladder of participation'. In doing so, she drew attention to power as an integral aspect of participation: without citizen power, citizen participation is no more than an illusion, involving manipulation, pathologising the community or different forms of tokenism, placating people or consulting without any requirement to act on findings. However, although the election of the New Labour government in the UK saw an upsurge of interest in social exclusion, following which community participation has, at least nominally, become part of the mainstream policy landscape, the aspiration to engage citizens in governance remains fraught (Tallon 2010). When community participation is organised by people in power, it is those people who set the terms of participation, framing the objectives as well as designing the mechanisms—and limits—of any delegated power (Jones 2003). Doering (2014) has challenged the way the term 'community' is deployed in public policy, arguing that the concept cannot be considered as a purely cultural construct, as it is necessarily bound up with economic and political conditions and, so, serves political ends. The participation agenda has been critiqued as part of a trend towards 'responsibilisation', where the state withdraws in favour of private markets and the public are reconceptualised as individual citizen —consumers who must manage their own risks (Bradley 2014). Given this backdrop, ongoing difficulties in persuading the public to engage in participation exercises are unsurprising (Lowndes et al. 2001).

Nevertheless, the **capacity to build consensus around a proposed strategy** is a fundamental requirement of translating a policy problem into action. As Pinnegar (2009, p. 2923) states,

> Policy not only needs to be responsive to the concerns it seeks to address, it needs to translate. It needs to make sense at the site at which intervention is felt. It also needs to be sold politically, to practitioners and the wider public.

Again, this is not a neutral practice: regeneration tends to valorise particular views of what community ought to be and how it can be achieved. *New urbanism* is a much-favoured architectural trend, characterised by interconnected streets suitable for pedestrian use, which are overlooked by dense, low- to mid-rise housing in mixed-use urban areas with ready access to public transport (Bohl 2000). However, new urbanism sees itself as a movement as well as a style of urban development: the preferred physical forms are underpinned by values and an aspiration to support social interaction, creating urban villages where community and mutual support are strong, in contrast to more car-dependent suburban developments. Social mix is a further dimension of the new urbanist agenda, which advocates housing to attract people of different incomes, backgrounds and ages in a bid to foster strong social bonds between diverse groups (CNU 2002). Within this context, community participation has a dual function, both legitimating and gaining legitimacy from involvement in the regeneration (Doering 2014), through added status or other support.

However, the vision of a new, revived neighbourhood must be attractive to people other than local residents. Private sector investment is a key means through which the public sector can **marshal the resources necessary** for improvements to housing, transport and public space, hopefully attracting employers and amenities. Whether regeneration is led by the public sector taking a strategic lead, coordinating private investment in accordance with a master plan, or market-led, stimulated by tax incentives, grants, subsidies or infrastructure provision using public funds, the financial stresses of urban decline and deindustrialisation have made the private sector a desirable and necessary funding source (Tallon 2010).

This exploration of the road to initiating a regeneration project allows us to revisit the three questions raised at the beginning of the chapter: who the development should serve; how can private sector interests be aligned with those of the local community; and how can governance systems support effective place-based interventions. Along each step of the way, it can be seen that interests beyond those of people living in the area can easily dominate, marginalising the original community. Conditions in the local community may cause people to advocate for change; however, whether building momentum behind an imperative to act, or consensus around what should be done or leveraging funding sources, the cooperation of external public and private actors is necessary. Against a backdrop of the challenges of policy practice, political cycles, the powerful role of the market and the exigency of, at least, making a claim to success, this research aims to explore what might constitute successful regeneration *for the local community*.

3.3 Regeneration in Context

In this chapter, we present the first two sets of findings from a three-phase investigation into the impacts of regeneration in the Gorbals. In assessing the impact of area-based regeneration, Rhodes and colleagues (2005) note the relatively slow nature of change in relation to interventions. While any given intervention may occur over a relatively short time period, people's lived experience of urban change encompasses the period before the regeneration and its aftermath. The research approach taken prioritises the meaning and experience of regeneration within a community, understanding policy impacts in relation to the history and geography of the area. Prior to triangulating these analyses with fieldwork, it is important to establish contextual evidence that both supports and limits the status of the case study as a successful regeneration.

The first set of analyses takes a historical approach, to consider the condition of the area over time and track changing policy ambitions. The significance of context is now widely appreciated within policy evaluation. Realist evaluation recognises that 'success' is a far from binary concept; an intervention is effective for particular people under particular circumstances, and understanding the context in which it

occurs is a core component of understanding the factors which influence its success or failure (Blamey and Mackenzie 2007; Pawson and Tilley 1997). Furthermore, an urban community is a dynamic context, and policy interventions do not occur in isolation. Social relations, within and beyond the community, and the operation of other interventions can also influence the outcome of a regeneration intervention (Astbury and Leeuw 2010; Marchal et al. 2012). However, even where evaluations adopt a theory of change approach, which can readily accommodate community circumstances as a dimension of context (Blamey and Mackenzie 2007), the lens is still relatively short term, with a primary focus on policy and programme efficacy. For both business and policy actors, the time frame for return on investment is a critical driver: an imperative to action is also an imperative to demonstrate success, within the appropriate business or policy cycle. An intervention that is regarded as a success in the short term may not stand the test of time. The historical framework puts the experiences of the oldest long-term residents within reach, along with the impressions that younger residents may have from their parents and grandparents, engaging with external as well as internal perspectives on the community.

The second set of analyses draws from human geography, exploring the nature and implications of spatial change for place. Spatial change is perhaps the most conspicuous marker of area change over time. As the environment changes, so do the affordances of a neighbourhood, both in terms of what the area offers physically, by way of amenities, and in terms of scope for social interaction (Gibson 1979). However, urban space is important for its meaning as well as its practical utility:

> Place incarnates the experiences and aspirations of a people. Place is not only a fact to be explained in the broader frame of space, but it is also a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning. (Tuan 1977, p. 387)

Alongside spatial change comes population change. Although every neighbourhood experiences both incomers and out-movers, population change can be more marked in challenged neighbourhoods. On one hand, there is the phenomenon of escalator churn, where people who have benefitted from programmes may move out of the area, while on the other, gentrifier churn sees original residents being displaced by in-movers (see Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Crowley et al. 2012; Scanlon et al. 2010). As well as presenting a challenge to evaluating the success of a regeneration (Crowley et al. 2012; Rhodes et al. 2005), new people change the nature of place as place changes to accommodate them. Marcuse (1985) identifies the loss of familiar neighbourhood resources and amenities when old businesses or services close to be replaced by amenities more appropriate to a newer, often more affluent population, as a displacement pressure, leaving the original residents feeling out of place in what was their home area. The following section outlines key features of the case study before going on to discuss its long history of regeneration.

3.4 Remaking the Gorbals—Policy, Modernisation and Regeneration

3.4.1 The Case

The Gorbals area of Glasgow, in Scotland, is widely regarded as a successful example of urban renewal. The neighbourhood includes a multi-award winning mixed tenure development, cited as an exemplar by the chair of the Urban Development Task force, and the regeneration has been credited with improving economic outcomes for residents and contributing to the rehabilitated reputation of the post-industrial city that houses the area (Parker 2004; Pendlebury 2015; Rodgers 1998; SE 2006).

Like many other disadvantaged urban areas, the Gorbals has previously been subjected to repeated policy intervention (Robertson 2014). The Barony of Gorbals, as the area was known, was first incorporated into the adjoining city of Glasgow alongside several other independent policy burghs in the late nineteenth century, in order to create 'Greater Glasgow' (Maver 2000). This enabled the city fathers to argue that, with a population of now over a million, Glasgow was truly the 'second city of empire'. By the early twentieth century, the Gorbals was known as an area of 'sweated labour' in which unregulated factory owners were able to exploit those individuals migrating from rural Scotland, Ireland and elsewhere in Europe in search of work (Maver and Fraser 1996). The Gorbals was a centre of the 'rag trade' in Glasgow, the production of clothes and textiles. It was also widely known as a melting pot with established Highland, Jewish and Irish Catholic communities (Neal 2003).

As a result of high levels of migration to the area in the nineteenth century, the Gorbals became associated with the worst of overcrowded slum tenement conditions. Tenements are a high-density housing form, built on a gridiron pattern. In Glasgow, they are generally four stories high, containing at least three dwellings on each floor. Current and former residents of the area continue to dispute the severity of slum conditions, especially the extent to which the situation held true in the mid-twentieth century. Nevertheless, evidence from Glasgow Corporation's housing inspectors from 1919 suggests that the quality of at least some of the tenements was fairly poor, with some of the older buildings being described as 'rat pits':

> 41 Commercial Road, east side, 4 storey tenement, shops on ground floor, houses above. Corner building. Stair in centre lighted from cupola at roof to the north. To the north at back of close, long passage running north. This repeats on upper floors, absolutely dark. There is a long passage south of stair wall. This property should be reconstructed; the long passages have neither light nor ventilation. (Corporation of Glasgow, D-CF/9/4 (j) notes on Hutchesontown Ward, 1919)

Although slum conditions in some of Glasgow's tenement buildings were infamous, a certain nostalgia remains for outdoor toilets, playing in the midden (communal rubbish dump) and overcrowded conditions where multiple children would share a bed (Gill 2015; Mortimer and McCallum 2015). There was, and is, a

memory of a time when 'everyone looked after each other' and 'you didn't need to lock your door' (Gill 2015; Mortimer and McCallum 2015). Yet, these poor housing conditions were indicative of the levels of poverty in the area. Not all people in the Gorbals lived in 'single ends' (one-room dwellings in which extended families of up to ten individuals could be found living, sometimes more); some lived in what were considered more respectable tenements, which were built to a higher quality standard and included indoor toilets. However, objectively, there were high levels of what might be described as 'deprivation' by current standards, including high infant mortality and incidence of illnesses such as rickets and tuberculosis.

Into the twentieth century, the Great Depression of the interwar years was associated with desperate economic circumstances. The 1930s, especially, are still associated with the high unemployment which was emblematic of the time, along with the humiliating experience of undergoing a means test, to verify entitlement to unemployment benefits and waiting in the 'dole queue' line to receive government support. During this period, the reputation for poverty in the area was transformed into notoriety, as the Gorbals came to be associated with crime and violence. In 1935, Alexander McArthur, an unemployed baker from the Gorbals, joined forces with the journalist H. Kingsley-Long and published *No Mean City*, a sensationalist novel of 1934 which portrayed the community as being dominated by the threats of razor gangs and violent 'hardmen'.

The process of deindustrialisation had a profound effect on Glasgow and its inhabitants in the post-war years, as the city suffered from loss of employment, urban depopulation, and the physical and psychological health challenges associated with poverty and poor-quality housing (Clark and Kearns 2012; Walsh et al. 2009). The Gorbals was by no means the only area of the city which experienced high unemployment and negative social outcomes perpetuated by a decline in housing quality and amenities. However, national and sometimes international media perpetuated the stereotype of Glasgow, and the Gorbals in particular, as a violent and impoverished place until at least the late 1980s, if not beyond. It is difficult to shake off such stigma: in spite of efforts to challenge and complicate this image, the 'no mean city' moniker continues to be referenced in articles and reports relating to dramatic changes in the city's built environment and in some areas of its economy. As recently as 2010, an article published on Reuters declared that 'the spectre of violence raised by the brutal street fighter in *No Mean City* still haunts Glasgow seven decades after the novel's publication' (Graham 2010), while the book remains in print, boasting 'over 500,000 sales' on the front cover by the late 1970s (McArthur and Kingsley-Long 1935).

The most marked reaction by municipal authorities to the reputation of the Gorbals as 'No Mean City' can be seen in two distinct phases: the modernisation of the area in the 1960s and then the regeneration and creation of the 'new Gorbals' in the 1990s. It is these two key periods that will be the focus of the remainder of this section.

3.4.2 Modernisation: From Tenements to High Rise

Following the Second World War, the provision of improved housing became a dominant feature of political discourse across the political spectrum. The establishment of the welfare state rendered slum housing unacceptable as never before (Shapely 2014, 2017). There was a new focus on social justice and a conviction that everyone, regardless of their background, deserved decent, affordable housing. Both the Labour and Conservative Parties campaigned for votes, at national and local elections, based upon their respective records on house completion throughout the 1950s, making promises about the amount of social housing that would be constructed.

The city's municipal authority, the Corporation of Glasgow, rather simplistically saw improved housing as a solution to its urban social problems. In spite of previous attempts at slum clearance, in the 1860s and in the interwar years, overcrowding and insanitary conditions persisted in the city. In the 1950s, the Glasgow Corporation placed the Gorbals at the heart of attempts to finally resolve these challenges. Initially, there were two competing plans to solve Glasgow's housing crisis and slum problem. First, the Bruce Report (1944) proposed modernising the whole city by demolishing all existing buildings and replacing them with high-rise housing and office blocks. The alternative was the Abercrombie Plan (1949), which suggested that 300,000 of Glasgow's population should be dispersed via overspill agreements with surrounding towns and the newly designated new town of East Kilbride. The Abercrombie Plan was supported by the UK government and Scottish Office (Abercrombie and Mathew 1949, Glendinning and Muthesius 1994). Initially, Glasgow Corporation opposed the overspill strategy, being wary of losing its political influence as Scotland's largest city. At this point, Glasgow had a population of over a million, when Scotland's overall population was just over five million. Prior to the UK government's introduction of greenbelt restrictions, Glasgow Corporation built four peripheral estates with modern tenemental housing, intended for approximately 30,000 people in each. Following this, the city then announced the establishment of 29 Comprehensive Development Areas (CDAs), more than any other city in the UK. This planning tool allowed the compulsory purchase and demolition of all existing buildings in a given area. The aim was to rebuild high-density blocks in the demolition areas, to retain as many people in the inner city as possible and limit overspill. This resulted in the construction of 'modern' high-rise blocks, reflecting contemporary architectural fashion and practice.

Hutchesontown/Part Gorbals CDA was to be Glasgow's first modern showpiece inner-city housing estate. It was planned in 1954 and approved in 1957. Prestigious and well-known architects, including Basil Spence and Robert Matthew, were awarded contracts to design these high-rise estates with a 'modern' aesthetic. It could be argued that the approach taken in the Gorbals essentially followed the recommendations of the Bruce Report to modernise the city within its existing boundaries (The Corporation of the City of Glasgow, First Planning Report, 1945).

Indeed, the Gorbals might be considered the only area in the city where the Bruce Plan was enacted as its author had envisaged; virtually all existing commercial and residential buildings were demolished and replaced with modern high-rise buildings and ancillary amenities. The whole process of demolition and rebuilding took in excess of 25 years meaning that, for protracted periods of time, the new residents in high-rise flats were living in a building site, with demolition, gap sites and construction occurring all around them (see CANMORE, n.d.a).

The reputation of the area and its close proximity to the city centre were likely to have been factors in the Glasgow Corporation's decision to start its programme of Comprehensive Redevelopment in the Gorbals. The CDA in the Gorbals was built in five stages. First was *Hutchesontown A*, an estate comprising low-rise maisonette housing, completed in the late 1950s by the Corporation Architect. This was followed by *Hutchesontown B*, a high-rise construction of four 18-storey blocks designed by Robert Matthew. *Hutchesontown C* or 'Queen Elizabeth Square' as it was known by residents, was the most famous stage: a large, brutalist 'slab block' comprised of three towers was designed by Basil Spence (see CANMORE, n.d.b).

Even during the planning phase, the *Hutchesontown C* development attracted a lot of attention. The design had been influenced by Le Corbusier's Unité d'habitation in Marseilles and also had pilotis or stilts. However, the innovative methods employed by Spence in his design were difficult to realise and the construction was repeatedly delayed. Unfortunately, the derivative block in Glasgow lacked all of the inbuilt amenities included in the original concept of the Cité Radieuse. Fourth was *Hutchesontown D*, built by the Scottish Special Housing Association. This development had the largest area and included four 24-storey blocks as well as three 8-storey blocks. Finally, the Corporation built the controversial *Hutchesontown E*, an estate of seven-storey deck access blocks. These were also known as 'the dampies' by the residents who lived in them, referring to widespread problems with dampness in the accommodation (Bryant 1979, 1982).

Of these five sub-areas, three still exist in moderated form today. *Hutchesontown A* has been modernised but is relatively unchanged and *Hutchesontown B*—now known as 'Riverside'—was completely renovated in 2007, but retains the same basic form; finally, *Hutchesontown D* has also been redeveloped with two of the high-rise blocks being renovated, while all of the low-rise tenements have been retained. By contrast, the experimental *Hutchesontown C* was controversially demolished in 1993 with *Hutchesontown E* having the shortest lifespan. Completed in 1972, it was demolished only 12 years later in 1984.

3.4.3   Regeneration: Back to the Tenement

In the immediate post-war years, social housing, provided and managed in the UK by local authorities, was considered a desirable tenure and living in a council house was a positive status symbol. Individuals and families joined a waiting list and were

interviewed to see if they were acceptable tenants. However, as the twentieth century wore on, home ownership became increasingly attainable and, as working-class aspirations changed, so did the status of social housing. High-rise apartments were once considered the future; they were modern, clean and bright but only a decade after their heyday, the image of council estates was on the decline. The media, in particular, played a role in the stigmatisation of the tenure, portraying social housing as a dumping ground for dysfunctional tenants with social problems (Damer 1972, 1989, 1992; Hastings 2004). However, the incremental residualisation of council housing throughout the UK, as it was gradually relegated to the status of 'tenure of the last resort' (Hastings 2004, p. 233), resulted in high-rise housing, as an associated built form, increasingly being considered undesirable. Changing allocations policies further contributed to the dynamic, as the most socially excluded groups were increasingly housed in the least desirable areas. This meant that, given the shortage of houses in Scotland, particular groups such as homeless households would only be offered flats (Pawson and Kintrea 2002). Exacerbating this trend was the impact of global deindustrialisation on Glasgow and Scotland. The decline of heavy industry, accompanied by inflation and the resurgence of high rates of unemployment in the 1970s, resulted in the development of social problems that became concentrated in working-class areas of the city. Indeed, it has been argued that post-war planning in Scotland, which distributed resources away from Glasgow, was responsible for economic downturn in the city, resulting in concentrations of poverty in areas including the Gorbals (Collins and Levitt 2016). By 1971, the Gorbals was already the site of one of the greatest concentrations of multiple deprivation in the city (Pacione 2004).

The main policy response to Glasgow's intense urban deprivation focused on the east end of the city, just north of the Gorbals area, across the River Clyde. Like the Gorbals, the east end was a traditional centre of heavy industry. The Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Strategy (GEAR) was a £200m public-sector-led initiative, which ran for 10 years from 1976 onwards, heralded at the time as one of the largest urban renewal projects in Europe (McCarthy and Pollock 1997; Nairn 1983). The project was recognised as improving the quality of housing stock and landscaping, as well as reducing the proportion of private rented housing in favour of social housing and owner occupation (Pacione 1985). However, like the later New Life for Urban Scotland initiative (1989–1999), which included Castlemilk, one of the peripheral housing estates in Glasgow, ambitions for social and economic regeneration remained largely unrealised (Robertson 2014; SE 2006). Clearance, redevelopment and outmigration were recognised as continuing challenges to the development of community life in the area (Pacione 1985).

While GEAR had limited success, certainly by the standard of holistic regeneration, a contrasting approach was taken in the Gorbals Crown Street Renewal project. Marking the beginning of what has become known as the 'New Gorbals', the Crown Street Regeneration Project (CSRP) was formed in 1990, representing a partnership of Glasgow City Council, Glasgow Development Agency, Scottish Homes, New Gorbals Housing Association, the private sector and 'most

importantly' the local community (Bailey et al. 2007; Pollock and Paddison 2014; SE 2006; Scottish Government 2008, p. 36). By this point, Glasgow had firmly established a strategy of event-based regeneration, a boosterist policy approach that the city initiated in the late 1980s with the 1988 Glasgow Garden Festival, which was held on a reclaimed a former shipping quay. This event helped to create a new image of Glasgow, which was later consolidated by successful bids to become the 1990 European City of Culture and the 1999 City of Architecture. Glasgow was emerging from its post-industrial slump, with the City Council actively marketing Glasgow as a cultural and shopping venue in Scotland, the UK and Europe. Much has been made of the city's industrial and working-class heritage, which has been deployed in regeneration to attract tourists, conferences or simply more affluent residents (Clark and Madgin 2017; Pollock and Paddison 2014). Glasgow was no longer a 'mean city'.

It was in this context that the regeneration of the Gorbals was first mooted. There were gap sites to be filled as the demolition of the 1960s high rises had left derelict land, but there were also the ongoing issues of reputation and stigmatisation to counter in the Gorbals too. The CSRP began with a remit to deliver a master plan that would support an economically healthy, mixed, sustainable community, integrated with the wider city (Bailey et al. 2007). Land ownership was transferred from the local authority to the CSRP and, following a competition where four firms submitted proposals, architects Campbell, Zogolowich, Wilkinson and Gough (CZWG) were invited to develop the master plan for the area (Tiesdell and MacFarlane 2007).

The Crown Street development was reinstated on the former site of *Hutchesontown E*, cleared 5 years after the demolition 'to bring new life and confidence to the area' (Scottish Government 2008, p. 36). Crown Street had existed before the modernisation of the Gorbals in the 1960s, and the recreation of the pre-existing street plan was central to the aims of the new Gorbals project both spatially and socially. For residents, the street plan and architecture would signal a return to the familiar, incorporating a grid pattern and a modified form of the historic tenement style, which could accommodate flats, maisonettes and communal as well as private garden space (Frey 2010). Tiesdell and MacFarlane (2007) note that, although master planning can be conducted in either coercive or voluntaristic style, the benefits of the process can include improved place-making and fostering close working between local stakeholders. Perhaps more important than an architectural nod to the history of the Gorbals, public consultation formed an integral part of the new development, where this had not been the case in the 1960s (Donnison 2016). Nevertheless, while this was an improvement on previous practice, others have challenged the extent of the participatory nature of planning in the area, contending that, partly due to the fundamental issue of there being none of the original community remaining on the cleared site, master plans were imposed by CSRP, with consultation taking place during or after implementation, rather than as part of development (Tiesdell and MacFarlane 2007).

3.5 Space and Social Environment

As outlined above, spatially, the mid-century modernisation and 1990s regeneration of the Gorbals took very different approaches, signalling different attitudes to the relationship between people and place. While the CDA approach was radical, in that it retained little of the existing built environment, the 'New Gorbals' attempted to reimagine the tenement heritage, perceived as lost, while retaining some existing modernist architecture. The following sections consider the changing spaces of the Gorbals with reference to the social environment.

3.5.1 Changing Spaces

In retrospect, Glasgow Corporation's approach to the Gorbals in the 1950s and 1960s has been considered as an act of municipal vandalism (Dudgeon 2010). Across the 111 acre site of the CDA, the four-storey tenements demolished in the comprehensive redevelopment dated from only around 1850–1890—although they ultimately had a longer lifespan than some of the modernist architecture that was to follow. However, of the 7,605 residential dwellings which existed prior to the 1957 redevelopment, almost nine out of ten consisted of just one or two rooms, and a third of homes were 'back to back houses' or 'single ends'. Just over a fifth had internal toilets and only 3% had baths. Meanwhile, over 97% had been deemed insanitary (Johnston 1957). Nevertheless, a context of optimism in the immediate post-war years must be taken into consideration, along with the frustration and despondency that existed in relation to the longevity of the city's slum problem. Also, it is not easy to simplistically blame any one political party for the destruction of the tenement heritage in the Gorbals. There was consensus that the reputation of the city needed to be addressed through the modernisation of housing and that this would be beneficial to the population at large in terms of social and health outcomes (Jephcott 1971; City of Glasgow District Council 1975). Given the scale of the problem, it is understandable why a dramatic, modernist solution after the manner of the Bruce Report was adopted. Glasgow Corporation was keen to assure the electorate in the city that it was dealing with the problem: the turn to high rise had symbolic value in this context; towers rising in the Gorbals showed the world that Glasgow was ambitious about solving its social challenges.

It was expected that the full redevelopment of the area would take 20 years and that in the first stage a main shopping centre, clinic, cinema and a services trades' area would be built. Stages two and three would include schools and the completion of local shopping centres and a community centre (Johnston 1957). In terms of the proposed layout and the removal of the traditional grid system, the main objective was to eliminate through traffic and create an integrated plan, a preoccupation of architects at this time. Small parks were designed to act as central open spaces, with

the inclusive intention that they would 'give back to use the space which is stolen by Glasgow's countless back courts' (Johnston 1957).

Contrasting the modernist development, The Crown Street Regeneration master plan appears as a conscious attempt to undo the modernist era and reinstate the low-rise tenement, envisioned as 'a reinterpretation of Glasgow's tenement tradition' (Scottish Government 2008, p. 36). This is evident in the street plan, the materials utilised and the use of space. The inclusion of a new library, small supermarkets, local cafes and a post office also reference the historic pattern of shopping in the area (Fig. 3.1). The mixed-use space also echoes traditional tenement style, with capacity for retail or office space on the ground floor of buildings. Similarly, there was a return to communal garden spaces, as well as maisonettes with private gardens in the same block (Frey 2010). However, the large number of shops and pubs that existed prior to the modernist period has not been reinstated. Likewise, industry has not been returned to the area.

Along with the retention of some high-rise flats at the Riverside (Fig. 3.2) and around the edges of the new Gorbals, the redevelopment of the Queen Elizabeth Square site, following the demolition of the CDA buildings, is to some extent sympathetic to the modernist era. Although constructed predominantly in red and blonde brickwork, reminiscent of the sandstone tenements typical of Glasgow, the block which now stands on part of the original site of the square includes several 'cruise liner' motifs, a nod to Spence's famous statement that on washdays his block would look like a ship in full sail (Fig. 3.3) (Glendinning and Muthesius 1994).

Fig. 3.1 Crown Street, Gorbals, June 2017 © J. Clark. *Source* Julie Clark and Valerie Wright

Fig. 3.2 Riverside estate (formerly Hutchesontown B, architect Robert Matthews), October 2014, © V. Wright. *Source* Julie Clark and Valerie Wright

In different ways, both major redevelopments aimed to improve the physical space of the neighbourhood. However, the return to tenemental style can be viewed as an indictment of the modernism phase in built form. Nevertheless, alongside the retention of some modernist buildings and the more adventurous reinterpretation of tenement heritage at Queen Elizabeth Square, debate over the relative merits of each development has continued. Beyond the physical changes to the area, these debates are informed by attachment to place: the meaning that different urban spaces hold for residents and outsiders.

3.5.2   Changing Place

Alongside spatial change come changes to place: who the community are, how they inter-relate and what neighbourhood means to them.

Although critiqued as 'methodologically problematic', Young and Willmott's (1957, p. 8) classic analysis of post-war planning and the destructive consequences of slum clearance for working-class communities has been enduringly influential (see also, Lawrence 2016; Tunstall and Lowe 2012). The narrative of people

Fig. 3.3 Queen Elizabeth Gardens, June 2017 © J. Clark. *Source* Julie Clark and Valerie Wright

scattered to the four winds, with little choice or agency has been repeated in social science studies of post-war housing estates throughout the late 1960s and beyond (Jacobs 1961; Gans 1962; Jennings 1962; Paris and Blackaby 1979). However, this is a contested narrative. It is true that many people from the Gorbals were dispersed to the peripheral schemes and other areas of the city; plans for the CDA meant that less than half of the population of the Gorbals would be re-homed within the area (Neal 2003). Furthermore, there was little in the way of public consultation around the compulsory purchase of properties in the Gorbals, including among working-class people who had bought their tenement flats (Hart 1968). Yet, at the

same time, it would be inaccurate to suggest that everyone wanted to remain in the Gorbals, and to say that individuals and their families had no choice in where they went is misleading. A modern flat with a bathroom and hot running water has attractions. Furthermore, in the case of the high-rise blocks in the Gorbals, there were instances of people moving together, retaining connection with neighbours from the old street (Moore 2014; Miller and Blakemore 1993). Even where the old community of the tenements was dislocated, a new sense of community could be formed dependent on the block and the neighbours.

However, both the aesthetic of the modernist design and its utility proved problematic for many. The brutalist architecture and more-than-human scale of Queen Elizabeth Square could be perceived as unwelcoming and institutional, drawing comparison with iconic prison buildings, in Glasgow and beyond (Wharton 1970); in the 1970s, the three blocks which comprised Queen Elizabeth Square A, B and C were known by residents as 'Alcatraz, Barlinnie and Colditz' (Moore 2014). While some residents might relish the relative privacy after the communal life of the overcrowded tenements, the long corridors in the adjoining B and C blocks could also be perceived as isolated in comparison with tenement living, in a structure which offers less opportunity to get to know neighbours. The design of the high-rise blocks, especially Queen Elizabeth Square, divided opinion as brutalist architecture continues to do today. For all those who loved the blocks, could appreciate Spence's vision and remember their time spent living there fondly, there were those who found the design cold and intimidating. This was especially true when there was no security or door entry and the back stairs were used by drug dealers, vandals and burglars in the 1980s (Sutherland 1986). The very openness of the design led to such abuses of communal space as was the case in other modernist designs throughout the UK (Coleman 1990). Tellingly, the modernist developments that have been retained in today's Gorbals (Hutchesontown A, B and D) have proportionately more low-rise housing. Furthermore, the loss of tenement court-yards also meant a loss of defensible space, which is associated with safety, privacy and control (Newman 1973); although the idea of creating open space for all around the high blocks sounded good in theory, in practice it was as not utilised and was, in effect, dead space.

The shops were arranged in one main and three subsidiary shopping centres. But where Le Corbusier had included amenities such as shops, a school and nursery and play facilities within his Unité d'habitation housing design, Spence's Queen Elizabeth Square's amenities were not on site but in a neighbouring but well-used shopping centre. However, this new clustering and organisation also involved a dramatic loss of local amenities. Following the modernisation, there were only 57 shops, in place of the 444 which existing in 1957, while 48 pubs from prior to the redevelopment were reduced to just 9 (Johnston 1957).

The dramatic pace and radical nature of the change also proved an alienating experience for people who had lived in the area. There was no continuity in the landscape with the exception of a few churches and public buildings that had been retained. This imposition of a top-down vision resulted in a sense of loss for many who remained in the area as well as those that had relocated and returned frequently

for visits to family, old neighbours and friends (Moving Image Archive 1965). For others the change was exciting, the realisation of a modern Glasgow. Even for those who adopted the latter view, including the many architectural experts and proponents of modern brutalism, it was important that the 'strong characteristics, a local spirit' which was evident in the Gorbals 'must be carefully preserved while the buildings are being demolished' (Johnston 1957, p. 6). As Johnston suggested,

> People who have moved out of this area to new housing districts at Drumchapel, Pollock and elsewhere are known to make the journey back to their old haunts of an evening to meet their friends in the pubs, the chip shops and the cafes. Some have even forsaken the modern convenience of their new surroundings and returned to their old ones. This is an attitude to be respected, as it represents a strong feeling for locality, which is essential in the structure of a healthy community. (Johnston 1957, p. 6)

Facilitating community development became a preoccupation of the emergent social science disciplines of the 1960s, addressing the *symptoms* of economic inequality, such as youth unemployment, delinquency, drug abuse and alcoholism. In the 1970s and 1980s, to the outside observer, the Gorbals again experienced high levels of deprivation and dysfunctional families. The modernist era had failed to preserve community in the Gorbals. Such blanket assumptions fail to acknowledge the community that had survived declining population, stigmatisation and under-investment by the City Council, Scottish Office and Westminster Government. The job architect on Hutchesontown C, reflecting on the state of the building in 1992, suggested that the concrete 'had not weathered at all well' and had 'deteriorated in many places' with the reinforcing being 'exposed in several places' (Glendinning 1997, pp. 92–102). He admits that the building had not been maintained for 20 years. As he states, 'what we did not realise when we were building things of this nature is that they involve a very high maintenance cost—and that cost was impossible for the local authority to deal with' (Glendinning 1997, p. 101). In other words, the brave new world envisaged by the post-war architects was bound to fail: Glasgow Corporation may have been able to afford to build the blocks with generous Government subsidies but they were increasingly incapable of paying for maintenance in a city with levels of high unemployment, low wages and low rents.

By the early 1990s, however, the high levels of deprivation could no longer be ignored, especially in the context of a Conservative government under increasing pressure in Scotland. The regeneration of the Gorbals was promoted as a showpiece for what the government could do in partnership with the City Council and a variety of quangos (Thompson-Fawcett 2004). Within this context, the return to the original tenemental ethos of the Gorbals is especially interesting as an essentially conservative move, looking backwards with nostalgia rather than looking forwards. By the 1990s architects and planners had, arguably, learned lessons from past mistakes and the local community was involved in the regeneration process through formal mechanisms such as community councils.

The aim of the Crown Street development was to regenerate the area and 'create a place where people would want to live, and where they could choose between the

private life of their own home and the public vitality of the street' (CSRP 1991a). Planning a high-quality built environment with effective maintenance of common areas for both private and social renting residents formed a core part of this strategy (Bailey et al. 2007). While the former objective has undoubtedly been a success, the assessment of the latter is less conclusive. Another objective was to 'bring new life and confidence to the area'. While assessment of this involves an element of subjectivity, the area is certainly livelier today than it was in 1984, when it was effectively wasteland (Glasgow District Council 1984). But it would also be unfair to suggest that there was no community in the Gorbals in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The extent to which the area is more confident today is also contingent on classifying who is to be considered to be a member of the Gorbals community.

The efficacy of plans to achieve a mixed tenure neighbourhood might be considered an objective marker in evaluating the success of the regeneration. By 2008, nearly two in five properties in the area were under owner occupation, with a similar proportion of adult residents working in professional grade occupations (Bond et al. 2013; Pendlebury 2015). Of the 1,000 dwellings planned for the first phase of regeneration, three-quarters were for private sale and subsequent releases have followed the trend of favouring buyers over social renters (Bailey et al. 2007), changing the social composition of the area. There are indications that improved housing and regeneration have created a safer and more attractive place, associated with lower levels of income and employment deprivation, in relation to comparator areas (Bond et al. 2013; Pendlebury 2015; Pinoncely 2016). There is also evidence that the new urbanist ethos of mixed-use design seems to have been effective in offering both adults and children a sense of neighbourhood attachment and places where they can interact and forge community bonds (Bond et al. 2013; JRF 2006). The New Gorbals has been successful in attracting young professionals and students to live in the area alongside long-term Gorbals residents. As of 2017, penthouses in Queen Elizabeth Gardens (Fig. 3.2) were valued at just under £200,000, compared to similar penthouse apartments in the relatively prestigious Glasgow Harbour development in the west end of the city, of around £260,000. The presence of penthouses, along with the more modest gap between average property values in the two areas—Queen Elizabeth Gardens (approx. £160,000) and Glasgow Harbour Terraces (approx. £180,000)—shows the relative strength of the housing market in what was previously a highly stigmatised neighbourhood (Data from Zoopla-zed-index 2017). However, there is some evidence of perceived divisions between 'new' and 'old' Gorbals communities (Bond et al. 2013). Furthermore, property dynamics, including the growth of the private rental market and escalating house prices may generate exclusionary displacement pressures over the longer term, therefore pricing local people out of the area (Pendlebury 2015; Sng 2017).

While the modernist redevelopment resulted in a diaspora of tens of thousands, the ambition of the New Gorbals regeneration was to double the size of the late twentieth-century population (Neal 2003; Thompson-Fawcett 2004). The regeneration of the Gorbals in the 1990s can be considered a direct response to the reconstruction of the Gorbals in the mid-twentieth century. Whether through the

demolitions, which massively reduced the population of the area, or the mixing of new homeowners and penthouse dwellers with long-term residents, the effects of both interventions still reverberate throughout today's Gorbals.

3.6   Conclusion and Further Development

There is, as Pinoncley (2016) states, unquestionably an environmental dimension to poverty and inequality. Policy ambitions that aspire towards genuine community engagement and moving beyond a superficial *demolish and rebuild* model of urban renewal are to be applauded. Nevertheless, even within that context, an overview of how regeneration interventions come to be initiated and enacted demonstrates the imbalance of power between community, state and private participants at each stage of the regeneration process. Pacione (2005, p. 24) reminds us that 'the same urban space can be seen in different ways by residents, tourists, workers, elderly people, unemployed people, women and children'. From one perspective, policymakers, practitioners and private interests can be considered as tourists in a regeneration area; life in the neighbourhood continues, both before and after any intervention. This chapter takes a long view on regeneration, considering urban change within historical and geographical context as an entry point to investigating its ramifications from a community rather than a policy evaluation perspective.

The Gorbals in Glasgow offers a particularly interesting case, in that it has been widely celebrated as a success. However, an examination of the long-term historical and geographical context demands a return to the core question of realist policy evaluation: what works, *for whom* and under which circumstances (Pawson and Tilly 1997)? The planners and funders of regeneration have responsibilities to people and geographies beyond the community and the area of the regeneration and it may be the successful fulfilment of these responsibilities that receives acclaim, rather than the success of the regeneration for the subject community.

A historical overview of policy intervention in the area emphasises that there has been more than one phase of radical change within living memory. Whether residents have a long history of Scottish ancestry or are, given the Gorbals' status as a 'destination of choice for immigrant communities' relatively new to the country (Pacione 2009, p. 130), people who have been born or brought up in the area are accustomed to being viewed and judged from the outside. Alongside more recent community protests about local conditions (Miller and Blakemore 1993; The Glasgow Story 2004), neighbourhood interventions have been driven by numerous other factors, from political lobbying and the positioning of the city on the national and international stage (McLay 1988, 1990), to mythologising around both the area and the people who live there. The most recent regeneration of the Gorbals may justifiably also be considered 'a showpiece', just as its predecessor the modernist Hutchesontown/Part Gorbals CDA was before it, with the 1990s development cited as an exemplar of delivering economic benefits through regeneration (Bailey et al. 2007; Thompson-Fawcett 2004, p. 183; Pinoncely 2016). However, as was the case

in the 1960s, the question of who might ultimately be the intended audience for that showpiece remains unclear.

In part, this is because changes to space have also meant change to population and place. Disentangling the confounding effects of population change is a persistent concern in terms of establishing causality between the regeneration and these positive outcomes (Pendlebury 2015). Within a lifespan, established residents have seen significant population outflow, followed by an influx of people, resulting in a radically changed socioeconomic profile within the neighbourhood. Disturbance and destruction of place might, at least partially, account for the intensity of negative feeling in relation to policy plans for replacing older housing and amenities with newer facilities in the case of both major redevelopments. Place has value beyond its function as a field of care, the site of interactions which offer identity, mutual support and recognition; distinctively, these sites are truly known from an experiential perspective and not readily recognisable to the outside spectator (Tuan 1977). There can be a disjuncture between community perspectives and the exigencies of the private sector or policy priorities. While, from viewpoints outwith the Gorbals, the disruption serves a greater long- or medium-term good, there can be insufficient recognition of how disrespectful and alienating the regeneration process can be; the prospect of new housing, retail or employment to come in the future is little comfort to people who feel they cannot control what is happening in their environment and have lost small but vital sites of social connection (Clark et al. 2016; Clark and Kearns 2017).

We would argue, based on the contextual analyses presented here, that to call any regeneration a genuine success requires a longer lens and wider field of vision than current practice allows. The way in which an intervention is conducted can have significant impacts on well-being, undermining residents' sense of status and control, and potentially eclipsing positive impacts that might otherwise be gained (Clark and Kearns 2012). Scanlon and colleagues (2010) note the need for qualitative research as a means of gaining insight into neighbourhood dynamics. Given the evident pitfalls of formal community engagement processes, this need is particularly important in areas experiencing intensive change. In order to investigate the ways in which resident experiences of history and changing urban geography combine in the formation of identity, sense of place and neighbourhood reputation (Robertson et al. 2008), the final phase of this project takes a narrative approach, gathering life histories (Wengraf 2001). Where possible, participants take part in walking interviews, which are a recognised means of encouraging residents to draw on memories and meaning, exploring the connections they make between place and changing spaces (Evans and Jones 2011). Taking, a priori, the position that regeneration should also ultimately serve the needs of the original resident community does not preclude alterations to the population profile of the area or the nature of business and amenities it can support. The research interrogates the idea of successful regeneration as part of changing history and geography, from the perspective of three groups of residents:

- Long-term Gorbals residents, including some who experienced the comprehensive redevelopment of the Gorbals in the 1960s;
- more recent arrivals, especially those who have located in the area as a result of regeneration;
- former residents, both those displaced by previous regeneration attempts and the recent redevelopment. We are especially interested in those who have maintained ties with the area, through relatives, friends or the 'virtual' spaces created by the internet.

After all, 'community' in the Gorbals has included being a haven for newcomers for much of its history.

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Chapter 4
Community-Led Social Housing Regeneration: From Government-Led Programmes to Community Initiatives

Pablo Sendra

Abstract Engaging communities in neighbourhood regeneration processes is vital for achieving inclusive cities, particularly when vulnerable groups belong to these communities. In the UK, different governments have implemented diverse strategies, funding schemes and approaches to social housing estates' regeneration, which have implied various degrees of involvement of the residents in decision-making processes. This paper explores the approaches to community participation in the regeneration of social housing neighbourhoods since 1997—when the New Labour won the general elections—until today. Within this period, it identifies two models: the government-led regeneration scheme New Deal for Communities implemented by the New Labour Government, which provided funding for intervening in deprived areas and which included representatives of the community in the decision-making board; and the Big Society approach implemented by the Coalition Government in the context of austerity, which advocates for a state-enabling approach and has changed the planning system to involve communities in decision-making. The paper explores how these two models have addressed the participation of residents in social housing regeneration. For doing so, it looks at the policy context and case studies in these two periods. The paper concludes that community participation needs easier processes, which do not require such a strong effort from community groups. It also concludes that both funding and support is needed to promote community engagement in regeneration processes, which can, first, serve as an incentive to be more actively involved in the regeneration of their neighbourhood, and second, do not rely on private investment for the improvement of council estates.

Keywords Social housing · Participation · Community engagement
Big society · Regeneration · Council estate · London

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4.1   Introduction

The regeneration of social housing estates has been a major concern both in academia and in planning practices for the last few decades. Most of the attention has focused mainly on those social housing neighbourhoods built between World War II and the 1970s, both in Europe and in the USA. These neighbourhoods were built in different political and socio-economic contexts depending on the country. Their location in the city also varied—for example, in Paris they were built mainly in the periphery, while in London many social housing estates were built in the inner city in places bombed during WWII or as part of the slum clearance process. The way governments have approached the regeneration or urban renewal of social housing has also varied from country to country and policies have been influenced by the context and the political inclination of the governments at each time (Couch et al. 2011). One of the key issues that central government and local authorities have attempted to address is the involvement of residents in the decision-making process for transforming their neighbourhoods. In many of the cases, in such neighbourhoods, there are groups at risk of exclusion. Participation and inclusion in the planning process is extremely relevant for these groups, to avoid displacement, to secure homes where social tenants can afford to pay the rent, and to make sure that regeneration brings opportunities to the residents. A critical concern is to ensure that regeneration does not have a negative impact on those deemed most at risk.

Since each country has a very particular context, this paper will focus on the United Kingdom. More specifically, it will focus on London, which has a very different situation in terms of housing demand and affordability than the rest of the UK. As Edwards (2016) explains, the rise of housing prices, the shrunk of social housing, the re-conceptualisation of the term 'affordable' based on market rents, and the growth of inequalities in London have made housing unaffordable for low and medium income people. The period of study will be since the victory of the New Labour political party in the 1997 general elections until today. In this period, the central government and the local authorities have approached public participation in planning in different ways. First, the involvement of citizens in urban regeneration schemes has been approached with different degrees of participation or steps on the participation 'ladder' (Arnstein 1969): from what Arnstein describes as 'degrees of tokenism' through consultation processes in Local Plans, to what Arnstein labels as 'degrees of citizen power' through their participation in the boards of the New Deal for Communities (NDC), or through encouraging citizen-led initiatives through the Big Society approach and the Localism Act 2011. Second, the approach to participation in social housing regeneration has also varied in the involvement of different actors—central government, local authorities, residents, private sector—in the decision-making process and in the sources of funding for different regeneration schemes.

Two episodes can be identified within the period of study. The first of these is the New Labour approach and its programme to regenerate deprived areas in the UK, which included many social housing estates. This programme provided large central government funding and also encouraged private investment in the regeneration process. The programme promoted community involvement by the inclusion of community representatives in the Partnership Boards, the decision-making organism (Beatty et al. 2008). The end of this programme coincided with the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, which was followed by the Coalition Government (Conservative Party and Liberal Democrats) after the 2010 general elections. One of the main flagships of the Conservative Party's campaign was the Big Society, a policy plan which proposed to give more power on decision-making to local communities and also move from the state-led approach of the welfare state to a 'state-enabling' approach (Bailey and Pill 2015), where communities participate in the delivery of services. However, this approach coincided with strong austerity measures, which cut government investment in improving and providing social housing. One of the main implementations of the Big Society approach was the Localism Act 2011, followed by the publication of the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), which changed the planning system, the Local Plan guidance and the Neighbourhood Plan (NP) regulations in 2012. Concerning the NPPF, it abolished the Regional Strategies outside of London, giving more powers to local authorities. Local Plans and Neighbourhood Plans must comply with it (DCLG 2012). Neighbourhood Planning is one of the key novelties in the new planning system, since it allows—in places where there are no parish councils—groups of residents to apply to the local authority for designation of a Neighbourhood Forum (NF) and create a statutory plan led by the neighbours. Through Neighbourhood Planning, communities can decide the kind of future developments they want in their neighbourhood, as long as they do not contradict the Local Plan. Neighbourhood Planning does not come together with large regeneration funds. The government provides small amounts of funding for producing the NP. It does not provide direct funding for implementing neighbourhood projects or improvements associated with a NP, but it provides an incentive through a share of the Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) coming from developments in the area for those communities that manage to get their NP approved by referendum (DCLG 2014).

In this current era of austerity, there are also other community-led initiatives, which are not carried out through Neighbourhood Planning or other planning tool introduced by the Localism Act 2011, where residents look for alternative sources of funding such as crowdfunding or fundraising to develop neighbourhood projects that improve their neighbourhoods. These initiatives vary in scale and scope. In neighbourhoods where residents have a strong capacity to self-organise and seek for funding, this can be an effective way to develop community-led initiatives without the necessity of making a NP.

If we look at the two models—the government-led regeneration schemes and the Big Society—from the social housing regeneration perspective, there is a clear shift in how participation is approached, on the role of residents, local authority, central government and the private sector, and on where the funding comes from. The aim of this paper is not to compare and evaluate these two models, but to study how they have addressed the involvement of residents in council estate regeneration in order to address the following question: How can local authorities—and the central government—provide tools, sources of funding and means to encourage and ease either the genuine involvement of residents or co-production processes in council estates regeneration?

4.2   Methodology

In addressing this question, this paper will study how the involvement of residents has taken place in three situations: first, it will look at the participation of residents in the Partnership Boards of the NDC, second, it will examine Neighbourhood Planning as a tool to propose a community-led estate regeneration plan, and third, it will explore other initiatives that have obtained other sources of funding to build a neighbourhood project to improve a council estate.

In doing so, each of the three sections will examine both policy context and cases of community involvement. The analysis of the policy context will explore how public participation has been approached in planning guidance, regulations and other documents. The analysis of cases of community involvement will examine strengths and weaknesses in the process. For the NDC, it will look at the two NDC areas with different outputs: the Aylesbury Estate in South London, which found strong opposition from the residents, and EC1, a series of social housing neighbourhoods in Central London where significant improvement in the public realm and community spaces were carried out. For examining Neighbourhood Planning, it will use Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum (GCNF) as case study, a council estate in East London that is trying to avoid demolition by putting together a NP that proposes refurbishment and infill new homes. Sagoe (2016) has explored the 'political potential' of Neighbourhood Planning to stop government-led urban renewal in the case of GCNF. This section of the paper, by looking at information collected from the Local Plan and other planning documents, from the recently published draft of the NP, from the websites of the local authority and of GCNF—and also building on Sagoe's (2016) reflection—will examine the public participation mechanisms in the current planning system to propose a community-led council estate regeneration plan. Finally, the paper will also analyse cases where communities have raised funding to propose and implement a project to improve the neighbourhood led by the residents. It will look at the Ebony Horse Riding Club next to Loughborough Estate in South London and at the community-led restoration of the park in Alexandra Road Estate in North London.

4.3 New Deal for Communities

During the post-war period and until the 1970s, a great number of social housing neighbourhoods were built by local authorities as part of the welfare programme, which aimed to provide housing and health care for everyone. When Margaret Thatcher came to power in the 1979, there was a change in approach to urban regeneration (Couch et al. 2011) and provision of local authority housing almost stopped (Edwards 2016). As Jacobs and Lees (2013) discuss, Thatcher's approach to the regeneration of council estates focused on privatisation—through the Right to Buy, implemented in 1980—and was also influenced by Alice Coleman's book *Utopia on Trial: Vision and Reality in Planned Housing* (Coleman 1985), who had exported Newman's (1972) *Defensible Space* ideas for designing out crime to the UK. In the 1990s, under the following Conservative government, the regeneration approach of Area-Based Initiatives (ABI) was introduced through the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) in 1994 and lasted until 2004. The SRB aimed to bring more economic opportunities and improve deprived areas. It encouraged local partnerships between local authorities, the voluntary and the private sector to carry out regeneration projects. It introduced the competitive bidding system, in which any area in England could apply. It had a flexible approach, in which the partners decide the boundaries, the duration and the scope of the project (Tyler et al. 2007). The SRB approach had a strong influence in the NDC, later launched by the New Labour government in 1998, which also lasted for 10 years (Batty et al. 2010).

The victory of New Labour's Tony Blair in the 1997 general elections also had an impact on the approach to council estate regeneration. As Campkin (2013) describes, Blair's campaign had a strong focus on council estate regeneration. Blair gave his first speech as Prime Minister in the Aylesbury Estate, one of the neighbourhoods that will be later designated as one of the 39 areas in the NDC. The government saw the decline of council estates as a failure of previous Conservative governments, which, according to Blair's speech at the Aylesbury Estate, had forgotten the poorest people in the country for 18 years, and proposed the regeneration of these places.

The NDC programme was launched almost at the same time as the 'Urban Renaissance' proposed by the Urban Task Force (UTF) (UTF 1999). The government appointed a group of experts led by the architect Richard Rogers to set a new urban agenda that would influence development at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The UTF's report was strongly influenced by the success of Barcelona as a compact city—with high density and mix of uses—in the 1990s, which had had a strong leadership in the City Hall with Pasqual Maragall as Mayor and had invested in urban regeneration programmes. This was clearly reflected when the Royal Institute of British Architects awarded the Royal Gold Medal to the City of Barcelona, and also by the fact that Pasqual Maragall writes the foreword of the final report of the UTF. Its fifth chapter, 'Delivering urban regeneration', makes a series of recommendations for council estate regeneration process, which particularly looks at how the partners, the local authorities, private organisations,

partners and committees should coordinate in regeneration processes. It advocates for public spending and also for attracting private investment. The set of recommendations does not mention mechanisms for the community involvement in decision-making (UTF 1999). Chapter 4 on 'Managing the urban environment', addresses the importance of community involvement by proposing the neighbourhood management models 'which give local people a stake in decision-making process' (UTF 1999, p. 123).

The NDC ran between 1999/2000 and 2007/2008. It was also an ABI but, in this case, it targeted 39 deprived areas, investing an average of £50 million per area, with the aim of bridging the gap between these areas and the rest of the country. One of the key objectives of the NDC was to 'place the community "at the heart of" the initiative' (Batty et al. 2010, p. 5), highlighting the importance that this programme gave to the involvement of residents in regeneration processes. The final assessment of the NDC emphasises the effort of the partnerships to 'involve local people in the planning, design, delivery and review of their local programmes' (Batty et al. 2010, p. 32) and the representation of residents in the NDC boards. However, it also notes that only a small number of residents were directly involved in the decision-making process. Further, it explains that 'social capital indicators such as people thinking they can influence local decisions' (Batty et al. 2010, p. 28) did not improve. The report determines that this raises questions about the governance structures for participation, the influence that residents priorities should have on the allocation of resources, and the confrontation between views of residents and professionals (Batty et al. 2010). In general, the report affirms that community engagement is important and it requires 'consistency, dedication and commitment' (Batty et al. 2010, p. 33).

NDC Partnerships worked differently in each of the 39 areas and it is necessary and the involvement of the residents in the regeneration had different outputs. As the final report suggests, the involvement of residents has a very positive effect on how they feel about the regeneration scheme (Batty et al. 2010). The response of residents to the scheme also depends on whether the regeneration considers refurbishment or demolition. In the case of Aylesbury Estate NDC, the original NDC plan was the stock transfer from the council to a 'community-based housing association' and the demolition and redevelopment of the estate—based on how the council describes it in its report 'The Aylesbury Estate: Revised Strategy' (see LBS 2005). This would secure additional £400 m from the stock transfer in addition to the £52 m funding from the government. The residents rejected with a large majority this stock transfer and redevelopment scheme in a ballot were 73% of the residents voted against it and 73% turnout. In the council report to revise the strategy for the Aylesbury Estate (LBS 2005), a number of factors that caused residents to vote against the redevelopment were identified. These included perceptions that the campaign for redevelopment was weak, that the residents organised a campaign against the scheme, and that residents were concerned that the stock transfer would result in higher rents and service charges. Despite the result of the resident ballot, the council's revised strategy still consisted of a demolition and redevelopment approach (LBS 2005). The report showed figures indicating the

costs of refurbishment, presenting this option as non-viable and explaining that the only viable option is demolition and redevelopment.

This is just one of the 'chapters' of a long story of plans for redevelopment for the Aylesbury Estate (see 35% Campaign n.d.; Lees 2014; Campkin 2013). Much of the opposition to demolition comes from the fear of displacement. Lees (2016) has studied the negative effect that council estate demolition has on its residents, as she shows in the maps tracking the displacement of the residents. This displacement also affects the leaseholders, who go through a Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) and, with the compensation they receive for their home, they can no longer afford to buy a property in the area. In the case of Aylesbury Estate, this was challenged by a Public Inquiry by leaseholders and the Secretary of Estate of Communities and Local Government finally refused the council's application for CPO from the leaseholders in September 2016 because of the effect it would have on elderly, children and ethnic minority groups (Rendell 2017; 35% Campaign, n.d.) (Fig. 4.1).

There are other NDC programmes that have not contemplated redevelopment and have focused on other improvements of the built environment and on social programmes. The NDC EC1, in the fringe of Central London, is an example of an NDC programme where regeneration does not imply redevelopment but the refurbishment of homes, public spaces and community facilities. In addition to social programmes, the NDC included the improvement of public and communal

Fig. 4.1 Aylesbury Estate block from Burgess Park. September 2016. Image by the author

spaces of the area, community facilities, and making the existing houses safer and of better quality (LBI 2010). In their public space strategy, 'steering groups of residents and professionals were set up for each of the projects, and were involved throughout the whole process of consultation, design and delivery' (LBI 2010, p. 6). However, the final evaluation report by the council recognises that resident involvement was limited to the participation of some of them on the board, and that the projects 'could have widened participation by connecting more closely with a layer of active community members beyond those on the board' (LBI 2010, p. 8). The involvement of residents beyond their representation on boards is a major challenge on participation. As the final report of the NDC highlights (Batty et al. 2010), one of the difficulties of the NDC is how to engage actively a larger proportion of the population on the regeneration scheme.

4.4 Neighbourhood Planning and Council Estate Regeneration

This section will analyse the policy context after the Coalition Government came to power in the 2010 elections and examine the strengths and limitations of Neighbourhood Planning as a tool for community-led social housing regeneration. The end of the NDC programme coincided with the 2008 Global Financial Crisis and with the Coalition Government after the 2010 general elections. One of the flagships of the Conservative Party's campaign for the elections was the Big Society, which changed the state-led approach from 1993 to 2010 to the 'state-enabling' approach after 2010 (Bailey and Pill 2015). The Coalition Government also implemented the localism agenda, which aimed to give more power to local authorities. This localism agenda came together with severe austerity measures, which decreased considerably government funding in council estate regeneration and cancelled ABI programmes such as the NDC (Lupton and Fitzgerald 2015).

Since ABI programmes finished in 2010, local authorities were in charge of carrying out—and seeking funding for—council estate regeneration schemes. This lack of funding from central government has been used on multiple occasions by local authorities to explain why refurbishment options are not viable, resulting in the need to find other solutions for the provision of social and affordable housing, such as selling the land to private developers or creating special purpose vehicle companies owned by the council to carry out regeneration and redevelopment schemes.

The Localism Act 2011 is the implementation of the Big Society and localism approaches. It offers local authorities more control over development through the abolition of Regional Strategies (except the London Plan) as well as wider community involvement through Neighbourhood Planning, a new planning framework through which communities can create a statutory plan that guides future developments in their neighbourhood (Locality 2016).

An NP coming into force needs to go through a series of stages. When there is no Parish Council, which is most of the cases in Greater London, community groups have to decide the boundaries of the Neighbourhood Area and apply to the local authority for the designation of the Neighbourhood Area and Neighbourhood Forum (Locality 2016). Once it is designated, the Forum develops the NP and submits it to the local authority. After being checked by the local authority and going through independent examination, the NP goes to referendum. If it is approved by a majority over 50%, it is brought into force and becomes a statutory planning framework (Locality 2016).

Neighbourhood Planning has the potential to bring wider community participation. However, there are some difficulties when Neighbourhood Planning is used as a tool for putting together a community-led plan for council estate regeneration based on refurbishment and infill, particularly when this is different from the council's objectives (see Sagoe 2016). Among the obstacles that residents can find in the process, there are three important difficulties. First, it needs high levels of self-organisation, commitment by residents and can be found as a 'burdensome' process (Parker et al. 2014; referenced in Civil Exchange 2015). This difficulty can particularly affect council estate residents, since they can have fewer resources than others to carry out this process. Second, the NP cannot contradict or oppose the Local Plan. In the case of council estate regeneration, if the local authority is planning to demolish and redevelop a council estate, it is very difficult for residents to oppose this and propose an alternative plan based on refurbishment and infill homes. Local authorities make decisions on the designation of Neighbourhood Forums and Neighbourhood Areas, in cases where there is no parish council, as it happens in most places in London, and also check the NP once this is submitted. Third, if the NP is finally brought into force, the funding for implementing it depends on the new developments that take place in the area. Currently, the central government provides funding for encouraging the creation of NPs and for developing it. However, for delivering the public infrastructure or improvements in the neighbourhood, there is not a large pot of funding from the central government as was the case in ABIs like SRB or the NDC. Instead, communities that manage to bring a NP into force receive 25% or the CIL arising from developments in their area (DCLG 2014). This approach means that the funding for implement the NP is subject to the amount of development that takes place in the area.

One council estate that is currently using Neighbourhood Planning as a tool to resist demolition, proposing an alternative plan based on refurbishment and infill, is the Carpenters Estate. This is located in the London Borough of Newham (LBN), in East London, at the border of the Olympic Park. The council estate has been subject to demolition and redevelopment since 2011, when LBN and University College London (UCL) announced a memorandum of understanding to build the UCL East Campus in the area of the council estate (Frediani et al. 2013). UCL decided to withdraw the intention to build the east campus in the Carpenters site in 2013. A group of residents who campaigned against the demolition of the estate started working together with businesses, Just Space (a network of community organisations), the London Tenants Federation, and UCL academics and students to put

together a community plan (JSEP 2015). After this, the group decided to continue working together to put together a NP.

The Carpenters Estate is in a particular situation, since the land is owned by Newham council but, since 2012, its planning authority is the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC). This means that developments must be done according to the LLDC Local Plan. As a result of this situation, the residents successfully applied for designation of the Neighbourhood Forum and Area to the LLDC and formed the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum (GCNF), which includes a larger area than the council estate. As Sagoe reflects, neighbourhood planning can give more decision-making power to communities when it is done 'alongside other methods which pressure local authorities into making their housing plans congruent with community housing visions for their neighbourhood' (Sagoe 2016, p.13). In the case of GCNF, their participation in the consultation process for the LLDC Local Plan has been key in the process, since they have managed to introduce amendments in the LLDC Local Plan for 'protecting existing housing stock' (LLDC 2014, p. 44) as part of the housing strategy and other amendments to the Site Allocation for Greater Carpenters, which includes 'support of the preparation of a Neighbourhood Plan' (LLDC 2015, p. 2).

At the time of writing, they have produced a draft of a NP for consultation in October 2017 (GCNF 2017). In parallel, Newham council is seeking for partners to redevelop the estate (LBN 2017). These two initiatives, the one led by GCNF and the one led by Newham council, seem to confront, since one is proposing redevelopment and the other one refurbishment and sensitive infill. The future seems uncertain, which makes it an interesting case to follow in order to explore whether this can finally lead to a truly community-led plan for social housing regeneration.

4.5   Civic Entrepreneurship in Council Estate Regeneration

This section will explore cases where community groups, in the current context of austerity, have raised funding to develop their initiatives in council estates. The post-2008 Global Financial Crisis and the austerity measures coincided with the emergence of what has been named as the 'civic economy' (00:/2011). The civic economy describes when individuals, communities and other groups come together to co-produce public spaces, community facilities or improve the local economy. It is not accurate to say that this has come as a response to the Global Financial Crisis, to the austerity measures nor to the Big Society approach; this approach, of civic entrepreneurship, came from before the economic crisis (00:/2011). These kinds of initiatives can have different scales. In some cases, they are small interventions that then have strong impact (see Alanís Arroyo et al. 2015) and have the potential to become larger initiatives. One of their characteristics is that their outputs are tangible—whether they are physical and/or social—and this can motivate to further change.

These kinds of initiatives work in a different way from the planning framework proposed by the Localism Act 2011. As discussed, Neighbourhood Planning can be a difficult and long process (Parker et al. 2014; referenced in Civil Exchange 2015). And once the NP is brought forward—in many cases with substantial modifications by examiners (Parker et al. 2017)—the funding for implementing it will depend on developments taking place in the area. In contrast, other civic initiatives that have not used this planning framework work on mid-term tangible outputs, on specific projects. This does not mean that both approaches are incompatible. These civic initiatives can work together or form part of a long-term vision and could be combined in some cases with a NP.

Civic initiatives to implement improvements in the public spaces, services or community facilities are funded through different kinds of sources. In some cases, the funding can be raised through a time-limited crowdfunding campaign, such as the ones run by the platform Spacehive, where projects need to raise a minimum target in a limited period of time to be successful, or other fundraising online platforms, where there is not a limit of time, and funding is continuously collected to start or maintain a project. In other cases, community initiatives can apply to bigger funding schemes to deliver specific projects in their neighbourhoods.

Public authorities have seen this as an opportunity to promote civic engagement and to provide small funding to encourage these initiatives. An example of this is the Mayor of London Crowdfunding Initiative, now rebranded as Crowdfund London, done in partnership with the platform Spacehive (see Spacehive n.d.). This initiative is to fund community projects and civic initiatives with an output, and the Mayor of London pledges with up to £50k the proposals (based on their criteria, which includes quality of the proposal, deliverability, value for money and strength of support), and this adds to the money raised by other donations through the platform.

The question remains as to whether these kinds of civic projects can be done within the context of council estate regeneration. The Big Society has been criticised for leaving behind the most disadvantaged (Civil Exchange 2015), which is a further outcome of cuts in public services. This chapter does not present civic entrepreneurship and fundraising run by the community as the way to fund council estate regeneration, but presents examples with positive outcomes that can help to understand how community-led projects can work to improve neighbourhoods.

The Ebony Horse Club, although it cannot be described as council estate regeneration, is an example of a community project that starts at a council estate youth club, becomes a charity and manages to build horse riding club in the park next to a council estate in Brixton, South London. The initiative started by providing horse riding activities for young people in the youth club of Moorland Estate in Brixton (see Jardine 2010; Brixton Pound 2015; Ebony Horse Club n.d.), taking young people to ride horses in a stable in Kennington. This initiative was later turned into a charity named Ebony Horse Club. The charity got planning permission to build its own horse riding club in Wyck Gardens, which next to Loughborough Estate, also in Brixton. While they were raising funds for building their facilities, they had their office in the community centre of Loughborough Estate. They raised

£1.6 m through a strong fundraising campaign, awards and different funding sources (see Jardine 2010; Brixton Pound 2015). In 2011, they opened their new premises near Loughborough Estate. Since then, young children for the area have the opportunity to practice horse riding and this is having a very positive impact in young people, since provide support them, work with them on their aspirations and on their social relationships (Brixton Pound 2015). It has also had a positive impact on Wyck Gardens, where horse riding takes place, more activities happen in the public realm. This case is a project with very tangible outputs, both physical and social: Wyck Gardens has a new amenity and activities, and, in addition to this, it is providing support and leisure to young people in the area. Although it is not directly a regeneration strategy for Loughborough Estate, it has a positive impact on its built environment and on its young people (Fig. 4.2).

Alexandra Road Park is a case of improvements on a council estate initiated by residents. Alexandra Road Estate is a council estate located in the London Borough of Camden. It has a very particular situation, since the estate is Grade II* Listed. Its listing, in 1994, was the result of an initiative from a resident of the estate and it was the first modernist housing estate to be listed (Alexandra and Ainsworth Estate TRA n.d.). More recently, in 2010, a group of residents decided to apply to Heritage Lottery Fund 'Parks for People' programme for the restoration of the park (Friends of Alexandra Road Park n.d.). The application process was in two stages:

Fig. 4.2 Ebony Horse Club and a block of Loughborough Estate. August 2012. Image by the author

on the first stage they applied for funding for developing the plan and design, and in the second phase they applied for funding for carrying out the restoration of the park. After working in collaboration with Camden council and with the project team, they managed to get the funding to restore the park in 2013 and the restored park was opened in 2015. The restoration consisted on 'new purpose made playgrounds', 'restoring all the paths' and 'revitalising the planting with new plants, shrubs and trees' (Friends of Alexandra Road Park n.d.). These resident-led initiatives have allowed to keep the estate in its original form and has also allowed to apply for funding for refurbishment. The fact that the building is listed has protected it from demolition and any kind of alteration. As their website explains, the initiative to list it came from the residents' dissatisfaction with the maintenance of the estate. Then, its heritage value has allowed the residents to obtain Heritage Lottery Fund to restore one of its public spaces. Although this is again a very specific situation—a building with an iconic architecture that manages to be listed—it is nevertheless a good example on how community initiatives can bring improvements to a council estate (Fig. 4.3).
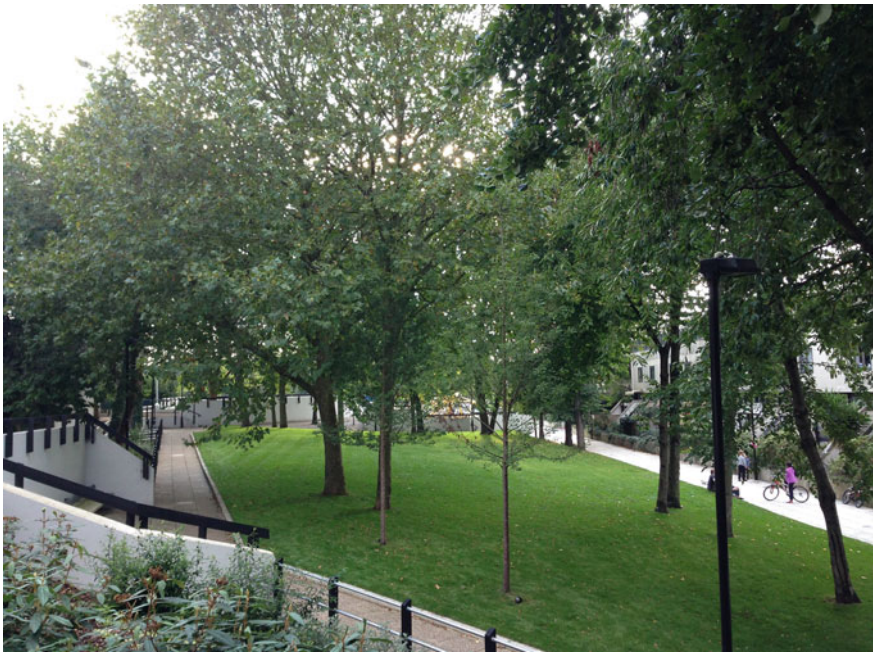

Fig. 4.3 Alexandra Road Park. September 2015. Image by the author

4.6   Conclusions

This chapter has looked at how the central government and local authorities have provided tools and sources of funding to encourage the involvement of residents in council estate regeneration, looking at the NDC programme during the New Labour government, Neighbourhood Planning, and other community initiatives that have fundraised to build their neighbourhood project.

Regarding the participation and community involvement mechanisms, the NDC introduced the representation of residents in the partnership boards. This guaranteed a certain degree of community involvement. However, it limited the participation of those in the board and did not succeed in involving actively a large proportion the communities. In cases like the Aylesbury Estate, where residents felt the redevelopment could involve displacement or higher rents, it created conflictive visions between the residents and the council. Neighbourhood Planning, in principle, is community-led and residents can guide the future of their neighbourhood. However, there are substantial limitations: first, it cannot contradict the Local Plan, which means it is difficult to stop the council from redeveloping a council estate. However, residents can participate in the consultation process of the Local Plan and have a say on how the Local Plan addresses their neighbourhood. Second, Neighbourhood Planning is a long and difficult process, which requires high levels of commitment from the neighbours. Regarding other community initiatives that raise funding to build projects which improve their council estate, such as the cases of Ebony Horse Club and Alexandra Road Park, they do not have the constraints of Neighbourhood Planning. However, communities need high levels of self-organisation, to raise funding, apply for planning permission, and collaborate with the landowner, (normally the local authority) to deliver the project.

The funding model also varies in the three situations studied. Under the NDC, there was large funding available from the central government, which was a good incentive for regeneration and for supporting partnerships with local authorities, private and voluntary sectors. However, this funding only targeted 39 areas, while there were many other areas and council estates which also needed funding for regeneration (UTF 1999). For Neighbourhood Planning, there is a small amount of funding to assist with putting together the NP. However, the funding for implementing the plan depends on the amount of development in the area. In the case of community initiatives for projects in the estate, the sources of funding are fundraising campaigns, as in the case of Ebony Horse Club, or specific schemes for funding, like the case of Alexandra Road Park.

From the cases studied, it can be concluded that community participation needs easier processes, which do not require such a strong effort from community groups, and which do not require a long process to see the first tangible outputs. For council estates, particular support is needed to encourage the residents to be actively involved in the process and avoid regeneration processes that cause displacement or negative impacts on its residents. It is also necessary to have funding sources that specifically target these communities. This support and funding sources can, first,

serve as an incentive to be more actively involved in the regeneration of their neighbourhood, and second, do not rely on private investment and development for the improvement of council estates.

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Chapter 5
Gentrification in South Africa: The 'Forgotten Voices' of the Displaced in the Inner City of Johannesburg

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Abstract Gentrification is a contentious form of urban regeneration as it has been associated with class conflicts and the displacement of working-class residents. However, with the evolution and intensification of gentrification, its once clear-cut ties to displacement have been obscured and displacement is now often denied and contested in the literature. Indeed displacement has declined as a research question and as a defining feature of gentrification. Furthermore, a number of recent studies have provided quantitative evidence of the limited extent of displacement and have questioned whether low-income residents are indeed displaced and whether gentrification is detrimental to the poor. However, these studies all share a particular understanding of gentrification-induced displacement as a process primarily concerned with the eviction of people from a certain area. However, displacement occurs via a number of other processes and in this study, Marcuses's conceptualisation of displacement is used in exploring the experiences of displacement of inner-city residents in Johannesburg, South Africa, where gentrification processes are emerging. A qualitative approach was used in uncovering the experiences of working-class residents living in gentrifying areas, as well as those who have been excluded or physically displaced by gentrification processes. The findings of the research suggest that although gentrification is a relatively new phenomenon in South Africa, it has the potential to displace many poor inner-city residents, who may not necessarily gain access to alternative, affordable housing.

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5.1 Introduction

What was once viewed as a problem, gentrification, referring to 'the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential or commercial use' (Lees et al. 2010, p. xv), is increasingly being perceived as a potential urban renewal solution (Davidson 2008) for decaying and disinvested inner-city areas. Indeed, gentrification has shifted from being 'a marginal event in a few local markets of global cities to a systematic, comprehensive policy for city-building' (Smith 2008, p. 196). However, while the process may lead to reinvestment and renovation in inner-city areas, gentrification is at the same time also associated with evictions, homelessness and the displacement of people (Slater 2005).

However, debates on gentrification can be marked by a relative absence of displacement (Davidson 2009; Wacquant 2008). Moreover, displacement has been downplayed or in some cases denied in a number of studies due to a lack of quantitative evidence (Freeman and Braconi 2002, 2004; McKinnish et al. 2008; Vigdor 2002). This has led to a new questioning of whether contemporary forms of gentrification produce significant displacement (Davidson and Lees 2010) and thus there have been calls for a reinvigoration of research into gentrification-induced displacement (Van Criekengen 2008).

One of the reasons why attention has been steered away from displacement associated with gentrification is that researchers (such as Caulfield 1994; Hamnett 2003; Rofe 2003) have tended to focus on the middle-class gentrifiers, rather than on the experiences of working-class residents living in gentrifying inner-city areas and those who have been excluded or physically displaced by gentrification processes (Doucet 2009; Murdie and Texeira 2011; Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Slater 2006, 2009; Slater et al. 2004; Wacquant 2008; Watt 2008). A more holistic understanding of gentrification can be achieved by including the views of a broader range of people who are involved and are affected by the process. Therefore, more empirical evidence is needed to understand the perspectives of long-time inner-city residents (Doucet 2009; Slater 2006; Watt 2008).

Furthermore, much of the research on gentrification has focussed on cities in the Global North (Harris 2008; Lees 2011, 2014) and there has been little discussion on how gentrification might play out differently in cities of the Global South (Lees 2011). Southern cities are often assumed to be essentially an elaboration of the Anglo-American model of gentrification (Bishop et al. 2003) but cities in the post-colonial world are producing new forms of urbanism which do not necessarily imitate Anglo-American experiences of gentrification (Bishop et al. 2003; Lees 2011). This is especially so in South Africa, where changes in the urban environment took place within the context of the sociopolitical transformation of the country. Therefore, according to Harris (2008), there is a need to learn from these new forms and processes of gentrification in previously peripheral cities of the world, rather than exporting Anglo-American understandings of the process.

In Johannesburg, western and non-western ideas of city development are interwoven, as the city has the informality, disorderliness, riskiness and low-income

groups of the African city, as well as the formal, sanitised, western, white city (Lees 2014). However, in contrast to most other cities in the Global South, the state is supplying housing for low-income people. Therefore, the regeneration of the inner city of Johannesburg includes both the more formal, western city ideas of development, as well as that of the informal, African city. These factors make Johannesburg an important site for distinctively African forms of modernity and urbanism to arise (Lees 2014; Mbembe and Nuttall 2008).

In light of the above, the study on which this chapter is based, explored inner-city residents' experiences of displacement in the Maboneng Precinct in the inner city of Johannesburg, South Africa, where gentrification processes have emerged since the late 2000s. The precinct has been developed on a previous brownfield site and old, office, warehouse and industrial buildings have been repurposed and redeveloped into work, leisure, retail and residential spaces.

Despite attempts to counter standard gentrification processes in the inner city of Johannesburg, which tend to marginalise the poor, inner-city residents have been evicted from buildings often without access to alternative accommodation (Clarke and Tissington 2013; Murray 2008; Sujee and Thobakgale 2014; Walsh 2013). However, these displaced residents are often the 'forgotten protagonists in the story' (Walsh 2013, p. 405), as the human dimension of urban renewal processes, in particular the social costs of gentrification, has largely been overlooked by researchers (Serino 2015).

Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to describe the lived experiences of people displaced from gentrifying inner-city areas in Johannesburg, in order to contribute to a better understanding of displacement associated with gentrification and to highlight the plight of those most deeply affected by the process. First, the conceptualisation of displacement that informed the study will be discussed and then the methodological approach that was used will be described. Following this, the urban renewal strategies that have been utilised in the inner city of Johannesburg will be outlined. The way in which gentrification is unfolding in the Maboneng Precinct is then discussed. Finally, the experiences of inner-city residents who have been physically displaced and those who have experienced displacement whilst living and/or working in the Maboneng Precinct are described.

5.2   Conceptualising Displacement Associated with Gentrification

Displacement was an important feature of early gentrification research (Slater et al. 2004) in terms of how the process was defined (Grier and Grier 1978); how it was measured (Schill and Nathan 1983); and how it was vital to a fuller understanding of the entire process (LeGates and Hartman 1986; Marcuse 1985). However, with the evolution and the intensification of the process of gentrification, its once clear-cut ties to displacement have been obscured (Wyly et al. 2010). Furthermore, according to Slater (2008), displacement has now been denied and contested, rather

than being documented and contemplated as it was in the 1980s. Watt (2008, p. 206) remarked that there has been a 'displacement of displacement' from the literature on gentrification and many researchers now view displacement 'as an important contingent relation, rather than a fundamental necessary relation' (Wyly et al. 2010, p. 2603).

Part of the reason for this is the methodological challenges of estimating the scope and the scale of displacement and exploring what happens to people who have been displaced or who are living under the risk of eviction (Atkinson 2000; Newman and Wyly 2006; Slater 2006; Slater et al. 2004). Indeed, Atkinson (2000) likens it to 'measuring the invisible' (p. 163), as displaced residents are no longer where researchers go to look for them.

Past research that has downplayed or denied the existence of displacement (Freeman et al. 2002, 2004; McKinnish et al. 2008; Vigdor 2002), all share a particular understanding of the process where displacement is only concerned with the eviction of people from a certain area. Thus, the process is often reduced to the 'brief moment in time' (Davidson 2009, p. 400). However, according to Rérat et al. (2010), 'displacement is much more than the 'moment of spatial dislocation'; it is also the loss of place (loss of neighbourhood, community, family and home)' (p. 339). Therefore, there are a number of other ways in which individuals experience loss as a result of gentrification which cannot be overlooked (Davidson 2011).

According to Marcuse (1986) '[d]isplacement affects many more than those actually displaced at any given point' (p. 157). Therefore, researchers have argued for a broader conceptualisation of displacement (Davidson 2011; Marcuse 1985) which includes 'displacement from economic changes, physical changes, neighbourhood changes and individual unit changes' (Marcuse 1985, p. 208). Marcuse (1985) extended the work of Grier and Grier (1978) and LeGates and Hartman (1981) and conceptualised four types of displacement associated with gentrification processes (see Table 5.1).

More recently, Davidson (2008) argued that the under-conceptualisation of displacement conceals the many ways in which gentrification can induce 'the divesting of place' (p. 2389) through political, social and cultural neighbourhood changes, as well as through wider economic changes. Therefore, he argues that

Table 5.1 Marcuse's typology of displacement (after Marcuse 1985)

Type of displacement	Description
Direct last-resident displacement	Can be physical (e.g. when landlords cut off the electricity in a building); or economic (e.g. when tenants are evicted as a result of rent increases)
Direct chain displacement	Includes previous residents who were forced to move at an earlier stage in the physical deterioration of the building or earlier rent increases
Exclusionary displacement	Occurs when residents cannot obtain housing as the area has been gentrified or abandoned
Displacement pressure	Refers to the dispossession that poor and working-class people suffer during the transformation of their neighbourhoods

Table 5.2 Indirect forms of displacement (after Davidson 2008)

Type of displacement	Description
Indirect economic displacement	Occurs as a result of inflated housing prices
Community displacement	Occurs because of changes in place identity and neighbourhood governance
Neighbourhood resource displacement	Occurs via changing neighbourhood services and increasing 'out-of-placeness' of existing residents

there is a need to include these changes into our conceptualisation of displacement in order to understand the process more holistically (Davidson 2008). Consequently, Davidson (2008) identified three general types of indirect displacement (see Table 5.2) by drawing upon and extending Marcuse's (1985) schema on displacement. His research was based upon gentrification in London, where 'new-build' developments along the Thames River had been established on brownfield sites and therefore long-time residents had not been directly displaced as a result of gentrification. Both Marcuse's (1985) and Davidson's (2008) conceptualisation of displacement was used in order to explore displacement associated with gentrification in the inner city of Johannesburg.

5.3 Methodological Approach

As there are few qualitative studies on displacement, a phenomenological approach was used to explore inner-city residents' experiences of displacement in an area undergoing gentrification. According to Davidson and Lees (2010), it is these 'emotional geographies' that provide the best evidence of displacement. Snowball sampling was used to locate and identify those residents who had been displaced to other parts of the city of Johannesburg. Contact was made with existing residents, community organisers and any other contacts that emerged during the course of the study, in order to trace displaced residents. In-depth interviews were conducted with people who had been physically displaced from the Maboneng Precinct. Informal conversations were also held with existing inner-city residents and people who worked in gentrifying areas to try and establish whether they had experienced any form of displacement.

5.4 Johannesburg's Inner City: A Place of Ruin and Renewal

The inner city of Johannesburg was the city's historic centre and its main employment node. Its location was preferred by large multi-national corporations and high-end retailers and their affluent clientele (Murray 2008). However, by the

late 1980s and the early 1990s, it became synonymous with 'crime and grime' and some of the most severe forms of urban deterioration and neglect (Murray 2008). This deterioration has been attributed to a number of complex and interrelated factors such as accelerated decentralisation in the 1970s, 'white flight' since the 1980s, institutional capital disinvestment and the suburbanisation of high-order service functions (Beavon 2005).

Following the dismantling of apartheid in the 1990s, the inner city was inundated by people who had previously been denied the right to live there because of the government's policies of segregation (Beavon 2005). Urban decay, crime, fear and informal economic activities resulted in white, middle-class people leaving the inner city of Johannesburg (Crankshaw and White 1995). By 1996, this once white, segregated space had only five per cent of its residents who were white (Crankshaw 1997). During this period, overcrowding, building hijackings, the emergence of slumlords, the non-payment of services, service delivery collapse and infrastructural neglect became prevalent in the area (Beavon 2005; Garner 2011).

The Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) was founded in 1992 by various inner-city organisations and the private sector (Garner 2011). The CJP's mandate was to explore local and international best practices in urban renewal and it adopted the North American 'Business Improvement District' (BID) concept. In the mid-1990s, the first BID in South Africa, under the name of the City Improvement District (CID), was established in the inner city of Johannesburg, in order to upgrade and manage public spaces within the area. Levies paid by property owners within the CIDs were used to provide services, such as security, landscaping, cleaning, marketing and park management (Bethlehem 2013). In conjunction with the Inner City Development Economic Development Strategy and the Inner City Spatial Framework, this signified the start of urban renewal initiatives in Johannesburg (Garner 2011).

In 2001, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) was formed and it was tasked specifically with the regeneration of the inner city. In addition, a 'precinct approach' was adopted to drive the process (Garner 2011), whereby urban renewal strategies were clustered around a theme such as culture (Newtown Precinct), education (Braamfontein Precinct), sport (Ellis Park Precinct) and health (Hillbrow Precinct).

Furthermore, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) hoped to further encourage the regeneration of the inner city through the Better Buildings Programme (BBP) whereby municipal arrears were written off on identified 'bad buildings' and ownership of these buildings were then transferred to the private sector for restoration (Winkler 2009). However, although the restoration of buildings was meant to take place 'in the interests of the whole community' (CoJ 2007, p. 49), the focus has been on the buildings rather than on the residents of those buildings (Murray 2008). As a result of the BBP, inner-city residents, of whom some are of the 'poorest and most vulnerable' in the city (Wilson and Du Plessis 2005, p. 3), were displaced from buildings that were deemed to be 'bad' as a result of health and safety risks (Winkler 2009).

Despite vast amounts of money that have been invested in urban renewal in Johannesburg, the process has occurred sporadically in the inner city and unlike cities in the Global North where gentrification has occurred over a large area, regeneration has occurred around 'a number of fortified enclaves which abut zones of blight and decay' (Murray 2008, p. 193). Instead of eradicating blight and decay, this fragmentary regeneration in the inner city has, according to Murray (2008), mainly displaced it, as people have been forced out of gentrifying areas to places which are not very different from their previous neighbourhoods.

Urban renewal in the inner city of Johannesburg cannot be attributed to a single source (Bremner 2000), as there are various actors (such as property developers, real-estate entrepreneurs, architects, designers, heritage advocates, journalists and city officials) involved in 'reshaping and reconfiguring the urban landscape in the spatial imaginary of a world class city' (Murray 2008, p. 194). Although the process is encouraged by government policy and the state has provided substantial tax incentives and the start-up capital for various projects in the inner city, it is today mainly driven by private capital (Murray 2008). This is particularly so in the Maboneng Precinct on the eastern edge of the inner city, where the development has mainly been spearheaded by a single development company, Propertuity.

5.5 The Process of Gentrification in the Maboneng Precinct

The regeneration of part of the old, dilapidated industrial quarter of City and Suburban and Jeppestown in the inner city of Johannesburg into what the developer envisioned as an 'integrated, mixed-use community' with 'mixed-income residential' spaces (Rees 2013, n.p.) began in 2008 when a 1930s art deco warehouse building was bought and converted into an arts-orientated complex, *Arts-on-Main* (Fig. 5.1). The development opened in 2009 and comprised of art galleries, artist studios, creative venues, offices, a restaurant and retail shops (Propertuity 2013). The precinct was named Maboneng, which means 'place of light' in the local language, *SeSotho*; because the developer wanted to create an 'enlightened community' (Propertuity 2016) of 'people who define themselves as being alternative on some level or not fitting squarely into the mainstream' (Wilhelm-Solomon 2012, n.p.).

The developers of the Maboneng Precinct drew on the experiences of other inner cities around the world which had undergone renewal and the design principles of New Urbanism. The focus has therefore been on green and sustainable design, with many of the existing features of the original buildings retained, while repurposing the old, industrial buildings into what the developers describe as 'hybrid architecture'. This is similar to other developments in global cities around the world, such as London and New York, where former industrial spaces had been converted into loft living spaces, stylish residences and trendy cafés and boutiques.

Indeed, the transformation of this urban space, as in other countries across the world, was hinged on Florida's (2005) notion of first attracting the 'creative class'

Fig. 5.1 The courtyard of the Arts-on-Main complex. Image by the author

in order to set the process in motion. The developer believed that artists and other creative people would be the 'catalysts for change' and that they would become the 'foundations of the community' of Maboneng (Pitman 2013, p. 20). Famous South African artists such as William Kentridge have established their studios in Maboneng which has in turn helped to attract other artists to the area.

The precinct was also intended to appeal to people who were looking for an alternative to living in the suburbs in Johannesburg and who had a desire for living in the inner city (Walsh 2013). However, in what essentially began as a form of 'arts gentrification', Maboneng is now attracting people from various occupations and age groups. In addition, *Market-on-Main*, a food and design market, draws hundreds of visitors and tourists to the precinct every Sunday. Many of these visitors are from middle-class suburbs in the north of Johannesburg, who in the past would never have come to the inner city because of its squalid conditions and its reputation for crime.

The residential offering in Maboneng ranged from studio apartments to luxury penthouses. The development attempts to cater for a range of income groups. In 2017, rentals started from R3 500 (USD 260) for a studio apartment to R22 000 (USD 1645) for a 185 m^2 penthouse in the recently completed *Hallmark House* (PrivateProperty website). Property prices in the precinct have doubled since its inception in 2009 (Parker 2015).

Public art is a key driver for place making in Maboneng, as in other parts of the inner city of Johannesburg (Bethlehem 2013). The developers commissioned giant art murals on the buildings in the precinct (Fig. 5.2) in order to engender a positive image of the inner city and to create a sense of place for its residents. These visual indications of 'regeneration in progress' were also meant for people to identify with

Fig. 5.2 A giant art mural on Remed's View building. Image by the author

these images as they differed from the city's existing buildings and public spaces which embodied Johannesburg's colonial and apartheid past (Garner 2011, p. 57).

However, the development of Maboneng was not driven by the spontaneous attempts of a few middle-class 'pioneers' to transform a working-class neighbourhood with affordable accommodation (Smith 1979), as has been observed in a number of cities in the Global North. Maboneng instead is a 'conscious creation of a new neighbourhood over an existing one' (Walsh 2013, p. 203) by mainly one private developer.

Initially, the developer's strategy was to buy up property incrementally in the inner city and during the first 5 years of development, 37 buildings were purchased within the area (Propertuity 2013) which helped to establish the boundaries of the development of the precinct (Propertuity 2016). Murray (2008) describes this as 'colonising the urban space piece by piece' (p. 196). By 2016, the Maboneng Precinct covered an area of approximately 1 km^2. However, the developer's focus has now shifted from the acquisition of buildings towards the densification of the neighbourhood, where new levels will be added to existing buildings (Propertuity 2016).

The precinct is, however, architecturally and socially distinct from the surrounding area of Jeppestown (Nevin 2014), where mainly poor working-class people live. The multi-million rand precinct with its colourful buildings, clean pavements and tree-lined streets is surrounded by buildings which lie in ruin and

Fig. 5.3 Buildings in ruin and neglect opposite the Maboneng Precinct. Image by the author

neglect (Fig. 5.3). Maboneng, therefore, represents what Berry (1985) so aptly described as an 'island' in 'seas of decay' (Berry 1985). Invisible boundaries further delineate Maboneng from the adjacent Jeppestown area. Security guards act as a 'living border' (Nevin 2014, p. 197) and monitor the area 24 h a day. Therefore, Maboneng resembles the affluent gated communities of northern Johannesburg more than the 'African' inner-city spaces that it surrounds (Nevin 2014).

5.6 Perceptions of the Maboneng Precinct

There was a perception amongst the participants of the study that the developers of Maboneng had changed the area for the better and the precinct was viewed in a positive light. Crime levels seemed to have decreased due to the increased security in the area. An assistant at a corner shop, that was not part of Propertuity's developments, commented on the changes that he had observed in the area:

> When I started working here, there were mostly firms and there was one building where people stayed at that was dark and dodgy. Crime was worse…but now there's lots of security.

Since the development of Maboneng, some of the existing shopkeepers in the surrounding area reported that their businesses had grown as a result of the increased number of people living in and visiting the area:

> Maboneng is good. We have lots of customers on the weekend. The shop is growing. The shops in Maboneng also buy things from us…cigarettes…like Marlboro.

Similarly, a bartender at a local sports bar also noted that sales at the bar had been boosted as a result of developments in Maboneng. According to him, the reason for this was that people who came to visit the precinct at the weekend, also sometimes supported the bar, as their drinks were much cheaper than the newer establishments in Maboneng:

> We are ordering more stock now than what we did in 2010…business has grown a lot since Maboneng. It is busy here especially at the weekends…People from different places come to see the area…

However, Maboneng has not been without controversy and some of the participants were not positive about the developments in the area. One resident highlighted the eviction of a group of people who were displaced to Soweto, a former black township on the periphery of Johannesburg:

> Many people are not happy here. They are poor and have no money. Many people complain about the developments in the area. People are told to move…they are given notice…like the empty building down the road…

Apart from the physical displacement of people in Maboneng, there are other indirect forms of displacement which are evident in the area, which will be discussed in the following section.

5.7 Forms of Displacement Operating in the Maboneng Precinct

The policy of the developer of Maboneng was not to evict people or to buy existing residential space (Reid 2014). However, despite these efforts to counter the negative effects of gentrification, both direct and indirect forms of displacement are in evidence in the precinct.

Direct physical displacement of residents from buildings in the area has taken place, without the evictees having access to alternative accommodation (Bauer 2013; Sujee and Thobakgale 2014; Walsh 2013). For example, at the end of 2012, a building had all of its residents forcibly removed by the 'Red Ants', a private security company which executes eviction notices on behalf of the owners of a building. Some of the residents had been living in the building for 13 years and with nowhere else to go, some of them had to seek refuge under a bridge, opposite the precinct (CALS 2013) (Fig. 5.4).

The building has recently been renovated and rebranded as *The Mainframe* (Fig. 5.5), offering 'stylish' loft apartments. The rent has increased more than 10-fold. Whereas residents had previously paid between R400 (USD 30) and R600 (USD 45) per month for a room in the building, the rental was now between R4500 (USD 336) to R6100 (USD 456) per month (Block20 Property Group website).

Fig. 5.4 A freeway on-ramp under which displacees sought refuge. Image by the author

Fig. 5.5 The Main Frame building. Image by the author

Despite some of the displacees expressing a desire to return to the building, this amount is clearly unaffordable for them. This is, therefore, an example of what Marcuse (1985) calls *exclusionary displacement*.

The high cost of the commodities at the new coffee shops, restaurants, bars and boutiques has prevented the residents from the surrounding Jeppestown from enjoying what was on offer in the precinct. As one of the participants put it:

> Maboneng…excludes me and most other people. It only accommodates a minority…people who have money.

Therefore, people from the surrounding community are economically excluded from Maboneng as it caters more for a middle-class clientele who can afford the expensive goods. Rees (2013) calls this 'economic apartheid' as people are excluded because of their socio-economic status.

Despite deliberate efforts by the developers to create an 'integrated' community, many of the participants felt that they did not belong in Maboneng and thus they felt socially and culturally excluded from the space:

> It was not for me…there were a lot of white people there.

Furthermore, one of the participants noted that the new developments in the precinct were distinct from the places that she was used to going to:

> I was not interested in going there. I only walked past there on my way to church. It is designed differently.

Therefore, the participants expressed a sense of alienation and disconnection as a result of the transformation of the built environment and also because the people who frequented the area were perceived to be different to them. Consequently, questions have been raised about the developer's claim that Maboneng is a place where people from different socio-economic backgrounds could live, work and play (Wilhelm-Solomon 2012).

As gentrification further expands in the area and businesses start to cater more and more for middle-class people, shops and meeting places that working-class residents usually support are at risk of being closed in the future. An assistant in a corner shop that sells local traditional food within the upgraded part of Maboneng reported that business had decreased over the years and that it was mainly people who worked at the light industries in the area who supported the business, as:

> … people from Maboneng prefer expensive tastes … not local tastes like the food sold in this shop.

In addition, one of the participants indicated that the building that he worked in was in the process of being sold; and he was at risk of losing his job as the shop he worked at would have to close down. He expressed a fear about the future:

> My life…I don't know what is going on…I will lose my job and I will be stranded. There will be no money for food or rent…

The building also houses a bar, hair salons and a general dealer shop which is mostly frequented by working-class people from the Jeppestown community. Davidson (2008) refers to the direct displacement of existing commercial tenants as *neighbourhood resource displacement*.

The *pressure of displacement* (Marcuse 1985) has manifested itself in a number of other ways in Maboneng. Inner-city residents in Johannesburg have recently started resisting gentrification in their neighbourhoods. For example, in 2015, hundreds of people were left homeless following evictions in Jeppestown (Nicolson 2015; Parker 2015). Residents marched through the streets in protest against the evictions, the lack of affordable housing and the recent changes in the area due to gentrification. Amidst burning tyres and hurling stones, protesters chanted: *We want to eat sushi in Maboneng* (Lupindo 2015). This was the protestors' response to their growing feelings of alienation and exclusion from the residential and commercial offerings of Maboneng. Furthermore, the residents viewed the developers of Maboneng as somehow to blame for their predicament, although they were not directly responsible for the evictions (Nicolson 2015). Community protests such as these are perhaps an indication of what is to come in the future if gentrification continues in the inner city without any regard for the housing needs of the poor in Johannesburg.

In the following section, the lived experiences of displacement of a group of people who were evicted from a disused, light industrial building that had been converted into a residential space in the precinct will be described.

5.8 Lived Experiences of Being Displaced as a Result of Gentrification

The participants had lived in a building in a street where a number of properties had been developed by Propertuity. At the time, the building that they had lived in did not form part of the developments of Maboneng. Occupation of the building was precarious as the residents had no security of tenure. They were not protected by a formal written lease, although they had a verbal agreement with a person whom they thought was the owner of the building. Subsequent to their eviction, the participants learnt that the building had been 'highjacked' and that it was owned by someone else.

Most of the participants had come from other provinces in South Africa, in search of a better life in Johannesburg. The inner city was regarded as a place where they could easily access job opportunities. The rental that the participants paid each month was affordable, with some of the residents having paid as little as R400 (USD 30) per month. There had also not been any significant rent increases over the years. However, despite regularly paying their rent, the participants were forcibly evicted from the building. This experience of being physically displaced was described by the participants in three broad themes, namely, the day they were evicted, the period of being homeless and their present situation.

5.8.1 The Day of the Eviction

The day the participants were evicted was described as being a very difficult and emotional time. They experienced a great sense of loss and feelings of injustice. One of the participants recounted her experience of the day of the eviction as follows:

> The police came and the Red Ants…at around 8:00 in the morning. They were corrupted cops. We refused to leave because they had not given us any notice. But we had to go because we had to follow our furniture out of the house. Some of our furniture was damaged and some was stolen. We were fighting with them 'til the evening. We called our loved ones. It was a very hectic day. We did not even have time to eat.

Some of the participants were so traumatised by the experience that they felt that their lives were at risk. They feared for the future as many of them had no other place to go to.

Sense of loss

For many of the participants, this had been the only home that they had known since moving to Johannesburg. They expressed a deep sense of loss; a loss of home and a loss of the only place that they were familiar with in the city.

The participants also experienced great material loss. Of the few material belongings that they possessed, much of it was damaged and that which was left

behind in the building, such as stoves and refrigerators, was stolen. One of the participants expressed that it was going to be hard to start all over again if she found another place to stay as she would have 'start from scratch'.

People's livelihoods were put at risk as a result of the eviction and for some of the participants, their livelihood strategies were destroyed, resulting in a severe loss of income. Several of the participants used multiple strategies for eking out a living in the inner city. For example, one of the women had operated a Daycare Centre at the building and some of the income that was generated from this business was used to buy beads to make traditional African necklaces and other adornments for special occasions. However, following the eviction, she solely relied on a government social grant, as she was no longer able to operate the Daycare Centre at her present residence.

Some of the participants experienced a loss of family and friends who went to live elsewhere following the eviction. Family and social bonds were disrupted and some of the participants expressed a desire for things to be the way that they were prior to the eviction. They longed to live with people again whom they felt they could trust and rely upon.

Feelings of injustice

Several of the participants expressed a deep sense of injustice in them being evicted without receiving prior notification and without being offered alternative accommodation. According to them, they were caught off-guard and many of them were at work or asleep at the time of the eviction. Furthermore, one of the participants felt that they had been treated unfairly as they had paid rent for the whole month but they were not reimbursed for the days that they had not live at the building as a result of the eviction. They were also not given any reason for why they were being forced to leave the building on the day of the eviction.

5.8.2   On Being Displaced and Homeless

Although the right to shelter is a basic human right, following the eviction, the residents were forced onto the streets. Some of them took shelter under a freeway on-ramp in Maboneng, while others went to stay with family and friends in the townships on the periphery of the city. Those who remained in the precinct were reluctant to leave the area as most of their belongings were still locked up in the building. The participants of the study were placed in a very vulnerable situation because they were rendered homeless and they felt humiliated because of this.

Vulnerability

A number of the displaced residents, who were now homeless, were of the most vulnerable in society: women, children and the elderly. They had no access to water, sanitation and electricity, and they were left exposed to the elements. The

women and children especially did not feel safe, particularly at night-time. Fortunately, they came no harm while they lived on the street.

Feelings of humiliation

Some of the participants articulated feelings of great humiliation and a loss of dignity because they were homeless. They also suffered a great amount of embarrassment as a result of their fate:

> It was embarrassing…Everyone was standing outside…laughing at us. Living there every day…it was not easy…I don't have confidence on the street …because I didn't have a place to stay…I was homeless.

One of the participants almost gave birth to her baby while living on the street. She was, however, later taken to a hospital where she gave birth. Out of humiliation and more particularly the fear of her newborn baby being taken away from her, she gave the nurse at the hospital her sister's address instead of telling her that she was homeless.

Family life disrupted

Being displaced was particularly difficult for families. Family units were broken up because children were sent to live with other family members, who lived in other provinces in South Africa, such as Kwazulu-Natal (KZN). For one of the participants, this was a particularly difficult time as her husband had also died during this period:

> Everything changed then. I sent the children back home to KZN. I had to take them there… I couldn't manage. It was also difficult to cope with my health. I couldn't take it anymore. I have three children…two boys and one girl. The girl is the last born…I cry every time I think about her. It's not easy being without her.

She also expressed a deep sense of longing for her family as she was on her own in Johannesburg.

5.8.3   Present Situation

Following approximately 2 months of living on the street, the participants of the study were relocated to a private shelter approximately three kilometres away from their previous residence. According to many of the participants, they presently live in physical conditions that are worse than in the building where they lived before. They are segregated on the basis of their gender at the shelter. Therefore, families live separately from one another as husbands and wives and their children live in separate dormitory-style rooms. Married couples complained of a lack of privacy and intimate time together at the shelter. One of the participants expressed that she felt estranged from her husband as a result of the living arrangements at the shelter.

Furthermore, the women and the children live in a windowless room without any natural light, while the men live in a room with two tiny windows close to the ceiling of the room. One of the participants described living in the shelter as follows:

> Sharing accommodation…is very hard. My BP goes up…there is a lot of noise…especially from the TV. I'm not sure if everyone understands. I am not sure how I should adapt to this situation. Hygiene-wise…it is also difficult. There are no windows and there is not much oxygen. In winter the likelihood of 'flu is very high. We only have cold water to wash ourselves with. It's a health hazard here.

The accommodation provided at the shelter was not designed for people to live in. It was meant to be a temporary arrangement lasting for only 72 h in order to assist those who were displaced, until they found a more suitable form of accommodation. However, more than 20 of them still lived at the shelter after a period of more than 4 years. The majority of the people who were evicted from the building have found alternative accommodation, although their whereabouts were not known.

For many of the participants, there was a sense of hopelessness and helplessness about the future. They felt that the City of Johannesburg had failed them as they have not been provided with suitable, affordable accommodation. Some, however, still had hope for the future:

> I wish for our own home so that all my children can come back. It is better if they all can come back. It is better if we are all together and we can all survive together.

5.9 Concluding Remarks

Although urban renewal strategies in the inner city of Johannesburg have previously been celebrated in the media, concerns are now being raised more and more about the social costs of these developments for the poor (Burke 2016; Ho 2017; Parker 2017), particularly those who cannot afford decent housing in the private residential market and those who are unable to access housing in social housing projects (Murray 2008). This is in contrast to the developer of Maboneng's view that '[d]isplacement is less an issue in Johannesburg because ample affordable housing is available to those who are displaced'. (Reid 2014, n.p.). The opposite actually holds true, as there is a serious shortage of low-cost rental accommodation and other forms of cheap accommodation in and around the inner city of Johannesburg (Murray 2008).

In addition, numerous forms of displacement are occurring in the inner city and as gentrification processes further transform this area and the desirability of the Maboneng Precinct increases; property prices will increase and more people will face the prospect of being displaced. Home and place are human needs (Tuan 1977) but for some of the former residents of gentrifying inner-city areas in Johannesburg, they have been denied the right to a home.

Direct spatial displacement has imposed substantial hardships on the participants of the study and the gentrification of spaces in Johannesburg, like Maboneng, is likely to create an environment that is hostile for those who are unable to afford to live there. More therefore needs to be done to include the 'voices' of existing inner-city residents in the planning of urban renewal projects. Moreover, resistance to gentrification in the form of protests is likely to escalate in the future unless increased efforts are made to provide affordable housing for the increasing numbers of urban poor who have called the inner-city 'home', since the dismantling of apartheid.

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Chapter 6
Market Modernization and the Sense of Place Lost in Transformation

Sungkyung Lee

Abstract Given the existing problems of shrinking traditional markets and declining commercial competitiveness in South Korea, hereafter referred to as Korea, the country's national agencies and local government have launched various market revitalization programmes to assist with modernizing market facilities and improving business management. The 2006 Jagalchi Market Modernization project is an example of facility modernization that entailed the redevelopment of an existing building in one of the most historic seafood markets in Busan Metropolitan City. Established during the Korean War (1950–1953) while Busan was the city with the most war refugees, the market is a significant historic place that is imbued with a unique culture created by the people who have sustained the market over the past 60 years. This chapter highlights the significance of the market's historical particularities and authentic sense of place, which are reflective of the people who have inhabited the marketplace. It also problematizes the outward-looking nature of the Jagalchi Market Modernization, which is represented by the architectural design of the new Jagalchi Market building and the street renovation project targeting outside visitors, and it discusses the unique sense of place that was either neglected or compromised during the process of market modernization.

Keywords Traditional market modernization · Urban design · Sense of place Collective place experience

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6.1   The Decline of Traditional Markets in Busan

The traditional marketplace has been an important part of the community and living environments in traditional Korean society. The primary function of the marketplace was commerce; however, it also served as an important social setting for leisure, information trading, and collective political actions (Park 2007). Often created spontaneously by surrounding communities, the traditional market evolved with the communities and their changing conditions. For instance, the close relationship between the traditional market and its related communities is exemplified in the common process of transforming a 5-day interval market into a permanent marketplace. Typically, a traditional market begins as a 5-day interval market that is held temporarily on a street located close to the residential areas in a small community. The point at which the temporary venue becomes a permanent marketplace is determined by how much the community grows in terms of its population size and its capacity to exchange merchandise (Kim 2007b). Once the marketplace becomes a stable part of the community, it functions as a designated commercial area that attracts external merchants and outsiders, who bring goods from other regions. In addition, the traditional marketplace serves as one of the most important social platforms upon which a unique community culture is created by mixing various merchandise, people, and knowledge from different communities in the traditional Korean society.

Busan has 216 traditional markets with a total of 44,702 vendors operating 28,451 different shops and businesses (Busan Metropolitan City's Traditional Market Situation Survey data 2015). However, the overall commercial competitiveness of the traditional markets is in decline across the city, and this problem has been prevalent nationwide. While numerous different factors contribute to the problematic situation in the city, the very nature of the businesses operating in the traditional market is a major internal factor: The disadvantageous conditions of the traditional market for the businesspeople and customers are influenced by its small-scale businesses, outdated store facilities, family-oriented business management and general hygiene issues. However, the more fundamental causes of the decline are external to the conditions of the traditional market. In the case of Busan, the external factors are directly related to the broader socioeconomic conditions associated with urban development and expansion fuelled by the rapid economic development that has been occurring since the 1960s. Specific external factors that contribute to the shrinking traditional market include the loss of the traditional neighbourhood space, which was structured around a village and streets; the development of new commercial districts, which are economically more competitive than the traditional market and the reorganization of merchandise distribution, which has been led by major retailers, department stores and large discount stores since the 1990s (Kim 2007a; Park 2007).
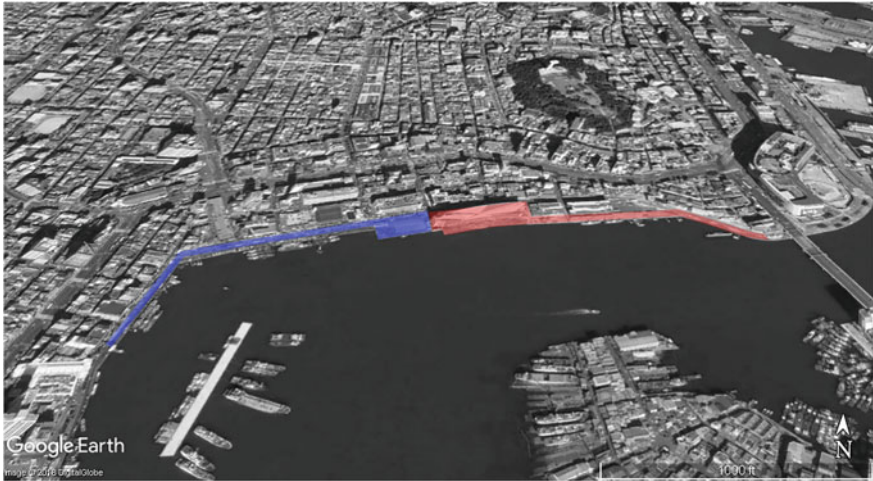
Fig. 6.1 Areas influenced by the Jagalchi Market modernization (in red) on the main market street (in blue). (Aerial map: courtesy of Google Earth)

6.2 The Jagalchi Fish Market Modernization

In response to the shrinking traditional market and its declining commercial competitiveness, the city and national agencies have launched subsidy programmes to help revitalize traditional markets through facility modernization, business management innovation and small-scale environmental improvement. With regard to facility modernization, the types of projects supported by these programmes have focused on improving basic market facilities and fundamental market infrastructure, including public restrooms and parking spaces. There has also been street renovation, the installation of an arcade and the establishment of a water and sewage treatment facility service. In comparison to the scale of the average facility modernization projects, the scope of the Jagalchi Fish Market modernization in 2006 was unprecedented in the city, as it entailed the redevelopment of an existing market building and the surrounding streets in one of the most historic seafood markets in the city (Fig. 6.1). Established during the Korean War (1950–1953) through street vending, the Jagalchi Fish Market area is defined by the fact that the street vendors and stores stretch across several blocks along a narrow coastal street in Nampo-dong. In the past, the marketplace served as an important commercial and social space for war refugees; however, today, the market's main user group is the working class. The market also attracts numerous tourists, who are interested in experiencing an authentic traditional market, learning about the history and culture of the place cultivated by the marketers, or visiting the new market building named the Jagalchi Market.

The building was a redevelopment of an existing structure called the Jagalchi Fish and Shellfish Treatment Facility. The three-storey building provided a total

floor space of 9,240 m^2, the majority of which was used as store spaces for vendors. The building housed approximately 500 vendors and their seafood retail businesses and restaurants (Hong 2010). After 30 years of use, the building was demolished in 2001 due primarily to its structural instability, and the redevelopment was set in motion by the vendors and the city. Construction of the new Jagalchi Market building was completed in 2006. The seven-storey building offers a total floor space of 25,910 m^2 and more diverse space programmes (Hong 2010). Within the building, only the first two floors are used for seafood retail businesses. All the vendors who used to work in the old building have been relocated to the stores between these two floors and have continued their businesses in the new building. The rest of the building spaces between the third and seventh floors are used to accommodate a mixture of leisure and commercial businesses and services, such as art galleries, offices, a lodging service, restaurants, cafes, a rooftop observatory and public resting areas. The building space has been set up in such a way that people can find everything from shopping and eating places to lodging without leaving the building. This type of space programming, which creates a one-stop-for-all destination, has been adopted by numerous department stores in Korea to enhance their commercial competitiveness. The same motivation is applicable to the Jagalchi Market building. This diversified space programme, which offers a variety of stores, leisure services, and public amenities in the new building, is also intended to help generate more economic profit by increasing the concentration of people from shoppers to tourists and the time which they spend in the building.

6.3 The Issue of Universality in Building Design

In addition to the diversified interior space programme, the architectural design of the Jagalchi Market building distinguishes it from the old building and the other existing buildings in the marketplace. The completion of the seven-storey modern building, its eye-catching architectural design, and the physical environmental improvement brought to the marketplace as a result of the market modernization have contributed significantly to forming a sense of place that differs from that of the original marketplace. Well-defined buildings, streets and other structures play an important role in forming place identity. The quality of the built environment and the visual experiences which it offers not only influence people's experience perception of the place but also enhance its memorability and may even help people understand the structure of the surrounding environment to enable easy wayfinding (Lynch 1960; Cullen 1961; Strauss 1976). In the case of the Jagalchi Market building, the eye-catching modern design and the size of the building, which is noticeably larger than the other buildings in the surrounding area, naturally make the architecture a dominant visual landmark (Fig. 6.2). In fact, actual images of the building are frequently featured on the city's website, in official tourism pamphlets, and in articles published in local newspapers. In such cases, the images are used either as a visual reference to the marketplace or as a marketing aid to attract outside visitors

Fig. 6.2 The exterior design of the Jagalchi Market building

and promote tourism. The majority of the time, the picture that is used has been taken from a distance and features a particular side of the building. This way, it can show the building's most conspicuous design elements on the facade facing the ocean.

The facade features three giant V-shaped forms decorating the entire building surface and forming the roof of the building. These V-shaped forms symbolize seagulls, which are the city's official bird and represent the spirit of the people of Busan. Each form figuratively expresses a bird taking off from the land, soaring high, and gliding in the sky. Symbolically, the intention of the design, including all the birds, is to communicate the city's global vision and the aim of developing Busan into a major global port city (Kim et al. 2004). The design gesture as a powerful visual element is clearly represented by the strong figure–ground relationship between the bird forms, which are made of white metallic materials, and the building surface, which features blue tinted glass panels. The decorative exterior design, which serves as a striking visual element, gives the architecture a compelling sense of singularity by setting it apart from the surrounding area, whose landscape is composed of generic buildings and plain structural objects.

Although the architectural design has contributed to making the building more interesting to look at and has added a distinctive visual character to the surrounding landscape, its relevance to the marketplace and people is obscure. Traditionally, architects and urban designers have a tendency to be preoccupied with the design of a physical form, prioritizing its visual aesthetic qualities and the experiences it offers. Numerous design scholars have criticized the disciplinary tendency of prioritizing

the physical form and visual aesthetic quality over other types of design exploration (Kallus 2001; Knox 2005; Southworth and Ruggeri 2011). Instead of seeing design as an act of simply manipulating a physical object or space either to create aesthetically pleasing experiences or to meet a functional goal, they view design as the process of creating a human–environment relationship, and they emphasize the significance of the design's responsiveness to the site context, place, people and specific place meanings. These involve the diverse landscape experiences of individual childhood memories (Marcus 1978), collective landscape experiences (Hayden 1995), everyday practices (Chase et al. 2008), layered landscape history (Sinha and Sharma 2009) and landscape narrative (Lee 2012). These alternative conceptions of landscape share a specific epistemological method, whereby a place is seen from the perspectives of the people who inhabit it—that is, through their own experiences or memories of the place. This context-specific reading of a place reveals the complex and multidimensional relationships that people have with a place, and the contextualized landscape knowledge provides valuable information regarding particular site context during the design development phase. The significance of context in design is also emphasized when one evaluates the quality of an existing design or built project. Evaluating design often entails a two-step process of measuring the quality of the design of the form itself and evaluating the design's suitability for the external context (Zeisel 1981). In terms of evaluating the form of the design, internal coherence is often used as one of the most fundamental guiding principles. This idea refers to the quality of the inner organization of the form and its suitability for the concept of the design. The second step examines the quality of the design by evaluating its relevance to the external context. This step ensures that the final design appropriately addresses the needs and demands of its users and is responsive to the site's unique context (Zeisel 1981).

With respect to the design of the Jagalchi Market building and its suitability for the site's unique context, the universal nature of the form and its abstract meaning translated from the design vocabulary conflict with the site's historical particularities. The outward-looking design process of taking the official symbol of the city and translating it into a building form demonstrates the design's purpose to bridge this new iconic building to the city and its modernization initiatives as opposed to an inward-looking process of connecting it to the marketplace and its people. Furthermore, the exterior design that literally visualizes the city's official symbol on the building facade completely dismisses the critical step of contextualizing the concept through a proper form-making process, by means of which the site's unique context and particularities are considered in the act of form-making to enable the resulting structure and design to be woven into the existing context. The design of the Jagalchi Market building, which simply echoes one of the most universal images that represent the city, obscures the very purpose of its erection on the site. With no particular ties to the marketplace and its specific context, the building acts like a nice-looking ship that can be anchored at any port. However, unlike a ship, the building is fixed to this location and is promoted by the city as a new landmark. This makes the situation even more problematic because, as the building that has no ties to the place is being promoted as a new landmark, the actual marketplace can be

seen through the building that rejects the site's unique historical particularities and its irrelevant place image projected by the architectural design.

Prior to the market modernization, the Jagalchi Fish Market already had a unique 'place brand' created by people involved in the process of market formation. Unlike many other traditional markets, which developed gradually over relatively long periods, the formation of the Jagalchi Fish Market and the unique community created there was precipitated by a massive population influx to the area during the Korean War. On 25 June, 1950, the Korean War broke out, and the North invaded the South, destroying all major towns and cities, with the exception of one city in the southeastern region of the Korean peninsula. Although Busan was not affected by the physical destruction of the war, other impacts were inevitable as war refugees flooded the city, which recorded an unprecedented population upsurge. According to the city's census data, in 1949, its total population was approximately 470,000. Between 1950 and 1953, the number of refugees who came down from the north of Busan reached 700,000, of which approximately 400,000 lived in the streets (Bae 1999).

While Busan was the nation's war refugee city and temporary capital, the Nampo-dong area was perceived among war refugees as its centre because the area had been the city's major commercial core before the war, and the major port and rail transportation facilities were located nearby. For this reason, people gathered in and around Nampo-dong, and the excessive concentration of war refugees in the area made living conditions on the streets even worse. Having already lost everything from their own homes to family members, the survivors of the war were not only foreign to the place but also suffered from poverty, famine, illness and a severe lack of resources. To cope with the desperate situation, people sought alternative ways to secure housing and other critical living necessities by building shacks using salvaged materials and exchanging their own belongings with each other. As a result of this self-sufficient spirit, the Jagalchi Fish Market was developed spontaneously by the war refugee community through street vending. Although the history of the market's formation sounds far from glorious and more like a national tragedy, the significance of the marketplace, both in the practical sense and based on the people's perceptions of it as a centre place not only in the city but also throughout the country at the time, can only be fully understood by examining its devastating historical context. The market's national reputation is situated at this unique historical juncture, as are the lives of thousands of people who fled from different regions of the country, took shelter in the last remaining refugee city, lived through a catastrophic time as survivors of the war and made a living through street vending in the marketplace. The contextualized view of the marketplace is still held by the people who have maintained the market in the same way through street vending over the past 60 years. This authentic sense of place and the market's historical particularities are in sharp contrast with the abstract, modern and universal images projected by the architectural design of the Jagalchi Market building.

6.4 The Impact of Street Renovation on the Authentic Spatial Fabric

Although the main goal of the Jagalchi Market Modernization was the construction of the Jagalchi Market building, the project also included the renovation of the surrounding streets, including the main market street, which had been occupied by street vendors for the past 60 years. Street markets and other informal community spaces that are created in back streets, parking lots and other everyday living environments serve more than their intended functions. They add vibrant urban lives to cities and, particularly in Asian cities, serve as important civic spaces in which social capital is formed and strengthened (Douglass and Daniere 2009; Sorensen et al. 2009; Hou 2010; Francis and Griffith 2011). However, the administrative authorities and planning professionals tend to view community-made urban spaces and old-fashioned street markets as a manifestation of underdevelopment. Street vending and other illegitimate uses of the urban space are not only inappropriate and undesirable but are also blamed for creating unsanitary scenes for tourists (Madanipour 2004; Chase et al. 2008; Yatmo 2008). This latter view is prevalent in the case of the street renovation component of the Jagalchi Market Modernization project and its impact on the street market. To the street vendors, the impact of the street renovation was more dramatic than that of the building construction. This is because it had the effect of 'street cleansing,' as the street vendors were displaced to make way for new street infrastructure. The actual execution of the displacement process is an important subject; however, it is beyond the scope this chapter, the aim of which is to focus on the retrospective impact of the street renovation on the physical environment and the authentic sense of place relevant to the marketers (Fig. 6.3).

With the Jagalchi Market building as the point of division, the main market street is divided into the renovated section and the rest of the original market street. Although they coexist on the same street, the two sections differ extensively from each other in terms of the physical environment, street function and overall landscape experience. The Jagalchi Market Modernization and new street infrastructure have instilled a sense of order in the renovated section of the street, while the old market street is still managed informally by the marketers. The functions of the renovated street are controlled by the new street infrastructure, which signals its intended use and user groups. Pedestrian sidewalks are separated from the automobile street, thereby creating a safe walking environment for people and effective vehicular circulation for the area. While the widened automobile street offers large vehicle access to the area, off-street parking and public parking spaces close to the Jagalchi Market building, the pedestrian sidewalk, which merges into a public waterfront promenade, serves as a public blue space from which people can enjoy direct visual access to the ocean view of the south port, as well as various seating options and decorative sculptural objects. Contrastingly, the other side of the street has no distinctive infrastructure other than the old street itself. Despite its lack of infrastructure, the makeup of the old street is dense and dynamic due to its spontaneous spatial appropriations. The spatial fabric created by the street vendors, their actions and
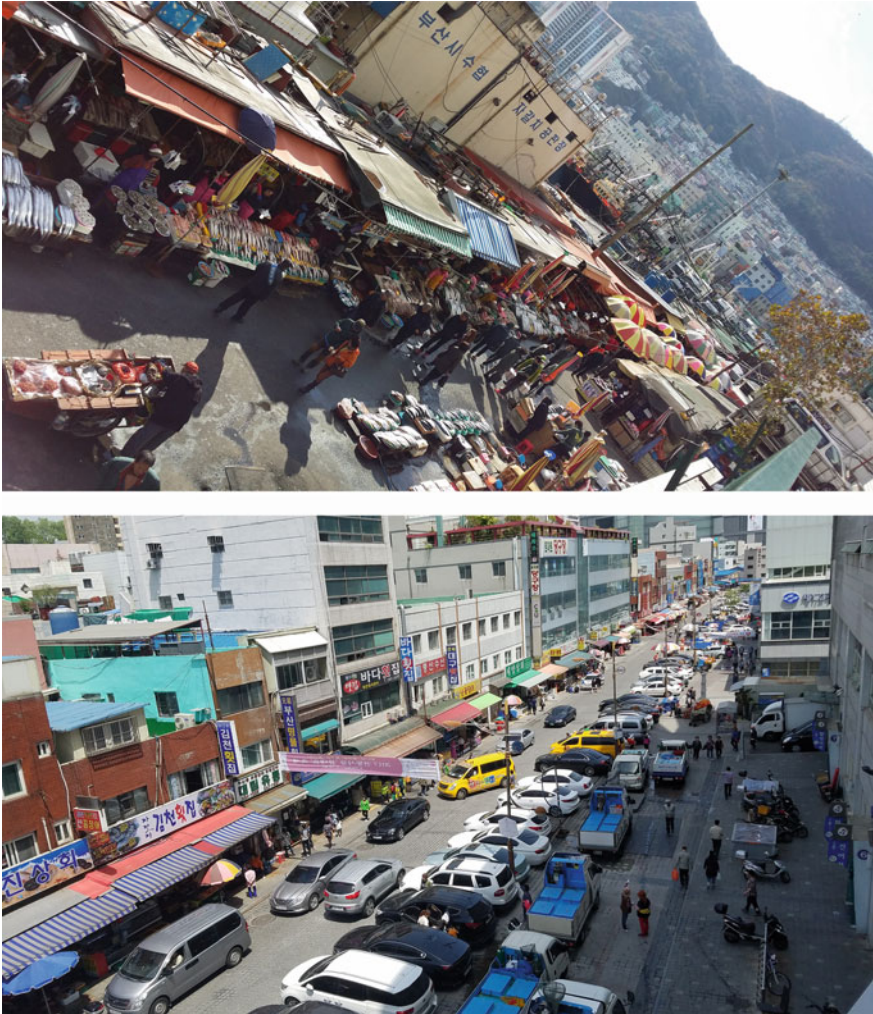
Fig. 6.3 Images of the main market street showing the renovated section (bottom) and the original street (top)

hundreds of individual street-vending sites is not only transitory but also sensory. Every morning, the market is reborn on the street as the vendors get busy preparing for the day's business. Some restock their fish tanks while others clean their market stands or eat an early breakfast on the street. The landscape is full of activities and noises as fishermen drag wooden boxes filled with seafood against the street surface; marketers talk to each other in rugged, loud voices; and vendors use shovels to scoop ice from wheelbarrows to market stands. The street gets wet from the ice melting from the stands or the water overflowing from the fish tanks. The saltiness in the air and the pungent smell of seafood complete the full sensory transformation.

While the spatial fabric created by the street vendors provides the authentic market experiences that many people identify with a traditional market, it also has important underlying social implications for the market's unique sense of place. Historically, the market has always been a gendered space. Even today, the majority of the street vendors are female. While this particular social composition of the street vendors demonstrates how female war refugees, as a particular social group, coped with the catastrophic situation of the war, it also helps us to understand the significance of the market site and its place meanings to an individual marketer who was not only a survivor of the war but also a woman trying to make a living through street vending. During the Korean War and the postwar period, finding a job was difficult for everyone, but it was particularly challenging for women because the few available jobs often required strenuous physical labour. While men could work as manual labourers at the port or the railway station, women had to seek alternative ways to make a living. Street vending was one of the few job opportunities for them because it did not require many skills or specific equipment (Hong 2010). The Jagalchi Fish Market was one of the few places where female war refugees could work and support their family members through street vending. Since the 1950s, street vending has been one of the most prominent uses of the street, and the marketplace and its unique social fabric have been maintained by the female street vendors over the past 60 years.

The social fabric of the Jagalchi Fish Market and female vendors' everyday lives in the marketplace are vividly captured in the work of Minshik Choi, who is one of the most respected documentary photographers in Korea. He spent 50 years documenting the market landscape and people (Choi 1996). One of the main reasons that he was drawn to the marketplace is its unique sense of place. He explains that the market is different from the other ordinary markets in that it was life's battleground for people who struggled to survive after losing everything and becoming either homeless or orphaned during the war and postwar periods (Choi 2009). Unlike personal or artistic photography, documentary photography is based on realism. It delivers factual information about a place or event and journalistic insights into the contexts of the specific time and place captured in the image (Arnheim 1974; Sontag 1977). As Choi's black-and-white photographs vividly illustrate the female marketers' everyday lives on the street, they reveal poignant moments that reinforce the fact that they were not just female vendors but women who were the mothers and who had the responsibility to take care of their children. In Choi's photographs, two of the most frequently captured behaviours of the female marketers, other than street vending, are eating and babysitting on the street. Traditionally, preparing food, serving meals and looking after children were the responsibilities of Korean women. These activities occurred within the individual home environment. The fact that the female vendors frequently carried out these home-based activities on the street adds another social meaning to the place. From the vantage point of the female street vendors, the Jagalchi Fish Market was not only a place where they could work to support their families but also served as an extension of the home environment, where they took care of their domestic responsibilities.

On the renovated side of the street, female street vendors are no longer present, as the street that they used to occupy has been turned into pedestrian sidewalks and off-street parking. Instead, a small stone statue in the shape of a female street vendor serves as a subtle signpost to remind people of the past history of the place. Located right in front of the seven-storey Jagalchi Market building, the human-sized statue, which is modestly made from granite, is easily dismissed from view as it blends into the background of the building and its passersby. The statue, which has little sense of presence, is identified by the words engraved on the surface of the platform on which it sits: 'a woman of Jagalchi.' However, the statue does not seem to interest tourists. Even the vendors who work at the marketplace do not seem to care about it or the fact that it is always surrounded by parked cars and trash.

The problem of ignorance, whether it is present in the design and planning practice or in people's general attitudes towards the idea of modernizing the community space, is a complex issue that is influenced by multiple factors, socioeconomic situations, and the stakeholders involved with the Jagalchi Fish Market modernization. This section of the chapter explores the city's street renovation endeavour and its insensitive treatment of the existing community space and unique place values. Over the course of the market modernization project, the construction of the new building was at the centre of the planning documents, the city's promotional materials and local news articles. Conversely, the street renovation was viewed as a small part of a much bigger and more important project. The clearing out of the street market in the name of infrastructure improvement was rationalized as an evident need without much consideration of the unique place identity of the market established by the female street vendors and their spatial appropriation of the space. The consequences of the inconsiderate street redevelopment are not only evident in the physical environment but have also influenced the community. While the street renovation brought a sense of order through the new street infrastructure and organized street function, it has caused serious disorder in the culture of the street market as a whole and has had an adverse effect on its authentic sense of place. As a result, the lived tradition has discontinued, and the community's ties to the place have been severed, as shown in the example of the market community's loss of interest in caring about its own place and its historic legacy.

6.5   Conclusion

While this chapter examined the impacts of the Jagalchi Fish Market modernization on the physical and social environments of the marketplace, it has drawn attention to the issue of the mismatch between the market's authentic sense of place and the results of the outward-looking physical developments, such as the construction of an iconic architectural structure and the physical environmental improvement targeting outside visitors. This problem has been discussed in detail with respect to two specific issues: the architectural design of the Jagalchi Market building and the street renovation project. With regard to the architectural design, one of the most

conspicuous design elements, which has been frequently photographed and publicized by the city and public media, is the architectural exterior design on the facade facing the ocean. While the bold, eye-catching exterior design provides a visual spectacle, thereby making the building into a dominant landmark that promotes the city's official symbol, the universal nature of the design and the abstract meaning of the design vocabulary fail to illustrate its relevance to the marketplace and people. Similarly, the street renovation has been highly successful in terms of improving the market's outdated street infrastructure for general users and tourists. The renovated street now offers a waterfront promenade, safe pedestrian sidewalks that have been separated from automobiles, and a functional street with access for large vehicles and convenient parking spaces. Although it is true that the street renovation has instilled a sense of order in the newly constructed street, it has caused serious disorder in the street market as a whole by displacing the street vendors to make way for the new street infrastructure and disrupting the culture of street vending, which is critical to the authentic spatial fabric of the Jagalchi Fish Market.

In discussing the two aforementioned criticisms, this paper has also provided examples of the unique site particularities of the Jagalchi Fish Market that were either neglected or compromised in the processes of the Jagalchi Market building construction and street redevelopment. The historic particularities and unique spatial fabric of the marketplace are deeply related to the history of how the market was formed and sustained over the past 60 years. Situated in the context of the nation's most tragic event—the Korean War—the Jagalchi Fish Market was established by war survivors. In addition to supplying critical living necessities to the refugee community, the street market provided invaluable job opportunities for female war refugees, who were often discouraged by the physically laborious jobs that were available during the war and postwar periods. What makes the Jagalchi Fish Market unique is this contextualized view of the place established by the people who lived through the catastrophic war and postwar periods and the lived tradition of the marketplace maintained by the female street vendors over the past 60 years. Outward-looking market revitalization attempts, exemplified by the case of the Jagalchi Market Modernization project and observed in other ongoing market redevelopment projects in the area, are putting the authenticity of the Jagalchi Fish Market at risk. The current market modernization strategy, which is insensitive to the authentic culture of the place and the lived tradition of the community, should be redirected to adopt the holistic view of approaching market revitalization as a broader cultural process in which the physical redevelopment of the environment is not the end goal but the starting point to achieve social restoration of the community, the culture and their relationship to the new environment.

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Chapter 7
Railway Terminals and Separation: Paddington and Marylebone Stations, London

Tom Bolton

Abstract The phrase 'wrong side of the tracks' is widely understood. It implies not only the spatial separation created by railway lines but also the social, economic and cultural differences caused by this separation. However, there is limited understanding of the social, cultural or economic development of neighbourhoods located on the 'wrong side' behind large stations, separated from city centres. London has more railway terminals than any other city, most built during the nineteenth century. It is, therefore, the ideal location for studying the long-term relationship between terminals and surrounding neighbourhoods. This chapter looks at Paddington and Marylebone during two time periods, the 1890s (the height of railway activity in London) and the 2010s. A combination of historical investigation, land use mapping and built form analysis is used to test the hypothesis that the presence of railway structures in the urban fabric creates separation, with long-term outcomes for neighbourhood development.

Keywords Railways · Segregation · Spatial · Regeneration · Victorian London

7.1   Introduction

Although widely understood and commonly used, the expression 'the wrong side of the tracks' describes a multi-faceted combination of spatial, social and economic factors. It encapsulates the perceived role of railway lines in separating neighbourhoods, reducing the status of one location in relation to the other. The phrase also suggests a series of indirect social consequences which, in essence, means that people do not choose to live on the 'wrong' side. Both familiar and overlooked, this effect can apparently be seen in operation in various parts of London. While the

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busy city centre is just outside the front door of a main railway terminal, the streets behind these stations are a mystery to most passengers.

The succession of terminals lined up along the inner London bypass formed by Marylebone, Euston and Pentonville Roads is the most obvious consequence of the 1846 Railway Terminals Royal Commission report on the siting of new stations. Faced with 19 separate proposals to build central London terminals in 1846 alone, the Commission was set up to manage the situation. It recommended an exclusion zone, which prohibited new railway projects between the New Road (now Marylebone-Euston-Pentonville Road) and the Thames. At the time, this route marked the edge of developed inner London, but the decision was still influencing the siting of Marylebone Station more than 50 years later, by which time what was once open land had been densely developed.

London has more railway terminals than any other city in the world and continues to be shaped by the presence of large stations, by their expansion and development, and by the miles of railway lines that surround inner London. These stations, along with the remainder of London's largest terminals continue to mark the edge of central London. However, the terminals were built in different decades and circumstances, and occupy varied urban settings. The question of how the railways affect the relative fortunes of its neighbourhoods is, therefore, as current now as it was in 1846, significant to our understanding of the twenty-first century city. The social implications of separation caused by railway lines are under-examined, but spatial analysis can shed new light on polarisation of wealth and poverty in London over long periods of time.

7.2   Behind Paddington and Marylebone

Paddington and Marylebone Stations lie just over 1 km apart, at the north–west boundary of central London. Paddington Station is located immediately to the south of the elevated Westway dual carriageway (the A501). The station's approaches share a transport corridor with this arterial route, London's main road connection to the north–west. Paddington is also an important location for the canal network. Less than a kilometre to the north of the station, Little Venice is the meeting point for the Regent's Canal, the Grand Junction Canal and a short branch that passes along the eastern station flank to form Paddington Basin. The Grand Junction Canal uses the same north–west corridor, but its course loops north, away from the route of the Westway and the railway. The combination of railway, road and canal creates areas that are surrounded on all sides by transport infrastructure. Westbourne Green is an island between the railway, the Westway and the canal. Paddington Green is enclosed by a combination of two canal branches, the Westway, the Edgware Road (A5) and Paddington Station.

The immediate area around Marylebone Station is defined by Regent's Park to the east, the Regent's Canal to the north, Edgware Road (A5) to the west and Marylebone Road to the south. The station, the final London terminus to be

constructed, was named after the established neighbourhood of Marylebone to the south. This is the area still known as Marylebone: the area behind the station, north of the Marylebone Road (A501), is known as Lisson Grove, after the main road at its centre. Lisson Grove is separated in a similar manner to the neighbourhoods behind Paddington, with the main road to the south, the Marylebone approaches to the east, the canal to the north and Edgware Road to the west.

The railway lines approaching both stations create voids in the cityscape. These approaches have limited crossing points, and therefore form barriers to movement. The approaches to Paddington are contained in a wide cutting, measuring 90 m across at the station throat, which continues for three miles west, ending at Old Oak Common. A pedestrian bridge and four road bridges—Bishop's Bridge, Lord Hill's Bridge, Ranelagh Bridge and Westbourne Bridge—are the only routes across the 1.6 km of track between Paddington and Westbourne Park stations.

The approaches to Marylebone also run above ground behind the station but for a shorter distance, with a cutting of just under 1 km to Marlborough Road, before the railway enters the 1.5 km Lord's Tunnel to Finchley Road. These approaches are crossed in only two places: by the Rossmore Road bridge behind the station, and by the Regent's Canal towpaths which pass beneath the lines.

7.3   A History of Two Stations

Understanding how these terminals came to be and what their areas were like when they arrived is important to place their contemporary neighbourhoods in context. Neither station occupied a blank piece of map. Each was introduced into a pre-existing place and continues to expand and contract within a neighbourhood that is both adjacent to and separate from their stations.

Paddington Station is the terminus for services to the West Country and South Wales. Its tracks 'go out towards the sunset' (Jackson 1985, p. 322), crossing west London via Kensal Green, Acton and Ealing to Reading, the Thames Valley and destinations west. The first station in the area opened in 1838, a temporary building north of the current station, on a site that later became Paddington Goods Yard. The current station, a much more substantial structure, opened in 1854. The world's first underground line, the Metropolitan Railway, started from Paddington, with the first section to Farringdon opening in 1863. It was then extended in both directions several times during the remainder of the nineteenth century, cementing Paddington's place as an important node in the new London public transport network.

The new Great Western line terminated at what was then the edge of London. In the 1820s, the triangle of land between Edgware Road and Hyde Park contained little more than Paddington village with its church and green. This had been a rural area, but the Grand Junction Canal company had already signalled the new industrial age with the completion of the Paddington Canal Basin, in 1801. By the 1820s, streets and squares were being laid out between Praed Street and Hyde Park

for a new neighbourhood planned by the architect Samuel Pepys Cockerell, and initially known as Tyburnia. As early as 1833, residents had begun to make formal complaints about the impact of the congested Edgware Road on the value of their properties (Baker et al. 1989), as the village of Paddington became irreversibly drawn into the rapidly expanding metropolis. Paddington Station was built on the next vacant plot to the west of the new neighbourhood, its orientation determined by the route of the Harrow Road and the site of the Basin.

Stations are not static entities. Paddington Station was expanded in the early twentieth century, with a fourth span added to Brunel's original three in 1915, on the east side of the station. The station and its associated structures, approaches and sidings covered their largest area from the late nineteenth century, when two separate sites at Paddington Goods Station and Paddington Mileage Yard were in operation alongside the passenger terminus. The Regent's Canal Dock at Paddington Basin was also a busy transfer site for goods and materials, with warehouses, wharves, a coal depot and a factory.

By the end of the 1960s, all these sites had closed. The Mileage Yard was redeveloped (as the Brunel Estate) during the early 1970s, but the canal basin and the good sidings lay derelict for more than three decades until redevelopment began in 1998. The Paddington Central offices now occupy the Goods Station site, while the canal basin has been developed as the offices of Paddington Basin and Merchant Square.

Marylebone Station was built much later than Paddington, opening in 1899. It was London's final grand railway project, both expensive and disruptive. After 20 years of negotiations, a Parliamentary bill was passed in 1893 allowing work to begin and the Great Central Railway Company was formed to build a new connection from Finchley Road to the Marylebone site. Part of this was in a tunnel, but the final section from St. John's Wood to the station was driven through a densely populated area of established streets.

North of the Regent's Canal, the line ran through the upmarket villas of St. John's Wood, detached and semi-detached with large gardens, where four streets were demolished. South of the canal the terraces around Blandford and Harewood Squares were much more densely laid out. Here, a total of 28 streets and two squares, as well as the large Portman Buildings blocks of flats, were demolished. Further, four blocks, north of Church Street, were cleared for the Marylebone coal depot. Overall, 4,488 people were reported to have been displaced by the clearances (Jackson 1985). The Wharncliffe Gardens estate, just beyond the demolition area in St. Johns' Wood, was built by the railway company as compensatory housing for more than 2,000 people. However, according to the Booth Poverty Survey, 'None of the people displaced from Lisson Grove have gone into them. The rents have been raised from those charged when they were first built' (Booth 1902, p. 233).

The Great Central Railway was never the envisaged success, and the expense of the project caused financial strain well before completion, apparent in the design and scale of Marylebone Station, which is modest for a London terminus. The company was forced to save money by employing its own engineer rather than an architect to produce the station designs. Nor does the station occupy the full space

implied by its frontage, with a third of the area behind taken up from the start by housing, now also by offices. Marylebone does not face on to the nearest main street, the Marylebone Road, but is hidden a block to the north behind the Great Central Hotel, the railway hotel built at the same time as the station.

Paddington and Marylebone Stations have been operating for more than 150 years and more than 100 years, respectively. The next section examines how their physical presence has evolved over that time, and how the morphology of surrounding neighbourhoods has changed.

7.4 Separation and Redevelopment

The areas in front of both stations, to the south, have retained their nineteenth century structure to a much greater extent than those behind, as the images in Figs. 7.1 and 7.2 show. The Marylebone neighbourhood was gradually built up during the eighteenth century as an extension to the newly fashionable West End. Tyburnia followed from the 1820s, extending the street grid west. Although blocks along the edges of the area, on Oxford Street and Edgware Road, were extensively redeveloped during the later twentieth century for large stores and offices,

Fig. 7.1 Housing south of Paddington Station. *Source* Image by the author

Fig. 7.2 Harrow Road, behind Paddington Station. *Source* Image by the author

the overall street pattern and block size has generally remained unchanged and retains 'a basic classical unity' (Nairn 1966). This continuity also extends to the streets north of the Marylebone Road between the station and Regent's Park, where the early nineteenth century block size is also intact.

Several areas in front of Paddington Station were cleared for housing improvements, particularly after the Second World War. However, such estates have been inserted into a structure still clearly recognisable as the layout of Tyburnia, now known as Paddington with much of the original Regency architecture still in place. Parts of these areas went through changes in fortune, with the terraces of Bayswater offering cheap lodgings by the 1960s, but the twenty-first century has seen the neighbourhoods between Paddington and Hyde Park return to something closer to their nineteenth century social status.

The contrast between the neighbourhoods facing the two stations and those behind is sharp. The nineteenth century terraces of Westbourne Green were almost entirely demolished by the London County Council and the Greater London Council during the 1960s and replaced with a variety of housing types, from maisonettes to the towers and slab blocks of the Brindley and Warwick Estates. Paddington Green received the same treatment, with clearances for new LCC flats during the 1950s, and later for the Paddington Green Estate, completed in 1969.

Both areas are dominated by the elevated Westway, built between 1964 and 1970. Its construction required extensive demolition along its route and has resulted in an undercroft space filled with traffic lanes and fencing, which forms visual and physical barriers across the Paddington area. This barrier combines with the adjacent mainline railway cutting to divide Paddington Green, behind the station, from Paddington and Bayswater in front, separating neighbourhoods on either side of the station. Access from one to the other is only possible by crossing first over the railway and then beneath the flyover, and in some places also over the Grand Junction canal.

The construction of the Westway also resulted in the destruction of what had been Paddington's high street, the section of Harrow Road between Paddington Basin and Paddington Green. Paddington Town Hall, headquarters of the Borough of Paddington before its abolition in 1965, was demolished along with nearly all the nineteenth century buildings and the street was realigned alongside the new flyover. At the time of writing, the last surviving block of pre-Twentieth century buildings on this part of Harrow Road is being demolished.

There has also been transformative change behind Marylebone. Immediately behind the station, the area occupied by the Goods Station (Fig. 7.2) was built over for the Lisson Green Estate during the 1970s. The Church Street area, between Lisson Grove and Edgware Road, has also been significantly rebuilt with a complex combination of mid-Twentieth century flats, 1970s slab blocks and 1980s low rise housing, all of which exist alongside remaining elements of nineteenth century building stock.

The relative sizes of the blocks formed by the stations demonstrate the extent to which they dominate their surroundings. They are the two largest buildings by far in the vicinity of Paddington Station 41,824 m^2 in area and Marylebone Station 20,132 m^2. Even though the latter is small for a London terminus, it is still a very large building in the context of inner London. The station approaches can also be measured as city blocks, separated wherever they are crossed by a street. The largest single block, larger than either station, is formed by the section of the Paddington approaches between Westbourne Park and Royal Oak, with other large sections nearer the station.

The number of blocks in both areas has fallen considerably since the 1890s, but more so behind the stations. The total in front dropped from 628 to 416 (a 34% reduction) between the two periods, but behind the stations, it fell from 1,045 to 552 (a 47% reduction). This reflects relative stability in the older, established neighbourhoods of Marylebone, Paddington and Bayswater. Behind the stations, what were areas of terrace housing in Westbourne Green, Paddington Green and Lisson Grove, similar to the neighbourhoods in front of the stations, have been replaced by a sparser morphology. There is now a clear contrast between the front and the back of both stations. Larger, more regular blocks are found in Paddington, Marylebone and Bayswater, where the planned nineteenth century grids largely remain. Behind the stations, the townscape is fragmented, and stand-alone estate blocks dominate. These patterns of morphological change have been accompanied by changing land use profiles, as examined in the next section.

7.5   Changing Patterns of Land Use

Alongside the substantial redevelopment found predominantly behind both stations, patterns of non-residential land use have shifted since the construction of Marylebone. The distribution of retail premises has been examined as representative of the centrality of these areas. During the 1890s, shops were found on particular streets either side of the two stations. Bayswater had two major shopping streets—Queensway and Westbourne Grove—and the remaining streets were mostly residential. Shops were found close to Paddington Station, especially along Praed Street immediately in front of the station. In Westbourne Green, shops were located along the main Harrow Road, but also in nearby back streets. There were also clusters of shops further east along Harrow Road, where it passes through Paddington Green.

There was a more even spread of retail across both Marylebone and Lisson Grove. While Edgware Road was the main shopping axis for the area, there were also shops clustered along Baker Street, Crawford Street, Marylebone Lane and Seymour Place. However, in the Lisson Grove neighbourhood there was a much wider distribution of retail, with shops found on the majority of streets. By contrast, the adjacent streets and squares later demolished for Marylebone Station lacked retail premises.

The distribution of shops in these areas had changed significantly by the 2010s, but only in areas behind the stations. As Fig. 7.1 shows, the patterns of retail in Bayswater, Paddington and Marylebone remain very similar, with the same primary shopping streets found in the same locations. However, the more even distribution of retail in Westbourne Green, Paddington Green and Lisson Grove has disappeared. Shops in Westbourne Green are now restricted to Harrow Road, where nineteenth century shops remain. Paddington Green now has almost no shops at all, with the local centre on Harrow Road replaced by the Westway.

In Lisson Grove, shops are still to be found, but only on two streets other than Edgware Road. North of Church Street, which remains a shopping and market street, the street grid has been reconfigured and there are now no shops. Much of this area was cleared for Marylebone Goods Station and subsequently redeveloped with housing estates. The grid south of Church Street was also substantially remodelled, but shops are still concentrated on parts of Bell Street in this area. Retailers are, however, no longer distributed across the whole neighbourhood as they were in the 1890s. The remnants of the street grid in Lisson Grove have retained their integration values and their central functions, a role established before the arrival of the station, in contrast to the areas with lower integration values further behind the station to the north.

The long-established market location of Church Street contains a greater concentration of independent businesses in small footprint buildings than anywhere else in the study neighbourhoods. The balance between separation from adjacent neighbourhoods and local connection to streets with the neighbourhood seems to provide sympathetic conditions for this form of economic life. Residents and

shoppers in Church Street Market may not consider Marylebone or Paddington as directly relevant to their area, but the self-contained Lisson Grove is a neighbourhood defined spatially by the station and by wider transport infrastructure. Jones (2016) suggests that London's street markets flourished during the second half of the nineteenth century in 'extramural' conditions, operating on the 'frontiers of modernity' both socially and spatially. In practice, this meant that long-established markets occupied marginal spaces, at the expanding edges of London. Church Street fits these criteria very well, maintaining a presence although surrounded by expansion and change.

There has been a substantial thinning out of non-residential uses behind both stations since the 1890s. In front of the stations the total number of shops has increased slightly, by 7%, since the 1890s. However, behind the stations the number of shops has fallen by 39% since the 1890s. This difference could be partly attributed to changes in the nature of retail. However, the contrasting between places in front of the stations and places behind appears to illustrate the nature of the change that has occurred since the nineteenth century, with uses becoming sparser in Westbourne Green, Paddington Green and Lisson Grove while simultaneously intensifying in Bayswater, Paddington and Marylebone.

The diverging characteristics of the neighbourhoods in front of the stations and those behind also extend to their social profiles, as examined in the next section.

7.6   Social Patterns and Separation

Social analysis for the Paddington and Marylebone neighbourhoods uses separate methods for the late nineteenth century and for the early twenty-first century. Figure 7.3 shows the 1898 Booth map of the area. Charles Booth's Poverty Surveys were an early attempt to gather evidence of social conditions on a scientific basis. Although the way judgements were formed and expressed in the survey clearly reflect prejudices of the time, the poverty classifications mapped dwelling by dwelling across are supported by detailed notes made by the surveyors. This enables the rationale for the judgements made by Booth's surveyors to be examined. The result is data at an exceptionally detailed scale that provides a basis for comparing relative poverty in the neighbourhoods of Paddington and Marylebone between the 1890s and the 2010s.

Booth's investigators frequently associated both isolation and proximity to industry and infrastructure with poverty and long-term decline of streets. Dyos associated this phenomenon particularly with the construction of railway lines, writing that 'the sealing off in this way [with a new railway viaduct] of a small network of streets close to a main road was a fairly prolific source of slum conditions' (Dyos 1967, p. 112). Vaughan et al.'s analysis of Charles Booth's social data shows that spatial segregation was indeed associated with the poorest streets in the East End of London, which were either surrounded by or separated behind better spatially integrated, wealthier streets (Vaughan et al. 2005).
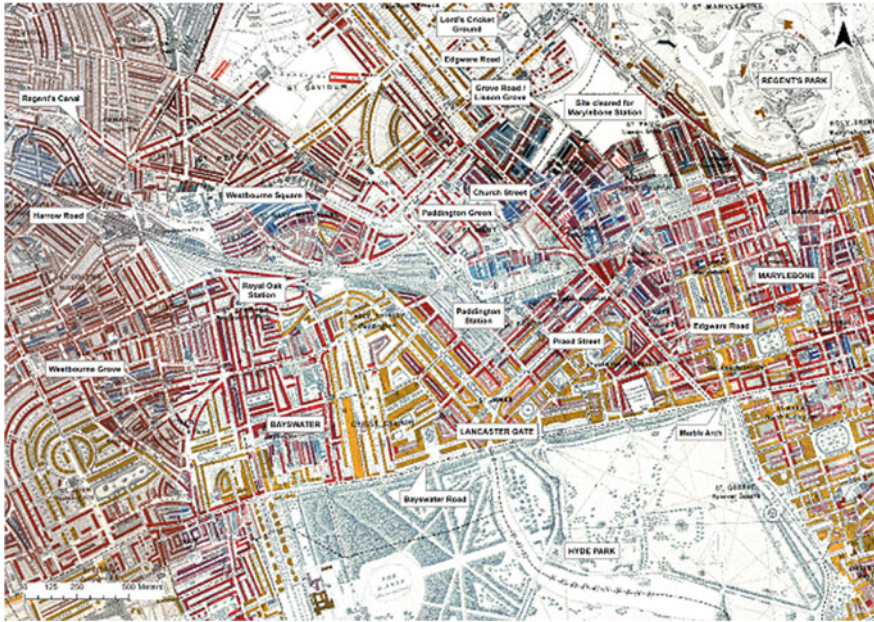
Fig. 7.3 Paddington and Marylebone 1898, Charles Booth Survey map. *Source* Charles Booth Online Archive, London School of Economics. Labels added for the purposes of this study

The Booth Poverty Survey map reveals contrasting social profiles in the neighbourhoods around Paddington Station. The squares and avenues of Tyburnia were predominantly coloured Yellow (Wealthy), the highest income classification. They were part of a high-value property band surrounding Hyde Park, extending west into Bayswater in the streets closest to the park and east into Marylebone, and Mayfair to the south. These remain the wealthiest areas of central London today, having been so since their construction.

However, the social profile began to change closer to Paddington Station. The qualities of the immediate station area were affected by the industrial activities to be found there. Poverty and poor environment appeared to go hand in hand with, around Paddington Basin, 'a district of dust, dustmen and drink', (Booth 1902, p. 197). In Bayswater and Paddington Booth's classifications darkened with proximity to the station frontage.

Behind the station, this effect was much more widely spread and the areas of poverty noticeably more extensive. The Booth notebooks describe Westbourne Green as a 'poor district south of Harrow Road […] dustmen—cabmen—scavengers—vestry employees […] fair earnings. good deal spent in drink' (Booth 1902, p. 213). Individual streets in Westbourne Green were identified as disreputable, including Delamere Crescent—'bad repute. Kept women and prostitutes' (Booth 1902, p. 203)—and Westbourne Park Crescent—'prostitutes but no brothels' (Booth 1902, p. 203). The neighbourhood, described as 'between Paddington GWR

and the canal', received some of the most unequivocal condemnation to be found anywhere in the Booth Survey notebooks. This is surprising because, while the map shows poverty, it is by no means the poorest part of inner London. Instead, it was the depressing atmosphere of the area that struck Booth's researcher: 'Everywhere a want of life and signs of decay. Houses built for a class which does not and perhaps never has lived in them' (Booth 1902, p. 233).

The character of the neighbourhood was described in terms of its spatial relationship to the railway. The closer the streets, the poorer they were, despite consisting of the same building stock: 'In this district a house may get up and walk and find itself first yellow, then red, after that pink barred and pink until it is dark blue in Clarendon St. The building is the same; the inhabitants differ' (Booth 1902, p. 233). This entry referred to an area on both sides of railway lines, from Westbourne Grove south of the railway lines to the limits of Westbourne Green. Proximity to the railway lines was the common feature that binds these streets together on a shared trajectory. The notebooks conclude 'The history of these streets is a history of decay. London has refused to go cheerfully out of town in this direction. A district of wastrel west enders as Hackney Wick is of wastrel east enders' (Booth 1902, p. 233). Hackney Wick, incidentally, was (and still is) an island of residential streets surrounded by railway infrastructure and industrial waterways, with spatial similarities to Westbourne Green.

Paddington Green, adjoining Westbourne Green to the east, had a similarly varied mixed social profile—'typical mixed streets' (Booth 1902, p. 211). There was, however, a sense of decline here too with some streets becoming poorer between the two periods surveyed by Booth (1889 and 1898). Booth's researcher was accompanied by a local policeman, who claimed that 'the "red" [middle class] people have either gone into the new flats in central London or moved to the country' (Booth 1902, p. 211).

The area around Lisson Grove was dominated by the clearances for the construction of Marylebone Station and the Great Central Railway, which were under way at the time of the 1898 Booth Survey. The Lisson Grove neighbourhood, between Edgware Road and the Marylebone clearances, had the greatest concentration of darker colours in the whole district, and was described in the notebooks as very poor, with 'Signs of poverty […] much more common than in other poor districts I have examined with equal care' (Booth 1902, p. 25). Although the notebooks reported that the streets were generally well maintained, the poorest streets in the area were an exception. Many individual streets in this area were described as being in bad condition with residents who appeared poor: for example, Venables Street with 'Filthy, squalid houses: fowls and garbage in the roadway: a good many draggled looking women at doors and windows' (Booth 1902, B357 p. 235). The Booth surveyors made an explicit link between the demolitions and the falling fortunes of the area: 'The changes in this district […] are due to the accidental cause of the demolitions for the railway: there is no reason to suppose that these streets and Blandford Square would otherwise have fallen in the social scale' (Booth 1902, p. 251).

The area was compared with Notting Dale, just to the west of the map in Fig. 7.3, notorious for its poverty. Booth's researchers made a direct link between the decline of Notting Dale and the railway construction in Lisson Grove: 'When the clearances were made in Lisson Grove for the Great Central Railway, those who knew the people came here and hired all the houses they could. They knew that the natural drift of such a class was to Notting Dale. It was the only district with a similar class that had room for more […] The number of bad streets has increased until there is no such extensive criminal quarter in any part of London' (Booth 1902, p. 157).

Paddington and Marylebone were divided in terms of wealth. A much higher proportion of Yellow (Wealthy) and Red (Middle Class) streets was found in front of the stations, and a higher proportion of the poorer four categories were found behind. There were no Black (Lowest Class) street segments at all in Bayswater, Paddington or Marylebone. Figure 7.4 shows the Greater London Authority (GLA) Household Income Estimates mapped for Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs) in Paddington and Marylebone. This data is used as the closest available comparator to the Booth survey. This data is, nevertheless, not directly comparable with the Booth Survey. The scale of information the GLA data provides is different to the Booth Survey and, while statistically verifiable and without the subjectivity of the Booth surveyors, the information it provides is at a much coarser grain.
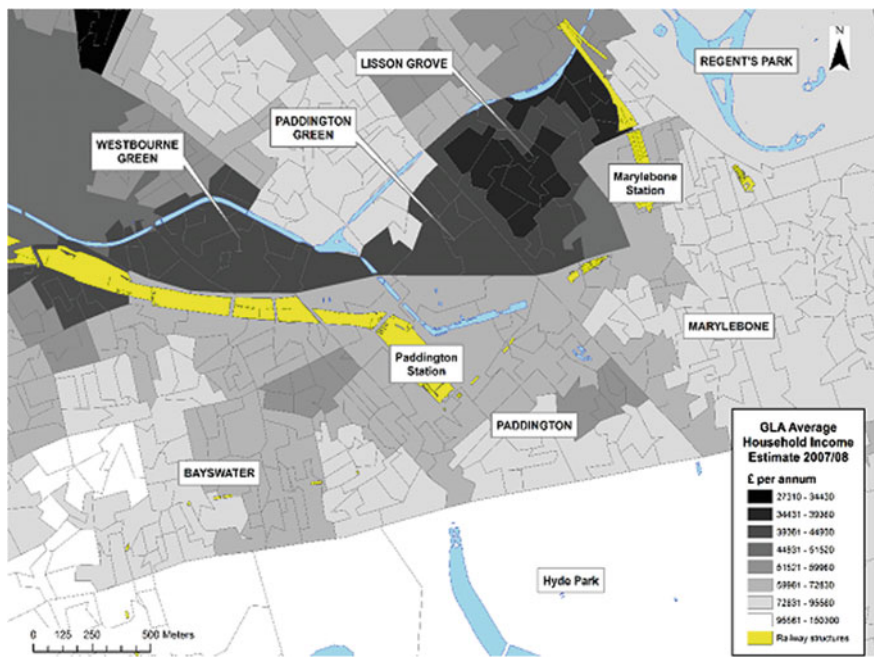

Fig. 7.4 Paddington and Marylebone, Greater London Authority Household Income 2007/08, Integration 800m. © Greater London Authority, 2015

There are also limitations to the GLA data. The data used is from 2007/08, as data for subsequent years (up to 2014/15) is extrapolated from actual 2007/08 data. The source year is, therefore, more reliable. The GLA Household Income Estimates provide the most robust income data currently available, but neither it nor any other contemporary dataset can be obtained at the street scale used by Booth. The smallest units at which census data is made available is LSOA) level, consisting of smaller Output Areas amalgamated where they share similar social characteristics. An LSOA contained a mean population of 1,722 people in London in 2010 (Greater London Authority, 2014). Orford (2004, p. 716), encountering precisely the same limitations when making comparisons between Booth data and contemporary social data, described the use of modern ward-level data as 'a necessary limitation'.

Figure 7.4 also shows that the areas in front of both stations fall entirely into the top four income brackets. This includes sections of the street grid east of Marylebone Station and in Paddington/Tyburnia and Bayswater. Behind both stations, the picture is entirely different. The neighbourhoods north of the railway and the Westway and behind Marylebone fall entirely into the bottom four income categories. Westbourne Green, Paddington Green and Lisson Grove are defined not just by the separation created by rail, roads and canals but also by their relative poverty when compared to places that are next door, yet socially very distinct. The choice of sites behind the stations for building social housing may have fixed their long-term status as low-income neighbourhoods, but was itself directed by the already established poverty of those areas, and by the availability of land adjacent to active, busy rail corridors for which demand was limited.

There is an element of continuity across a long period of time in the relative balance of wealth and poverty in the whole area, and in its spatial distribution in front of and behind stations. However, wealth and poverty have polarised since the late nineteenth century. The streets behind the stations include no households in the top two income bands, while the streets in front contain none within the bottom two bands. In the 1890s the poorest households were also absent from Bayswater, Paddington and Marylebone. Nevertheless, a full range of income levels was found in Westbourne Green, Paddington Green and Lisson Grove. This is no longer the case, and these neighbourhoods are now poorer and more homogenous in terms of relative wealth.

This supports the conclusion that 'In the contemporary city a greater polarisation of wealth has developed' (Vaughan and Geddes 2009, p. 23), with both the poorest and the richest living in more segregated parts of the spatial network. Dorling et al. (2000, p. 1550) also compare the Booth Survey with contemporary income data, concluded that Booth 'describes "area type" rather than the aggregate characteristics of the resident population'. The power of Booth's data to predict mortality rates today is linked to the spatial characteristics of the area, and to separation and disruption of spatial networks. Diachronic analysis reveals social patterns over a period of time that exceeds usual frames of comparison. However, this perspective is needed to understand the effects of railways, which develop beyond the usual planning cycles.

7.7   Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Paddington and Marylebone Stations came into existence 60 years apart, at either end of the nineteenth century railway boom. The rail transport system on which London has relied ever since was created during these decades, and the fortunes of the neighbourhoods surrounding both stations provide insights into the impact of a terminus in contrasting circumstances. While the streets behind Paddington grew with the station, those behind Marylebone had a station thrust upon them.

By the time Paddington Station was constructed, inner London was fully built up to the Edgware Road. The positioning of Paddington next to main north–south and east–west through routes created neighbourhood boundaries that were reinforced by subsequent development. The neighbourhoods behind Paddington were always socially less desirable than those facing the station, less impressively conceived and designed, and more isolated, being defined from early stages by transport barriers. Local integration with neighbourhood high streets at the core of Westbourne Green and Paddington Green, has been eroded by regular expansion of the Paddington railway cutting as a separating structure, compounded by the Westway and the canals. Even the open space, after which Westbourne Green is named, has a council information board tracing its history back to its use as a works site for the Westway, but no further. The area is surrounded and dominated by outsized transport structures, creating a substantial separation between the movement, the activity and the economy of inner London. This separation places the neighbourhoods behind Paddington on the 'wrong side of the tracks', with all that implies in social terms. Exclusion is generated by multiple factors, but long-term disadvantage is locked in place by the railway lines.

The construction of Marylebone Station, despite its site being outside the 1846 railway exclusion zone, required the demolition of many streets and the displacement of a large number of people. It is notable that, despite the established network of streets behind the station, the spatial effects seen behind the new station are very similar to those found behind Paddington. The grid facing the station maintains its range of land uses and has remained a consistently wealthy and desirable location. Behind the station, the barriers introduced by the railway lines have led to separation, a sharp contrast in social, economic and spatial fortunes, and a history of major reconstruction and rebuilding.

Later development of estates on former railway sites next to the tracks has further cemented patterns of relative poverty in locations behind the stations. However, the streets behind stations, are not completely lacking in activity. The characteristics of Church Street are those of a local centre, with a different composition to the West End streets on the other side of Marylebone Road, but just as distinctive and particular to its surroundings. While Paddington Green and Westbourne Green have lost their high streets, Lisson Grove has retained Church Street and with it an identity that, unlike its neighbourhoods, goes beyond the most recent phase of estate reconstruction.

However, the route of the railway approaches to Paddington and to Marylebone can be easily identified in Fig. 7.4 simply through the differences in mean incomes. The contrast in land use density and in relative poverty between areas on either side of the tracks is unmissable. The disadvantages of being located behind, rather than in front, of either of these stations can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. Patterns of poverty behind Paddington appeared only after the station was built, but were already established in Lisson Grove by the time Marylebone arrived. The railway may have fixed these patterns in place by ensuring that these areas would be less desirable than contrasting areas that are physically very close but poorly linked. Areas of London that are a few hundred yards apart, separated only by a railway line, have followed different development trajectories over a long period of time.

These conclusions have direct implications for transport and urban planning. The construction of new stations and railway lines, such as the High Speed Two project at Euston, and the expansion of existing facilities, continues to affect those living closest to the tracks, but their interests are frequently secondary to the regional and national economic benefits of new infrastructure. The balance of power is uneven, and the future of places separated by railway tracks cannot compete with once-in-a-generation railway investment. A better understanding is needed of the long-term impacts of transport infrastructure so they are assessed, discussed and mitigated. The costs of entrenched poverty are enormous, and conditions that allow disadvantage to be embedded so close to the busiest locations in London should be addressed directly. Better connections across the tracks, and serious consideration to approaches such as the decking over of tracks used successfully elsewhere, are needed. Furthermore, although London has an exceptional number of railway terminals, a large number of world cities have similar stations and lines. Research is lacking in spatial effects of separation in these places, and many cities could surely benefit by shifting their focus from railway stations to the neighbourhoods that they dominate.

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Chapter 8
Assessing the Potential of Resident Participation in Local Heritage Conservation, the Case of Qingdao, China

Xiaolin Zang and Bouke van Gorp

Abstract Traditional expert-led heritage conservation is challenged from dissonance and multi-participation perspectives. Researchers highlight the importance of involving residents who encounter heritage every day and value heritage differently from professionals. However, professionals in our study in Qingdao complain about a lack of enthusiasm from the public. This paper explores the advantages and disadvantages that local professionals see when considering resident involvement in heritage conservation. Results indicate that residents recognize the significance of heritage and have some knowledge of heritage, but ignore their responsibility of heritage conservation. Inhabitants who reside in old buildings pursue other priorities than conservation. Attempts are made to involve residents but in practice, professionals still perceive residents' understanding and willingness from authorized perspectives, and prefer to reduce gaps of knowledge through 'educating' the public.

Keywords Qingdao · Dissonance · Professional · Residents · Heritage

8.1 Introduction

When considering sustainable heritage management and conservation, it is important to involve all stakeholders, such as experts, policymakers and the public. Involving different stakeholders may also mean including different perceptions and knowledge. Scholars state that involving personal, less official and local interpretations can also be productive to promote social renewal and change (Bonnett and Alexander 2013; Parkinson et al. 2016), and create attachment between individuals

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and their environment (Ashworth and Graham 2005). Listing heritage is seen as a tool for celebrating local distinctiveness and bringing communities together (Ludwig 2013), it may require nomination from local residents' perspectives. The increasing awareness of the importance of heritage leads to positive attitudes of residents towards heritage preservation (Tilden 2009). Therefore, heritage management and conservation have been challenged by a participatory, bottom-up approach of heritage conservation, which concerns local interest (Schofield 2014).

However, this participatory approach may not be easy to organize. On the one hand, effort is needed to involve the public in participation (Nyaupane 2009). Alternatively, involving more stakeholders may raise experts' awareness of the dissonant nature of heritage. According to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), heritage is a value-laden concept, which can be dissonant in context and purpose, meaning that values and perceptions of heritage as seen by residents may differ from those of experts. For example, heritage that experts primarily appreciate for historic, aesthetic and scientific values (He and Li 2016), residents may value from their lived experience and daily life (Zang et al. forthcoming). Whereas, experts pay attention to age and rarity, residents focus on emotional ties and place identity (Carter and Grimwade 1997; Coeterier 2002; Smith 2006) or upkeep and function (Coeterier 1996). Heritage was considered as both personal and collective pride (Silva 2014). Recognizing these differences between the perceptions of heritage by residents and by experts is important for enhancing people's understanding of planning or conservation decisions (Coeterier 2002). Experts need to be aware of the way the public values heritage in order to better communicate with residents and involve them in the decision-making process. However, traditionally, experts considered that the public found it is difficult to understand professional language, therefore the public voice was little heard and so, for decades, elites have played the dominant role in heritage issues (Lowenthal 1985; Al-Zoabi 2004; Schofield 2014; Parkinson et al. 2016). In this context, there is a risk that residents' understandings of heritage are ignored or dismissed.

In contemporary China, public participation has been on the rise and, as a result, a large amount of studies on public involvement have seen the light recently, both in academic and political circles, such as Ruan and Ding (2007) and Li (2014). Surveys, forums and public meetings are carried out in heritage conservation and revitalization projects in order to explore the immediate needs of local residents. However, there has been little awareness and enthusiasm from local people since heritage is a top-down project from residents' perspectives (Ding and Ruan 2016), and very much technocentric with very little public concern (Acharya 2005). This means that, in practice, heritage is still strongly depended on professionals' discourses, as we found in our research in Qingdao.

Qingdao is a valuable case to study. Articulating the achievements of planning in the city, Tian (2000) and Pei et al. (2005) stated that since 1985, Qingdao has formulated an integrated and unique system, which includes regulations, seminars and exhibitions designed to enhance public participation in urban planning and heritage conservation. However, prior research refers to efforts that enhance public participation in heritage issues, our chapter's foremost concern is discussing

potential obstacles or difficulties with regard to resident involvement in heritage conservation and participation in management. An important development consideration is the attention paid to the abundance of heritage in Qingdao. According to the Overall Qingdao Plan (2011–2020), there are 13 historic areas. Detailed regulatory plans are formulated step by step. Many old buildings have today been reused, regenerated, renovated or repaired. During these processes, professionals may cooperate and conflict with residents. Therefore, this chapter explores whether there is a foundation between experts and residents for the communication and negotiation. Based on the tenets of dissonant heritage and multi-participation theories, the most important objective concerning this research is to listen to how professionals consider the potential of resident involvement in heritage issues.

This chapter begins by examining the previous literature concerning the importance of resident involvement in expert-led discourse of heritage to contextualize this research. The chapter then outlines potentials and barriers of involving residents in heritage conservation policymaking and practice. This is followed by a brief introduction to Qingdao and an outline of the research approach, which involved fieldwork, semi-structured in-depth interviews and photo-elicitation questionnaires.

8.2   Dissonance of Resident Participation

There is no 'streamlined or standardized' definition of heritage (Blake 2000; Ahmad 2006). Lowenthal (1985) argued that the importance of heritage is what we create rather than what we preserved. Graham (2002) further stated that contents, interpretations and representations of the past are the result of selection for contemporary uses. Interpretation of heritage is thus context dependant. Each community, cultural group and stakeholder may have their own definition or perspective of heritage. Ashworth and Graham (2005, p.5) explained that as a result "thus heritage is seen here as a much more diverse knowledge in the sense that there are many heritages, the contents and meanings of which change through time and across space." In this chapter, which focuses on differences between resident's and professional perceptions of heritage, the concept thus involves all remains of the past that society values.

The research draws on Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) approach to dissonant heritage, which is to understand the ways that different groups of people interpret heritage—where dissonance is deemed to be the nature of heritage. Such an understanding of heritage provides a lens to explore possible conflicts that may arise when people interpret, use and value heritage (Ashworth 2011; Ludwig 2013; Harvey 2015). Interpretations of the value and meaning of heritage can be dissonant in terms of what is interpreted, how it is interpreted and by whom (Šešić and Mijatović 2014), even by different time, contexts and current purposes (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Ludwig 2013). Stakeholders may have multiple interests, 'any combination of which may act as a motivation in their arguments.' (Parkinson et al. 2016, p. 269) Current purposes of heritage vary between political and cultural aims,

in particular, the construction of local identity and legitimization of government (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Ashworth et al. 2007), and economic purposes, focusing on tourism and regeneration (Graham 2002). Dissonance may thus arise when different stakeholders see heritage as a resource for different purposes.

Representations of heritage may thus be dissonant among different stakeholders. Scholars have found that the way the public values heritage may differ starkly from professionals as a consequence of their different social, political and economic backgrounds (Parkinson et al. 2016). Locals do acknowledge, but tend to have different viewpoints about what heritage is, how and when heritage is created, and to whom heritage belongs (Sykes and Ludwig 2015). Residents do not appreciate heritage based on authorized standards, norms or laws, but on their embodied practice, personal experience and appreciation (Zhu 2012; Zang et al. forthcoming). According to Ashworth (2011), the public, as a consequence, does not always agree with the government or the developers, as each stakeholder may even utilize policies to meet their own targets.

Professionals may tolerate the competing interpretation of non-experts but the lay perspective is far from being totally endorsed (Parkinson et al. 2016). Nevertheless, there is an ongoing shift from the authorized heritage discourse to a more community-led process which emphasizes intangible aspects of heritage, such as collective memory of a place, identity, distinctiveness, social inclusion and interaction and coherence (Vecco 2010; Ludwig 2013; Parkinson et al. 2016). According to Carter and Grimwade (1997, p. 45), 'the extent of the resource, its significance, rarity and existing status are value-laden factors, but provide the basis of a defensible rationale for adopting a particular use–preservation balance.' However, such a shift cannot avoid the potential threat of demolition or redesign which are driven by other demands (Al-Zoabi 2004). Valuing heritage based on intangible criteria, such as architectural merit, aesthetic appeal and neighbourhood stability, has proved difficult as a principle since environment and personal attitudes are always changing (Al-Zoabi 2004). Building on this context, Parkinson et al. (2016) critically concluded that experts have accepted representations from others in the case that they are seeking support for the protection of heritage which matched to professionals' judgements, as a result the interaction between experts and public seems ritualized.

Heritage conservation is related to the knowledge/power nexus, because knowledge is considered a technique of power (Foucault 1991; Robertson 2008; Yan 2015). Scholars have raised the concern that residents' limited knowledge may be an obstacle to successful involvement in planning. As Smith (1964, p. 85) explained, 'the community that simply goes through the motions of the master planning process with little knowledge of what is involved is doing itself as well as planning a disservice.' Timothy (1999) has also stated that a lack of education keeps residents at a distance when trying to involve them in the planning process. Therefore, local voices are often dismissed by discourses of elites (Hall 1999; Hampton 2005), and excluded from political and economic processes in heritage issues (Arnstein 1969; Li 2014). There has been a perception that it is unnecessary to involve ideas of local people, since elites know best how to improve environment (Din 1993; Timothy 1999) and how to value heritage based on their technical and aesthetic knowledge (Zhu 2015).

There is a more recent trend in integrated heritage interpretation, conservation and management which emphasizes the collaboration between residents and professionals (Coeterier 2002; Hampton 2005; Robertson 2008; Nicholas et al. 2009; Yan 2015). Cultural heritage is no longer the topic for those who are in charge of it or the minority who works with cultural heritage, but for residents. Local residents can be considered the ultimate users, as they encounter, concern, involve, own and do business with or in a heritage surrounding (Hampton 2005). As a result, understanding the interests and awareness of local residents is helpful, in order to avoid the costs of resolving conflicts of interests, to promote the heritage identification and protection process, and meanwhile, allows to build on the store of knowledge and capacities of the different stakeholders (Yuksel et al. 1999; Nyaupane 2009). Therefore, resident involvement needs to be given significantly more weight in heritage planning, conservation and management (Coeterier 2002; Nyaupane and Timothy 2010; Ludwig 2013).

In response to successful examples of public participation, Ebbe et al. (2011) suggested that it can be widely carried out in China. In recent decades, residents have taken part in Chinese heritage conservation in several ways (Ruan and Ding 2007). However, public participation in practice seems difficult according to some Chinese scholars. Li (2014, p. 655) considered government may not be willing to involve residents as they may want to share power and pose an obstacle to the use of 'urban heritage as an economic resource to foster economic development as capital for political promotion or grey income.' Qian (2007) introduced the notion that the Western and the Chinese heritage discourses are different, that the Western discourse emphasizes the cultural significance of heritage from the public perspective, whereas the Chinese principles place importance on the role of heritage laws and intervention of state in design-making process. For example, Qian (2007, p. 258) stated that under Chinese context, 'any conservation mechanism must be established within the framework of the law, and conservation practices must be operated in compliance with the law'. Conservation is considered government work, and residents are informed when planning decisions are made (Timothy and Wall 1997; Timothy 1999). As a result, residents forget or ignore their responsibilities when it comes to planning their living environment (Smith 1964). Furthermore, because the law lacks clear procedures for multi-participation (Ruan and Ding 2007; Ni 2013), civic responsibility is emphasized in a series of heritage documents. However, it seems that top-down perspectives are often imposed (Yan 2015). In some heritage regeneration projects in China, residents are forced to keep the narratives of elite groups (Yan 2015). They have come to accept the authorized knowledge and perform a way of living that follows this authorized discourse, rather than preserve the heritage from their own perspectives (Yan 2015). Even when this implies giving up their former economic activities and social habits (Yan 2015). In short, there is clear difference between what is expected with regard to involving residents in heritage issues and what room professionals or government actually leave in reality.

Ostensibly, there has been growing support for public participation in heritage issues. However, dissonance arises between the Western and the Chinese contexts,

and between theory and practice. In this sense, how Chinese professionals consider resident participation is an important issue of study. For one thing, professionals, as intermediaries, provide services for both the public sector (government) and residents. For the other thing, professionals are one of the most involved stakeholders when it comes to planning and management, who know and have contact with residents, and who will treat residents according to the preferences of residents.

8.3 Research Method

In order to explore how professionals perceive resident involvement in heritage issues, research material was gathered using a variety of methods, including fieldwork, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews between November 2014 and August 2016 in Qingdao. Fieldwork was carried out around the designated historic town of Qingdao, according to the Qingdao historical and cultural city conservation plan (2011–2020). From a review of local heritage, we gained a general idea of the status quo with regard to conservation and management, and the main questions for the interviews and questionnaires were identified. Interviews were held with five professionals who know heritage and heritage conservation well. These individuals played a role in designating, formulating and managing heritage projects, and they know about both public involvement and the main obstacles to it. The semi-structured interviews took from 1 to 2 h, and were held in a quiet office. The professionals were asked a series of questions, such as whether the interest in heritage is growing and whether heritage conservation is difficult in Qingdao. To add to the perspective of experts, we surveyed local residents. The questionnaires aimed to explore how residents recognize, understand and interpret their heritage (Zang et al. forthcoming). In total, 382 questionnaires were completed in several locations in Qingdao.

8.4 Qingdao Heritage

Qingdao lies in the east of China and is home to some 3 million people in the urban area. The city contains thousands of historic sites recognized by national, provincial, municipal and regional governments. Qingdao city designated a Historical and Cultural City at national level in 1994 and now contains 515 historical and cultural sites protected (abbreviation: protected sites), 206 outstanding historic buildings, 1568 historic buildings and 13 historic areas (Qingdao Cultural Heritage Administration 2014; www.Qingdao.gov.cn 2014; Qingdao Urban Planning Administration 2016). Built heritage makes an important contribution to the urban fabric, society, culture and economy of Qingdao. Built heritage consists of Western, Japanese and Chinese architecture. The historic landscape in the urban area forms a recollection of the colonial history. In 1897, Germany founded a small fishing
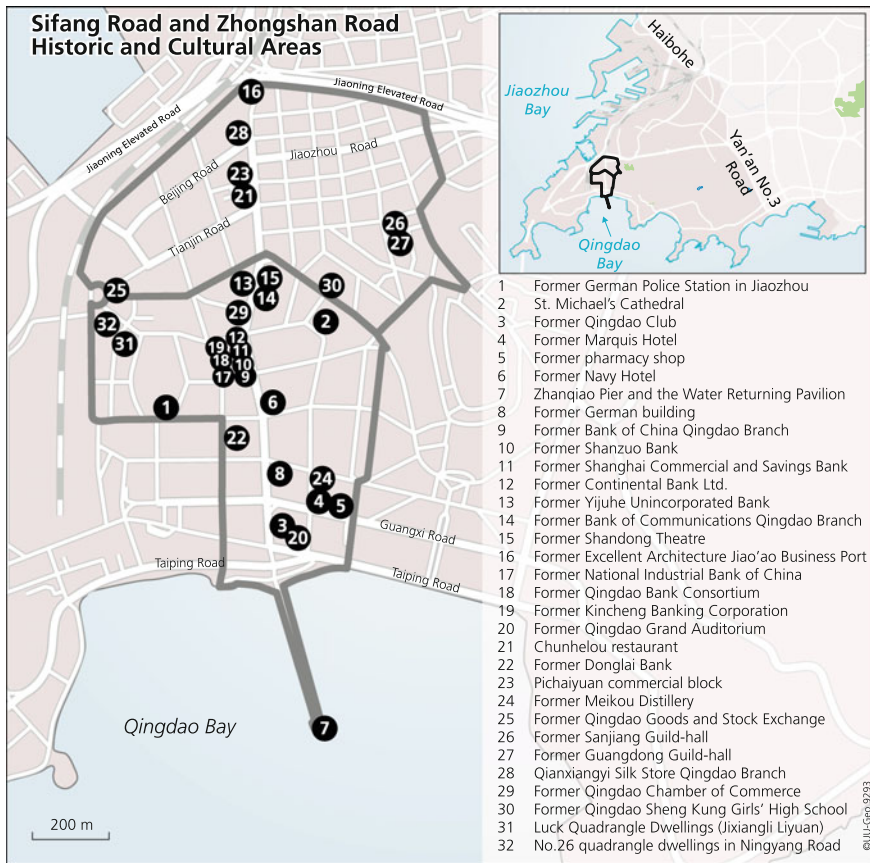
Sifang Road and Zhongshan Road Historic and Cultural Areas

1	Former German Police Station in Jiaozhou
2	St. Michael's Cathedral
3	Former Qingdao Club
4	Former Marquis Hotel
5	Former pharmacy shop
6	Former Navy Hotel
7	Zhanqiao Pier and the Water Returning Pavilion
8	Former German building
9	Former Bank of China Qingdao Branch
10	Former Shanzuo Bank
11	Former Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank
12	Former Continental Bank Ltd.
13	Former Yijuhe Unincorporated Bank
14	Former Bank of Communications Qingdao Branch
15	Former Shandong Theatre
16	Former Excellent Architecture Jiao'ao Business Port
17	Former National Industrial Bank of China
18	Former Qingdao Bank Consortium
19	Former Kincheng Banking Corporation
20	Former Qingdao Grand Auditorium
21	Chunhelou restaurant
22	Former Donglai Bank
23	Pichaiyuan commercial block
24	Former Meikou Distillery
25	Former Qingdao Goods and Stock Exchange
26	Former Sanjiang Guild-hall
27	Former Guangdong Guild-hall
28	Qianxiangyi Silk Store Qingdao Branch
29	Former Qingdao Chamber of Commerce
30	Former Qingdao Sheng Kung Girls' High School
31	Luck Quadrangle Dwellings (Jixiangli Liyuan)
32	No.26 quadrangle dwellings in Ningyang Road

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Fig. 8.1 The location of main protected sites and historic buildings in Sifang Road and Zhongshan Road Historic Areas. *Source* The map of Qingdao historical and cultural city conservation plan (2011–2020) was adopted from the Qingdao Urban Planning Administration

village in Qingdao that was exposed to Chinese and German cultures for 17 years (1897–1914). And the further urban expansion took place during two periods of Japanese occupation: 1914–1922 and 1938–1945. The most common heritage sites are churches, schools, embassies, government/public buildings, factories and residences (Fig. 8.1).

The majority of protected sites, historic buildings, and all historic areas are located in the historic town of Qingdao. All protected sites are administrated by the Cultural Heritage Administration from national to country, while the local Urban Planning Administration is in charge of historic buildings. Moreover, the former one belongs to immovable cultural relic, while the later one emphasizes architectural and local characteristics. Both principles and strategies of protected sites conservation are higher than historic buildings. In Qingdao, historic buildings are divided into outstanding and general levels. Some protected sites also overlap with

the list of historic buildings (e.g. Zhanqiao Pier and the Christian Church). At present, these heritage sites have come to be increasingly recognized as an important resource for attracting tourists and to build local identity.

8.5 Potential of Resident Participation in Heritage by Professionals

In this chapter, heritage is thus considered dissonant (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). This dissonance approach provides a framework to explore the differences between perceptions of professionals and residents. The interviews with professionals in Qingdao have touched upon these differences. We discuss three themes from the issues raised by the professionals: residents' awareness of the importance of heritage, residents' knowledge of heritage and priorities over conservation.

8.5.1 Residents' Awareness of the Importance of Heritage

Interviewees state that with the improvement of the economy and cultural education, public awareness of the importance of heritage has enhanced in general. According to our interviews, residents appreciate heritage as a significant witness for the origin and development of the city and its population. This, for example, is reflected by the Proposal of Improving Conservation and Utilization of Qingdao Historical and Cultural City [(own translation) The official Chinese name: 关于加强青岛历史文化名城保护和利用的议案] that was approved by the People's Congress in 2011. This can be understood as a way to respect the voice and aspirations of the public. Interviewee 4 stated: 'compared to other cities, professionals in Qingdao are very proud of the high public support for conserving heritage. And Qingdao citizens show a high level of recognition and the sense of honour towards their city and heritage.' Likewise, some interviewees hold the opinion that residents have emotional sustenance with heritage. Interviewee 1 explained this in more detail:

> Although the history of Qingdao city is relatively short, the public shows strong emotional ties to their cultural heritage. To some extent, everyone may want to trace their sources, including some of the West's family, they compile their genealogy, is both a tracing process and an emotional sustenance. Cultural heritage is both a personal memory of the city and a very important part of the city memory.

This concurs with the results of the questionnaire in 2014 which demonstrated that residents who live close to heritage sites, or visit them frequently, are more aware of the importance of heritage, and are thus better able to connect heritage sites with personal and family memories and stories. We asked respondents whether they felt a personal connection with the heritage, on a five-point Likert Scale

ranging from totally agree (5) to totally disagree (1). The mean score from respondents who visit historic areas regularly was higher than the mean score of respondents who did not encounter heritage regularly (3.68 and 3.23 respectively). Moreover, about 80% of respondents indicated that they knew at least one historic building in Qingdao. The majority of the most frequently mentioned buildings and sites are indeed listed by the central and local governments. Our respondents did have an understanding of what buildings are eligible to be designated as heritage. Some decades-old shops, such as Hengdeli glass shop and Shengxifu hat shop, were also considered heritage by our respondents. This concurs with the notion that local residents tend to evaluate heritage from their daily experience.

However, professionals that we interviewed are also critical about residents' awareness of heritage issues for two reasons. According to Articles 7 and 12 in Interim Administrative Measures for the Recognition of Cultural Relics [(own translation) The official Chinese name: 文物认定管理暂行办法], citizens, legal persons or other organizations can apply for designation and listing of immovable cultural relics themselves (China's Ministry of Culture 2009). Except for a few of the local enterprises, for instance the Winery, there is no individual resident who has since nominated or contributed his or her own historic building as heritage in Qingdao. This, on the one hand, implies that Chinese government provides an open channel for public to enrol in some parts of decision-making in heritage topics. On the other hand, it reveals that residents may not be aware of their responsibilities in heritage conservation, that they may lack knowledge on official regulations or lack confidence of the value of their building, or they may have other priorities to consider rather than conservation.

Recently, there has been one instance of a bottom-up initiative by local people to conserve heritage that gained much media attention. Local residents collectively worked on a call to protect built heritage and staged mass protests over the demolishment of an old building in the Yushan Historic Area. The scale of the protest and the societal influence were great, and it was covered by blogs, newspapers and news websites. Residents were fighting for conservation of the building and the integrated landscape of this area because of their collective attachment, which was embodied in memories and stories with this building and area. The building had to make way for the construction of a new science park, which had in fact been approved by the Qingdao Urban Planning Administration in 2015. What the government had not foreseen were the improved societal aspirations and expectations for conserving Qingdao's old building and built environment in practice.

However, the professional interviewees show a different opinion towards the Yushan case. They appreciate the support for heritage conservation by the public and also show the pity of demolishment. However, they question the capacity of the public to support heritage conservation judiciously. Interviewee 4 reflected that: 'the building is not listed as protected sites, which means there is no restrictive law to protect it.' Professionals feel that the public at times would want to protect old buildings blindly. The public may mistakenly perceive any old building as protected site and they moreover often ignore the private ownership of such buildings.

Interviewee 5 stated that 'if demolishment of the building was considered and discussed adequately, the government should insist their opinion.' Interviewee 5 also questioned: 'do we need to keep all the old buildings in Qingdao?'

This example is in accordance with Parkinson et al. (2016) who stated that there may be vigorous opposition if a threatened building has deeply personal connection and strong sense of local identity. In such case, professionals may focus less on social or cultural values if the building was not historic, artistic and had any scientific value. Professionals recognize that residents value heritage from emotional and social perspectives, but in practice, professionals question the capacity of public in heritage designation and evaluation which rely on the expect and official criteria. In this particular case, they did not perceive the public outcry as a reason to start protecting the building, instead they stick to the official laws and plans. However, the Chinese principles would have allowed for conservation. Even for protected sites or listed buildings, Chinese principles allow for flexibility in the case of any special circumstances, for example, national important development (Qian 2007).

A second issue where some interviewees critique public awareness of heritage is the case of pseudo-classic architecture which is popular in current China. Professional feels that pseudo-classic architecture is fake, but that the public does not seem to see that. Interviewee 3 remarked, 'the Chinese clearly recognize fake artefacts. They acknowledge that the fake bronze ware is valueless.' However, the same cannot be said for 'fake' buildings. Pseudo-classic architecture is valued and accepted by the public who did not care about 'fake' or 'real' architecture. This statement strongly stresses the authenticity of relics from a professional perspective. However, common acceptance by public implies different criteria by which residents value heritage. Differences in the evaluation of heritage were also noted in another instance.

A widely accepted 'norm' in the way professionals value heritage in Qingdao is that built heritage relates to objects constructed before 1949. As such, professionals emphasize historical, artistic and scientific values (Qingdao Cultural Heritage Administration 2014). In consequence, some old buildings are not considered valuable. One professional, interviewee 5 stated:

> Values of the simple structured Japanese workers dormitory cannot be compared with the stone German Christian church. [...] Nobody, including the owner, is willing to pay for the revitalization of such kind of poor building. It is valueless.

The public, however, may value such 'poor buildings'. The questionnaire reveals that respondents value heritage based on three aspects: cultural, social and aesthetic. Residents emphasize intangible heritage qualities and the integral natural environment of built heritage, such as 'showcase of cultural connotation' or 'embodiment of Western or folk culture'. It raises an important statement that non-physical values are as significant as physical structures to historic town or building conservation from residents' perspectives, and so dissonances may rise between experts and residents.

8.5.2 Residents' Knowledge of Heritage

The knowledge residents have (or lack) of heritage is also considered a factor that may hinder resident involvement in heritage conservation. Some professionals further emphasize the knowledge gap between residents and experts. As interviewee 1 detailed:

> The public has very little knowledge. The people in Qingdao lack education about local history, and then it leads to several problems when we talk about the urban development in Qingdao. From 1940s-1990s, there are no professional institutions, such as university, department of history or architectural conservation, to teach the history and the architecture of Qingdao to the public. Moreover, a great number of immigrants who live in Qingdao now learned little about the city.

The experts thus feel that residents have limited knowledge of local history, which they consider important in heritage conservation. The questionnaire revealed that local knowledge may indeed be limited. When we asked respondents more detailed factual knowledge about old buildings, they struggled. Less than half (47%) of the respondents could tell which picture out of four presented a building that was built during the German occupation (1987–1914). In a similar vein, little over half of the respondents (53.9%) could select the correct typical Qingdao dwelling style (Liyuan). All respondents were also asked for original functions of eight buildings that were shown in modern photographs. In the first set of pictures where respondents have to match current buildings with their original names, 27.5% gave the correct answer. In the other set of matching names and pictures about the old industrial area, this was 46.3%. Only a tiny percentage (less than 3%) had no idea. Old buildings with a long history or with original public and social uses, such as Haiyunan Temple or the local high school, were recognized more than other buildings. This again may be due to respondents' personal connections with these buildings through use of them in their daily lives.

The questionnaire thus demonstrates that at least a part of the respondent group has some knowledge of heritage. However, it is not certain that outcomes can be generalized to the whole population of Qingdao. The questionnaire may be self-selective. Respondents may be more confident about their heritage knowledge than those people who rejected to partake in the questionnaire, even though they mentioned other reasons not to take part, such as cold weather or being busy.

Our research also showed that knowledge of and familiarity with heritage seem related. The scores for the detailed factual knowledge were positively influenced by where respondents lived, whether they visited these areas and how familiar they were with the heritage of the area. As part of the process of improving awareness of local heritage, the visitation experience is commonly perceived by experts as a positive method for the public to acquire knowledge, connect with the past, foster appreciation, support conservation and experience heritage (Urry 1990; McIntosh and Prentice 1999; Moscardo 1996; Smith et al. 2003; Al-Zoabi 2004; Smith 2006; Nyaupane and Timothy 2010; Silva 2014).

In Qingdao, attempts have been made to enhance public visitation and to educate the public about heritage values through several channels by both central and local governments. In recent years, they recognized theme activities on the China Cultural Heritage Day and built a series of themed museums in Qingdao. More than 80 public and private museums have been created recently. Our interviewees stated that through reuse and revitalization into museums, those old buildings are conserved and will thus help to promote the cultural quality of the city. However, professionals respected the large distance between public participation and heritage activities. The turnout of the public at these activities is low in their opinion. This is clearly expressed by interviewee 4:

> As professionals, we notice the increasing awareness of the public toward heritage. But we wonder how we transform our knowledge effectively from an academic way to popular way. […] We want to let the public know why heritage is important, how to protect it and what the significance is of conserving heritage. We expect through taking part in heritage activities, the public recognition of heritage significance can be reached at a general level. It is difficult. The way that we tried is not accepted by the public. For example, TV programs on the Cultural Heritage Day are little attractive to the majority who have difficulty to resonate with professional language. […] Moreover, future research should address why populations do not visit museums and what constraints prevent them from visiting.

Experts acknowledge the increasing public awareness of heritage, and encourage the public to experience heritage. This concurs with notions that visiting museums may help people to enhance interests and to start exploring the stories behind the artefacts, and then build their own interpretations of heritage (Hooper-Greenhill 1999). However, when we further explore ideas of public participation with professionals, signals of authorized heritage discourse are visible, implying that they feel the knowledge of residents is not inappropriate or too limited. Experts explain that they are struggling to find a way to attract visitors to heritage and to educate residents about heritage. This focuses on trying to educate or transfer knowledge does not sit really well with public participation as a means to include more perspectives and different types of knowledge.

8.5.3 Priorities Over Conservation

According to interviewees, notwithstanding the general support for heritage conservation, there are groups in the society who do not care much about heritage. An important share of inhabitants of the historic town struggle to get by and simply has other priorities in life than conserving heritage. Official statistics are hard to get. However, the questionnaire shows that 84% of the 209 respondents, who lived in the Zhongshan Historic Area or Haiyunan Old Industrial Area at the time of the question, received a low monthly income (less than RMB 4000). Furthermore, those respondents who live in historic areas considered that a nice modern city centre is much

Fig. 8.2 Poor living quality in Liyuan (*Source* Xiaolin Zang)

more pleasant than a historic one in general. People from this area also tend more to the demolishment of Liyuan than the other people interviewed. Interviewee 1 used a typical Chinese proverb to express that poorer residents may have other priorities:

> We recognize manners when we have enough food. We notice honour or disgrace when we have enough clothing.

For many residents, meeting basic needs is still the main priority in daily life. During interviews, words commonly used by professionals to describe the residents who often live in old buildings were 'low-income' and 'vulnerable groups'. Taking Liyuan as example, three generations often live together in a less than 10 m^2 room (Han and Kuang 2012), and have to share one old-style squat toilet with about 30–100 households (Fig. 8.2). Because of restrictive regulations in historic areas, building extension is impossible. As the family has expanded, residents are unable to find a place for new family members to live. Therefore, residents who live in old buildings are not opposed to regeneration, they oppose a loss of living quality.

According to the Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics, the person who owns or uses a building has the responsibility to repair it. On the basis of interviews, it can be assumed tentatively that there are not many residents who are willing to pay the costs of maintenance of old buildings, even when it is listed as heritage. Interviewee 1 referred to an old house that now accommodates several families:

> It is very difficult in China. […] The government should persuade every family (if one of them disagree to pay the cost, the regeneration project cannot be carried out). For example, some of the inhabitants prefer to use gas tank rather than installing a new gas pipe. Because they are not willing to pay the cost themselves.

Fig. 8.3 A regenerated café locates in Xinhaoshan Historic Area (*Source* Xiaolin Zang)

Lack of private investment and agreement may be aggravated in conserving a building which is resided with several families. This means that the cost of revitalization and renovation of heritage will remain with the local government instead of the direct users. Residents do not see the cost of maintenance as their responsibility. This is confirmed by the results of the questionnaires: respondents unanimously agreed that heritage conservation and management are a task for the authorities and they would leave heritage policies to government and experts. However, as heritage rehabilitation and conservation may require constant investments, the government perhaps hopes to share these expenses with other stakeholders, such as private investors or owners (Lichfield 1997; Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000). For example, operating a museum costs 10 million Yuan per year according to interviewee 4.

In one neighbourhood, private investors have become involved in revitalization: Xinhaoshan Historic Area, which is located near to the original campus of Ocean University. Although most buildings in this area were formerly used as residences, some of them converted into tourism-related businesses, such as hostels and cafés (Fig. 8.3). However, these developments may be particular to this area. Similar developments cannot be expected elsewhere automatically according to interviewee 2:

> Converting into bars or cafés are bound up with the setting or environment. It (Xinhaoshan Historic Area) is near to the Ocean University. Foreigners and college students are prospective customers. This strongly relies on the market orientation, or a clustering effect.

Besides economic interests of living in a historic area, interviewees also emphasized that beautiful landscapes and nice experiences attract some residents, such as inhabitants who own the whole or half of a house, or inhabitants who have

lived in this neighbourhood for a long time. Furthermore, interviewees mentioned an endemic reason why people would want to live in some historic areas in Qingdao. According to the Nearby Enrolment Policy [(own translation) The official Chinese name: 就近入学政策] in China, school-age children enrol in the nearest school where their residence is registered. Therefore, when famous schools locate in the historic town, houses and rooms in this area become saleable. As interviewee 2 explained:

> There is a couple and their child who live in a loft with much sunshine. But they do not want to move (because of the Nearby Enrolment Policy).

Although professionals know the example of Xinhaoshan historic area where private investment has renewed the neighbourhood—but they are also well aware of the downside of private ownership as it may complicate heritage conservation. These problems relate to, on the one hand, limited budget, and on the other hand, fragmentary ownership. In a Chinese context, the majority of protected sites and listed historic buildings are owned by different levels of government. However, there are a considerable number of private buildings in Qingdao. According to the professionals interviewed, there are two main strategies used to ensure conservation of private buildings. Government officials prefer to negotiate with private owners to open their houses for the public in a stipulated time with governmental compensation. For those buildings in danger or with high values, governments prefer to exchange or buy the property right from private owners. However, the budget of 200 million Yuan from the national government is stretched thin by a great number of private historic buildings in Qingdao, interviewee 3 noted:

> Taking Zhongshan neighbourhood as example, number of property rights are too large and complex. When the government went to investigate, some unapproved constructions (in the yards or corridors) gained property rights in the past. Residents also required compensation for these extra areas. It is very common. […] Under the circumstances, the Qingdao government cannot afford the immense expense.

This is especially the case when a building includes several households. According to interviewee 1, when the former Laoshe house which includes a 400 m^2 three-layer building and a 600 m^2 garden was bought, governments spent 1.3 million Yuan to each of 10 or 11 households. The large cost was afforded by national, city and district governments together. Such a multi-departmental participation often leads to management fragmentation. As interviewee 1 explained:

> The management of this house should show the power of each level of governments. As a result, while the Qingdao Cultural Heritage Administration are authorized to supervise building conservation, the district government is the practicing manager.

Furthermore, there are too many conflicts of interest in heritage regeneration projects. Interviewee 2 stated that: 'It is too complex. If one of owners disagrees (with the compensation), it is impossible to carry out regeneration project of the whole building.' Carrying out heritage conservation and regeneration projects in practice has become an expensive, difficult and complex issue. Owners and residents who live in old buildings often have other priorities, and leave heritage conservation to governments and experts.

8.6   Conclusion

We asked professionals in Qingdao about their experiences and views on public awareness and participation in heritage conservation. This study reveals that professionals recognized an increasing awareness of heritage among residents. The intangible personal and family connections with heritage sites are emphasized by our residents and mentioned as a significant aspect of the importance of heritage by our interviewed professionals. In Qingdao, a series of activities, such as surveys, forums and public meetings were organized by the administration, and public participation has not yet become a spontaneous bottom-up process to promote governmental decision-making. However, public awareness of the importance of heritage does not automatically lead to participation.

There are obstacles to overcome before public participation in heritage issues really takes place in Qingdao. First, professionals feel that residents lack knowledge of history, authenticity and legislation. This hinders resident participation in heritage matters judiciously. Professionals partly see it as their duty to reduce the knowledge gap. They struggled to find an attractive way to enhance public visitation to heritage sites and improve public understanding of heritage significance. However, these aspirations to involve residents resemble the authorized heritage discourse, which privileges expert knowledge and understanding over local knowledge. Local residents are educated with professional knowledge and the language of valuing heritage, through watching official TV programs or visiting museums. As a result, residents could communicate and negotiate with professionals by using the same concepts and criterion. The perceived need to educate residents also follows from expert observations that the public does not value heritage for the 'right' reasons. While residents value and conserve heritage from their personal experiences, the emphasis of professionals is on heritage laws and regulations. This implies a top-down system is still firmly in place (Qian 2007). In the case of Yushan, professionals carefully explained that the demolishment followed the official laws and suited government-decided projects. Resident perspective embodied in intangible values, such as stories and associations which are difficult to justify, might thus not be enough to save the building (Ludwig 2013). Second, professionals also stated another difficulty in heritage practice: residents who live in or own heritage prefer to other priorities than conservation, such as living quality enhancement and tourism development. The direct users leave heritage maintenance and regeneration as a responsibility of government rather than themselves. There is thus little evidence to show that residents are willing to invest in a heritage with complex ownership.

In the future, it would be advisable to professionals to help residents recognize and understand their responsibilities when it comes to heritage designation and management. In addition, we suggest that in the future, Chinese professionals leave more room and recognize the value of heritage from lay understandings of cultural significance rather than technocentric or restrictive official principles as argued by Acharya (2005) and Qian (2007).

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Chapter 9
Preparing for Matera 2019: Local Resident Participation in Research and Perceptions of Destination Competitiveness

Nicholas Wise, Lucia Aquilino and Tanja Armenski

Abstract Cities/regions across Europe are increasingly using events to catalyse culture and aid community development. The European Capital of Culture promotes economic production using culture to drive the restructuring of social legacies, job creation and civic repositioning. This chapter assesses how residents of Matera, Italy view their destination's competitiveness ahead of the 2019 European Capital of Culture using the Integrated Model of Destination Competitiveness. Because the survey was completed by local residents, a new determinant is considered (Social Conditions to Improve Local Well-being) to understand how the event will benefit the local city community of Matera. This chapter analyses results from 200 competitiveness surveys completed by residents from Matera and the immediate Basilicata region. Respondents identify strengths and weaknesses of 83 indicators organised by determinant of destination competitiveness. Sample mean values ($\bar{X}$) and standard deviations (SD) for each indicator are presented, and the discussion of the findings reflects on the preparedness of Matera ahead of 2019. While the results are often measured to indicate elements of tourism, gaining insight from local residents offers insight on the need for urban renewal, social impacts and community well-being as the destination prepares to host events and for increased tourism in 2019.

Keywords Destination competitiveness · Matera 2019 · Resident perceptions Social impacts · Community well-being

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9.1   Introduction

Events are playing an increasingly important role in renewing cities and catalysing local, regional and national culture (Richards and Palmer 2010; Smith 2012; Wise and Harris 2017). The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) promotes urban development (or redevelopment) as a driving force to promote new social legacies, job creation and civic repositioning (Richards et al. 2013; Richards and Wilson 2007; Spirou 2011). Whilst it is essential that ECoC host cities have long-term competitive strategies in place, aimed at strengthening the capacity of their city to deliver diverse cultural programmes, it is just as important to get a sense of how local residents perceive their destination's competitiveness. Local residents, after all, will be the ones participating in, contributing to, and therefore affected by event and tourism planning, urban change and renewal. Local residents will also be most impacted by the outcome of social and economic policies, before, during and after the event. Crouch (2011) argues it is essential to consider competitiveness alongside the growth of emerging niche industries. Hosting the ECoC will come to define a destination for years to come, as presented in research focusing on, for example, Glasgow 1990 (García 2005; Mooney 2004), Rotterdam 2001 (Richards and Wilson 2007), Liverpool 2008 (Spirou 2011), Cork 2005 (O'Callaghan and Linehan 2007) or Guimarães 2012 (Keofoed 2013). Scholars also critically evaluate projected (or intended) legacies of future events (see Evans and Van Huer 2013). Although the host city is often the focal point when it comes to image creation, this chapter will address various destination competitiveness determinants and indicators to get a sense of how local residents perceive Matera's preparedness ahead of the 2019 ECoC.

Destination competitiveness is concerned with measuring features, framing impact and improving management (Armenski et al. 2017; Crouch and Ritchie 1999; Ritchie and Crouch 2003) to inform tourism policy and future planning (Estol and Font 2016; Thomas and Wood 2015). Furthermore, tourism managers, officials and planners are investing time and financial resources to organise events and promote subsequent cultural, social and economic development opportunities (Deery et al. 2012; Chalip 2014; Smith 2012). Destination competitiveness research has focused on a range of specific topics, these included, for instance, price competitiveness (Dwyer et al. 2000), the natural environment (Hassan 2000), business features (Enright and Newton 2004), quality of tourism management (Go and Govers 2000), perceptions of destination attractiveness (Cracolici and Nijkamp 2009), disability/accessibility (Vila et al. 2015), mass tourism (Claver-Cortés et al. 2007) and cultural heritage (Alberti and Giusti 2012). While each of the referenced articles addresses specific topics in tourism, little research to date has focused directly on events and competitiveness (see Dragicevic et al. 2009; Thomas and Wood 2015). Given the case of Matera, Italy in this chapter, it is argued that competitiveness studies are essential in more peripheral and emerging destinations because such research allows planners, managers and policymakers to evaluate destination strengths and weaknesses (see Ayikoru 2015; Campón-Cerro et al. 2016; Chin et al. 2014; Gabor et al. 2012; Mulec and Wise 2013).

This chapter analyses results from 200 competitiveness surveys completed by residents from Matera and the immediate Basilicata region. The data collected was used to identify and discuss strengths and weaknesses across 83 indicators, organised by determinant of destination competitiveness (the research approach is further outlined later in this chapter). Sample mean values ($\bar{X}$) and standard deviations (SD) for each indicator are presented in this chapter. The following section will outline some context specific to the case of Matera followed by a discussion of the literature and method to frame the research framework. The discussion and results sections are organised into three subsections to present findings of the six determinants. The chapter concludes with some final remarks that address research going forward during and after the 2019 ECoC events.

9.2   Matera, Italy and 2019

Matera is a city in the Basilicata region located in the south of Italy along the Ionian and Tyrrhenian Seas bordering the regions of Apulia (to the north and east), Campania (to the west) and Calabria (to the south). The region's extremely varied natural landscape consists of lakes, forests, hills, mountains and rivers with a diversity of fauna and flora. Several protected areas and regional parks and two national parks (Pollino National Park and Val d'Agri National Park) portray traces of the region's historical milestones that have shaped its archaeological, historical and cultural heritage across the centuries. These rich landscapes have attracted national and international filmmakers to film in naturally and historically dramatic places (Bencivenga et al. 2015). The economy of Basilicata is mostly dependent upon national or regional markets (ISTAT 2015). Isolation has affected the demographic and social dimensions of Basilicata with low rates of employment and an economy based primarily on its local mechanical industry and mineral extraction (see ISTAT 2015; Tanizawa et al. 2011). While the region struggles with employment, the analysis reflects on ongoing struggles and the need to create more educational and training opportunities to mitigate this. Future economic uncertainty is associated with lower birth rates—seeing a slowdown in population growth across the region. Social stability is associated with flows of migrants from Africa and Middle East (ISTAT 2015) and suggests significant demographic transition in upcoming decades.

Tourism is an increasing economic driving force in Matera (and Basilicata), given the mild Mediterranean climate, varied dramatic landscapes, gastronomy and rich cultural heritage. Tourist arrivals and overnight stays have increased in the last few years, improving local GDP (Agenzia di Promozione Territoriale Basilicata 2016). The support of the local government and relevant investments in tourism development and promotional activities, using events, is helping reduce tourism seasonality by creating new employment opportunities. The city of Matera has been the central attraction since the *Sassi*, a vast agglomeration of ancient dwellings in the middle of the city, gained UNESCO World Heritage recognition in 1993 (Bernardo and De Pascale 2016). The *Sassi di Matera* is now seeing increased

investments in urban regeneration and infrastructure in preparation for ECoC 2019 (Bernardo and De Pascale 2016). The awarding of the ECoC has since increased tourism in Matera and is considered a catalyst for subsequent social, cultural and economic development in the city and across the wider Basilicata Region.

9.3   Research Framework: Destination Competitiveness

Generating insight of destination competitiveness allows researchers to assess current management practices, existing strategies, planning agendas, potential impacts and, importantly, identifies strengths and areas where attention and investment might enhance the destination (Crouch and Ritchie 1999; Dwyer and Kim 2003; Evans 2009; Go and Govers 2000; Kim and Dwyer 2003; Melián-González and García-Falcón 2003). Competitiveness studies are especially useful for policymakers and planners because results offer holistic perspective of the destination from tourism resources, to managing and image, to social impacts and benefits. Focusing on the need to be critical concerning destination research, Gomezelj and Mihalič (2008, p. 294) note:

> In an ever more saturated market, the fundamental task of destination management is to understand how a tourism destination's competitiveness can be enhanced and sustained. There is thus a strong need to identify and explore competitive (dis)advantages and to analyse the actual competitive position.

Today, destinations 'are exposed to long-term structural shifts that challenge tourism development strategies and range from destination marketing to product offerings and infrastructure planning' (Gabor et al. 2012, p. 361). Furthermore, Chin et al. (2014, p. 35) note, 'the high competitive environment in this industry forces tourism players to provide better services to their visitors in order to stay competitive.' The competitiveness of a destination links to its position among similar competing markets locally, regionally, and globally. While it is important to highlight how a destination positions itself among competitors, it has long been just as important to focus on strategies concerning how to develop a destination—in terms of maintaining (or diversifying) tourism product offering(s) (see Benur and Bramwell 2015; Cheong and Khem 1988; Kozak and Rimmington 1999).

According to Crouch (2011, p. 27), 'a further challenge to the management of destination competitiveness is that the goals of this competition are not always clear or congruent.' Therefore, performance-based motives (which may involve financial, social or environmental demands) should be measured in relation to the ability to monitor, manage and continually improve a destination and its attractions (Armenski et al. 2011; Croes and Kubickova 2013). Competitiveness is measured empirically, determined upon a destination's dependency on its tourism sector and subsequent successes or failures in relation to changes and nascent industry developments that will influence performance (Dwyer et al. 2016).

To better understand and measure competitiveness, tourism researchers have presented various models since the 1990s (Crouch 2011). There are a number of ways of measuring destination competitiveness (e.g. De Keyser and Vanhove 1994; Enright and Newton 2004; Hassan 2000), and numerous scholars have used and widely adapted models developed by Ritchie and Crouch (2003) and Dwyer and Kim (2003). Despite the approach, each model of destination competitiveness focuses on specific determinants to identify/measure impacts and quality standards, for instance, De Keyser and Vanhove (1994) identified policy, macroeconomic, supply, transport and demand factors. Hassan's (2000) model puts much emphasis on environmental determinants, in addition to comparative advantages, tourism structure and demand factors. Richie and Crouch's (2003) Conceptual Model of Destination Competitiveness addresses five crucial themes, which involve policy, planning/ development, management, core resources/attractors and supporting resources.

Acknowledging that competitiveness frameworks lend to informing tourism policy and practice, scholars have recently built on foundation work and have developed revised models (e.g. Vila et al. 2015; Mendola and Volo 2017; Thomas and Wood 2015). For instance, Thomas and Wood (2015) build on the notion of absorptive capacity to exploit external knowledge for generating competitive advantages. A set of composite indicators can help researchers explore the multi-dimensionality of tourism indicators through different stages, and such an approach 'provides tourism scholars and practitioners with a set of statistical guidelines to build composite indicators and with an operative scheme to assess indicators' effectiveness in empirical evaluations' (Mendola and Volo 2017, p. 541).

Data were collected for this research using a survey method. Dwyer and Kim's (2003) Integrated Model was adapted to assess the competitiveness of Matera ahead of 2019. A survey questionnaire using a seven-point Likert scale (1 less competitive to 7 most competitive) was conducted divided into six main determinants of desti-nation competitiveness: (1) Inherited Resources; (2) Created Resources; (3) Supporting Resources; (4) Destination Management and Organisation; (5) Social Conditions to Improve Local Wellbeing; and (6) Image and Awareness Conditions. From the Integrated Model, the demand conditions determinant was amended to social conditions for this study. Demand conditions, being awareness, perception and preferences, relate to determinant 6: image and awareness conditions. This work focuses on social conditions given local residents completed the survey, to get a sense of how involved they feel they are a part of preparing for future tourism and new development. Moreover, there is a need to assess how events and future tourism opportunities will (socially) impact locals (see Richards et al. 2013; Wise 2016), elaborated on later in this chapter. No single set of competitiveness indicators apply to all destinations. Indicators in each determinant must be relevant to the case (see Aquilino and Wise 2016; Mulec and Wise 2013). Specific to Matera, a final set of 83 indicators were included in the survey (divided into the above mentioned six competitiveness determinants). In total, 200 surveys were returned and all were coded for the analysis. There are missing values for each indicator, showing that the respondents abstained from answering a few questions either pertaining to certain demographics or to certain factors of competitiveness—this is reflected on below.

Table 9.1 Sample demographics

Sample	%	Sample	%
Gender		*Age*	
Male	44.2	18–30	24.6
Female	41.2	31–40	24.1
n/r	14.6	41–50	23.2
Employment status		51–60	16.6
Employed	77.9	61+	6.5
Unemployed	18.6	n/r	5.0
Retired	3.5		

Crouch (2011) argued there is a need to focus on and measure particular approaches to tourism and destination competitiveness. This will help determine how competitive a destination is in developing (and delivering) a niche product (such as events/event tourism). Peripheral regions are arguably most vulnerable, and focusing on the case of Matera ahead of 2019 is essential to understand strengths and weaknesses of how locals perceive their destination. Such work is essential so that the host community and regional tourism planners/developers can identify strengths and weaknesses based on assessed indicators. In highlighting a conceptual framework, Gomezelj and Mihalič (2008, p. 295) stress that maintaining a high level of competitiveness is linked to a destination 'ability to create added value […by] managing assets and processes, attractiveness, aggressiveness and proximity.' Ideally, this will allow the destination to prosper so that future generations can learn to improve and continue participating in tourism business and activities, which will and can be assessed in subsequent longitudinal research.

Table 9.1 shows demographic characteristics of respondents who participated in this study. Those who participated show diversity across age range, gender and type of employment. While it has been widely accepted to measure competitiveness based on perspectives of industry experts (Mulec and Wise 2013), experts, however, can skew results because they work in a particular or ancillary area of tourism (so they would have a vested interest, thus skewing the data). Scholars have argued that gaining insight from people who hold local knowledge are likely to provide more critical observations (Chin et al. 2014). More informative and insightful recommendations can contribute further to practical considerations based on local needs, wants and demands. This position is supported by Dredge (2010), who discusses the importance of local insight alongside local tourism development decision-making and is necessary if future planning is to foster future inclusive social and economic development. Local perspective can also help elude conflicts of interest between locals, planners, policymakers and private investors.

9.4 Results and Descriptive Analysis

The results presented in the following sections display sample mean values ($\bar{X}$) and standard deviations (SD) for each indicator. Descriptive analyses using SPSS 17 show strengths and weaknesses concerning the competitiveness indicators measured for the case of Matera. Competitive indicators are those showing means above 4.00 (shaded in grey in the following tables). Discussions articulating on results follow in the three subsections.

9.4.1 Inherited, Created and Supporting Resources

Table 9.2 shows respondents perceive inherited resources (including the natural environment, heritage and climate) as very competitive. Inherited resources include both natural and cultural elements, and when we consider competitiveness, it is the underlying natural and cultural environment that visitors often desire to experience (Mihalič 2013). Given Matera's (and the Basilicata Region's) unique natural and cultural features, outlined above, Table 9.2 shows that average results for each indicator are above the 4.0 competitiveness threshold, and for the most part accommodated by the variance. Results pertaining to the level of competitiveness of created resources outlined in Table 9.3 are expected to support both event and cultural industries. When we consider urban renewal, cleanliness can be linked to image transformation (related to the image and awareness determinant). Wise (2016) discusses the impacts of tourism regeneration by considering the triple bottom line. The environment, whilst an inherited resource, is key to maintain because if the underlying environment is disrupted, this may reduce the appeal of the destination. A healthy environment, intact with appropriate measures and policies, is a way to not only ensure long-term environmental sustainability but also will help maintain economic sustainability. Results show that the indicator: attractive natural environment adds value to destination experience, is deemed most competitive ($\bar{X} = 6.42$, SD $= 1.10$). Insufficient space/capacity to host events and cultural activities are marked as the highest disadvantage ($\bar{X} = 4.36$, SD $= 1.79$). Although indicator mean is just above the competitiveness threshold, the high variance suggests there is much concern with how events will impact the underlying environment and existing cultural resources, given the limited availability (of space) to expand. Certainly, the *Sassi* is the main tourist attraction in Matera and, as such, the main object of tourism strategies, since it represents the city's history, heritage and the pride of its people. In the past decade, increased tourist flows and visitor exploitation of the *Sassi* has fostered a greater sense of local apprehension, and further attempts to conserve this UNESCO World Heritage Site (De Giacomo 2013).

Created resources include existing infrastructure, tangible elements of culture and entertainment. Similarly, supporting resources involve reliability of infrastructure and operational responsiveness necessary to provide services (see Dwyer

Table 9.2 Inherited resources

Indicator	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
Attractive natural environment adds value to destination experience	193	6.42	1.10
Aesthetic, artistic and architectural features add value to the destination experience	191	6.27	1.21
Cultural heritage (i.e. traditional arts, music, gastronomy)	194	6.11	1.16
Ideal climate for tourists/visitors	192	5.56	1.35
Cleanliness of the destination	192	5.10	1.76
Sufficient available space/capacity to host events and cultural activities	194	4.36	1.79

Table 9.3 Created resources

Indicator	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
Quality of food	193	5.94	1.32
Variety of food service and facilities	190	5.11	1.60
Entertainment opportunities and cultural activities cater to people over 55	184	4.77	1.48
Entertainment opportunities and cultural activities cater to adults' interests between ages of 35–55	191	4.77	1.58
Quality/value for money of accommodation for prices	190	4.44	1.63
Entertainment opportunities and cultural activities cater to young adults' interests between ages of 18–35	189	4.33	1.66
Availability of land and ease of zoning land just outside urban areas and in rural areas to host larger outdoor events and cultural activities	181	4.11	1.79
Accommodation capacity allow for increased visitors	189	4.04	1.70
Range of nightlife opportunities	190	4.00	1.73
Sufficient number of event venues (e.g. conferences halls, sports stadia, auditoriums) to organise indoor events and cultural activities	189	3.93	1.75
Availability of land and ease of zoning land in urban areas to host larger outdoor events and cultural activities	183	3.93	1.78
Diversity of shopping opportunities and experiences	190	3.89	1.59
Local transportation efficiency/quality	192	3.88	2.04
Entertainment opportunities and cultural activities cater to youth interests (below 18)	186	3.75	1.68

and Kim 2003). Respondents are critical of Matera's created resources (Table 9.3) and supporting resources (Table 9.4). Broadly considering, both of these determinants are key components of destination development. To support the tourism industry, and the local economy, created and supporting resources relate to Matera's capability to host tourists and eventgoers. While the focus is often on building, renewing or upgrading infrastructure to support tourism, as some of the indicators specifically address, a number of these indicators impact residents directly. This is where gaining local insight based on residents' perspectives is crucial because planners and tourism managers have vested interest in developing the destination, but they may not be as critical as addressed in findings by Mulec and Wise (2013). Local transportation efficiency/quality, for instance, falls below the competitiveness threshold. This is a crucial indicator since local transport impacts people who reside in Matera each day. Moreover, this critical insight suggests that more could be done to improve the efficiency and quality of urban

Table 9.4 Supporting resources

Indicator	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
Ease and availability of health/medical facilities	184	4.62	1.68
Sufficient number of web sites and online information about the destination, attractions and events location(s)	190	4.48	1.79
Easy to use telecommunication system for tourists	188	4.44	1.64
Availability of financial institutions and currency exchange facilities	183	4.27	1.70
Sufficient tourism signposting and quality of directions/information in several languages	187	4.10	1.95
Established events districts, or facilitating complexes of venues with accommodation	188	4.06	1.82
Affordable flight prices to the destination (or within proximity of the destination) through low-cost/discount airlines/flight companies	180	4.05	2.02
Businesses make use of online reservations and sales	181	3.97	1.72
Existence of adequate tourism and event management education programmes	179	3.84	1.82
Existence of regular training programmes for tourism and event related work to enhance service quality	175	3.79	1.86
Destination links with major origin markets: accessibility of the destination in terms of transportation	191	3.63	2.16

transport in Matera. This is to not only improve local and regional mobility for locals, but also for visitors, and to better cater to (anticipated) tourism increases. Although local transportation results were identified here as below the competitiveness threshold, there was high variance which might suggest differences based on where people reside in Matera (or elsewhere around the Basilicata Region).

Given Matera will host a significant European event, residents were also critical of two created resources indicators: sufficient number of event venues (e.g. conferences halls, sports stadia, auditoriums) to organise indoor events and cultural activities; and availability of land and ease of zoning land in urban areas to host larger outdoor events and cultural activities. While the latter, more so, is a result of spatial limitations, infrastructure in the form of event venues might need further consideration. Currently, Matera has a variety of venues available for hosting events, although their capacity is not massive. Certainly, the local ancient and modern theatres and auditoriums (e.g. Auditorium R. Gervasio), the elegant monasteries and palaces (e.g. Palazzo Bernardini) flaunt picturesque large spaces mostly used for hosting conferences, meetings, concerts and plays. Across the city, further conference and meeting rooms and concert halls are available in the most luxurious hotels like Hilton Hotel and Palazzo Gattini. Additional venues are located in the surrounding countryside where magnificent old farm manors were converted into luxurious event centres and hotels. This can also be interpreted another way, given Matera's unique inherited resources and natural surroundings. The appeal of the destination is its inherited resources and the *Sassi*. In other destinations, such as in Colorado's (USA) Red Rock Amphitheatre, event managers are utilising a unique inherited resource, and supporting resources, to host regular events. Adopting a similar strategy makes use of existing resources and help strengthen the development of supporting resources. Part of the planning and

legacy, while event venues are an integral part of hosting events and catering to tourists, they also help promote a legacy for local residents who gain new skills and increases opportunities for locals. The existence of adequate tourism and event management education programmes, a supporting resources indicator, is also important to support and sustain future growth.

Speaking to the descriptive results in Table 9.3, quality of food has the highest comparative advantage ($\bar{X}$ = 5.94; SD = 1.32), in line with recent competitiveness research on Italy in general (see Aquilino and Wise 2016). Italy is synonymous with its food and Matera, likewise, has a variety of food service and facilities. Entertainment opportunities and nightlife, whilst perceived to be competitive in Matera, are seen as a base of expanding opportunities for the ECoC. To ensure entertainment and cultural performances are competitive, the ability to host guests and adapt to expected tourism increases are important. Matera is renowned for its cave hotels including *Le Grotte della Civita*. These historic properties, mostly ancient peasants' dwellings, were converted into accommodations to offer guests a luxury experience, complemented with an authentic way of life in the *Sassi*. Constructing extra accommodation and seeking private investment is a core part of urban renewal strategies when planning for events such as the ECoC (see Spirou 2011). However, in Matera, the opportunity to construct new hotels in the city itself presents a challenge given the environmental obstacles and planning permissions—similar to the issue noted with the venues. This is likely where towns proximate to Matera in the Basilicata Region may play an important role when it comes to planning for new hotel infrastructure, and will also extend the impact and legacy of the event to the surrounding hinterland as well.

Overall supporting resources indicators (Table 9.4) were considerably lower when compared against inherited resources and created resources. Some of the most competitive supporting resources indicators included: the availability of health/medical facilities, an easy to use telecommunication system for tourists and availability of financial institutions and currency exchange facilities. Arguably these are important for local residents, so the local residents who responded to this survey recognise what already exists, or is already in place, to also support future visitors. However, most of these results are just above the competitive threshold of 4.0 or are on the brink of being competitive, so these findings suggest room for improvement going forward, from a planning and policy standpoint. In must be noted that links with major origin markets and accessibility for Matera ($\bar{X}$ = 3.63; SD = 2.16) remain a challenge, and these findings relate to the creative resource indicator local transportation efficiency/quality in Table 9.3. How accessible local (and regional) transportation links are, is dependent upon the infrastructure that exists connecting a place to larger markets. Therefore, planners and policymakers will need to seek solutions to better connect Matera with the main transportation networks to improve the overall efficacy of mobility to and from Matera and within and around the Basilicata Region. However, there are limitations to simply planning transport infrastructure projects, including building through the natural environment (which includes protected areas) and the national government's priority concerning

infrastructural investment in (and through) this part of Italy. The closest airport is Bari, which is well connected to destinations across Europe with Ryanair, EasyJet and Alitalia (Italy's national carrier). Residents see affordable flight prices to the destination (or within proximity of the destination) through low-cost/discount airlines/flight companies ($\bar{X} = 4.05$; SD = 2.02) just above the competitiveness threshold, but low-cost carriers to Bari primarily serve popular coastal destinations, so planners will need to seek solutions to increase connections during the ECoC to ensure transportation efficiency is improved and the flow of visitors is well-managed. For instance, some cities work directly with airlines and bus companies to ensure seamless airport connections. This way, passengers can depart an aircraft, pass through immigration as necessary, and board a bus to take them straight to a destination. This will be important for Matera during the ECoC to ensure connection efficacy from the closest airports so visitors and event attendees can reduce travel times between their original departure point and Matera. The last main point to comment on concerning created resources relates to training and educational opportunities. These are also integral to destination management and social impacts, and both indicators: existence of adequate tourism and event management education programmes ($\bar{X} = 3.84$) and existence of regular training programmes for tourism and event-related work to enhance service quality ($\bar{X} = 3.79$) are not yet competitive (or at least where they should be) ahead of the ECoC. Discussions of findings below further relate to how these supporting resources are managed and the image and awareness they portray of the destination.

Education and training is becoming increasingly important as destinations internationalise, and while catering to domestic tourists in remote regions is common, it is necessary for local businesses and educational institutions to prepare employees and students to increase service quality, as this will also play a role in improving the image of the destination. While education and training opportunities are supporting resources, these indicators are linked to subsequent determinant discussions because service offering is at the core of destination management, destination development and image, and how locals are also impacted by or contribute to service quality and offering. While this is not always regarded as a tangible indicator, the social implications of education and training can result in improved quality, which could increase the perceived competitiveness across a range of indicators considered in this case. This is something to consider as this research is conducted longitudinally.

9.4.2 Destination Management, Image and Awareness

As shown in Table 9.5, residents identify management and organisation as being just above the competitiveness threshold in a number of indicators (16 of the 25). However, in relation to findings in the previous subsection, results in Table 9.5, showcasing indicators for destination management and organisation, suggest there is sufficient room for improvement ahead of hosting the ECoC. Nevertheless,

Table 9.5 Destination management and organisation

Indicator	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
Hospitality of residents towards tourists/visitors	179	5.32	1.60
Foreign investment/available external funding is needed to support growth in the events industry	169	5.17	1.65
Use of technology and social media sites (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) to support marketing of events and cultural activities	175	5.12	1.62
Events and cultural activities are popular year-round	185	4.87	1.61
The delivery of events and cultural offerings has strengthened recently	184	4.77	1.65
Destination/tourism marketing puts emphasis on events and cultural activities in the destination	173	4.70	1.77
The resident population supports the organisation of events and cultural activities	174	4.60	1.63
Private sector recognises and supports the organisation of events and cultural activities	168	4.60	1.71
Involvement of local and regional Destination Marketing Organisations (DMOs) in promoting events and cultural activities	158	4.34	1.76
The future events and cultural activities are supported in stakeholder values	171	4.31	1.64
Tourism/Event managers and employees understand importance of delivering service quality	186	4.28	1.83
Much research into market analysis is informing tourism policy, event planning and destination development	177	4.25	1.75
There is a clear vision among tourism/event managers and employees to deliver creative events and cultural activities	174	4.22	1.80
Health and Safety practices are up to standard and well-managed	174	4.08	1.71
Tourism managers and employees are efficient in solving organisational problems before and during events	175	4.01	1.74
Involvement of Italy's National Tourism Organisation in promoting event and cultural activities	156	4.00	1.72
Tourism managers and employees are efficient in solving organisational problems at the destination	177	3.97	1.68
Managers and employees are responsive to visitor needs	176	3.86	1.66
Research is conducted on nearby markets to compare the delivery of events and cultural product offerings	170	3.86	1.77
Tourism/event managers are innovative when planning and delivering new event products and cultural activities	175	3.73	1.75
Public sector recognises the importance of sustainable service sector development	173	3.71	1.77
Public sector informs people of development plans and programmes linked to upcoming events and cultural activities	173	3.65	1.81
Adequate risk assessments and emergency evacuation plans are clear	171	3.58	1.90
Public sector recognises and supports the organisation of events and cultural activities	151	3.35	1.67
People are informed of plans to develop and promote new events and cultural attractions	172	3.35	1.74

considerable variance in results does also suggest disagreements across this determinant. The findings outlined in Table 9.5 are especially critical of the public sector but do recognise the importance of the private sector and the role of residents. Forming public–private partnerships is essential towards improving planning, organisation and delivery (see Spirou 2011), but there is a concern that this can

result in social exclusion, further discussed in the next subsection. Indicator averages show marginally high competitiveness across the indicators in Table 9.5. However, solving organisational problems, responding to visitor needs, market research, innovation, sustainable service sector development, informing residents of development plans and risk assessments are identified as weaknesses and areas when destination management and organisation needs to be improved. The hospitality of residents towards tourists/visitors is perceived as the most competitive management strength. This is important in relation to the discussion in the next subsection concerning local residents pride in place, and thus hospitality towards tourists/visitors can showcase this. Matera will ultimately seek to build on future successes and continue delivering cultural events year-round, and while respondents perceive marketing to be a strength, the ECoC designation should further enhance Matera's destination marketing and branding.

Table 9.6 shows overall positive image and awareness conditions for Matera as competitive. The variance compensates to show unanimous competitive findings for the indicator assessing the overall image of the city ($\bar{X}$ = 5.57; SD = 1.51). All means above 4.0 indicate a certain competitiveness of factors contributing to create, enhance and promote a positive image of Matera as a tourism destination/event host —which helps position Matera's awareness in both national and international markets. While this is an important category to manage, the region has benefitted from unique destination features, including the *Sassi*. Moreover, as noted above, filmmakers are attracted to Matera to capture its unique inherited resources (see Bencivenga et al. 2015; Bernardo and De Pascale 2016), which also plays an integral role in the image of the destination. All of this will contribute to building a legacy to further add to the awareness of Matera in the years following the ECoC.

Table 9.6 Image and awareness conditions

Indicator	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
Overall image of the city and region is positive	185	5.57	1.51
There is a strong sense of security/safety of visitors in the destination	185	5.49	1.51
Contribution of new events and cultural activities to image, awareness and knowledge	173	5.35	1.69
Social networks/online user-generated content to the image, awareness and knowledge of the city and region	171	5.25	1.64
Fit between image promoted and tourism experiences delivered	181	5.02	1.65
Events and cultural activities are an effective tool for destination branding	170	4.96	1.77
Good international awareness of events locations	174	4.86	1.73
International knowledge of the city and region where the events and cultural activities will take place	174	4.76	1.74
Fit between event products and attendee preferences	173	4.71	1.48
Good international awareness of event products	171	4.53	1.77
New events and cultural activities are being introduced and managed with international appeal	163	4.37	1.91
There is political and economic stability	179	4.30	1.71

9.4.3   Social Conditions to Improve Local Wellbeing

Smith (2012) argues social impacts, social capital and community well-being are becoming increasingly important to consider. The quality of new facilities, infrastructure and services at the destination provides essential support; however, these created resources need to be managed because local residents will continue to make use of improved (tangible) infrastructure in the future, and will help afford the destination to host future events. Deery et al. (2012) argue researchers have often considered tangible impacts and management perspectives from a top-down perspective, and that intangible social impacts need further evaluation. Therefore, this competitiveness survey proposes a new determinant: social conditions to improve local well-being. This determinant is relevant in this study because the survey targeted residents specifically, and also because scholars are extending conceptual and practical insight on how we focus on social impacts and communities in fields such as urban/regional studies, tourism and events (see Deery et al. 2012; Perić et al. 2016; Smith 2012; Richards et al. 2013; Wise 2016; Wise and Perić 2017). This new (proposed) determinant attempts to address the competitiveness of indicators associated with social conditions and local well-being. The indicators that fit this determinant were informed by research outlined by Chalip (2014), Getz (2013) and Smith (2012).

Table 9.7 shows that half of the indicators are perceived competitive and thus indicates that more attention is needed in future research. Results suggest that residents support, enhanced pride, benefits linked to tourism and event activities, and tourist/local mutual tolerance and understanding are competitive social conditions, and well-established according to survey respondents. This is where public sector management and promoting inclusion is also significant. A crucial challenge associated with managing social impacts is that private investors need to be kept satisfied because, in many instances, they provide the financial support and investment for infrastructure. However, while private interests are profit-driven, public strategies alongside renewal and regeneration initiatives will require policies that will enable and promote social inclusion and overall community wellbeing. For instance, private money might be injected beforehand, and then the majority of profits leaked out of the local economy (as a result of returns of investment), but if local residents gain new skills and start supporting enterprises, this is a step towards ensuring that money captured by these local businesses is retained locally. Other social benefits might include increased pride in place and overall satisfaction resulting from increased local participation. Therefore, specific and strategic regeneration policies can help ensure future social and local economic sustainability, and so improve competitiveness across the range of identified indicators not currently deemed competitive among resident respondents as Matera prepares to host the 2019 ECoC.

The results in Table 9.7 indicate that people are proud to host the ECoC but there is some uncertainty among respondents about overall social benefit. This is evident through the indicator legacy training and participation incentives exist for

Table 9.7 Social conditions to improve local wellbeing

Indicator	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
Local and regional pride is increased through by hosting events and cultural activities	167	5.23	1.61
Mutual understanding and tolerance between locals and tourists	174	5.09	1.64
Overall local interest in promoting tourism and delivering events and cultural activities	165	4.95	1.62
Local population is benefitting events/cultural activities	170	4.91	1.66
Local population is involved and supports event tourism and the organisation of cultural activities	172	4.40	1.75
Venues are co-managed to support local resident use	164	4.35	1.75
There are adequate tourism, events and cultural education programmes at local higher education institutions	165	4.16	1.97
Local population is aware of legacy agendas and benefits of hosting events and cultural activities	165	4.02	1.78
There is a focus on local business strengths and the encouragement of local enterprise opportunities	161	3.89	1.68
Volunteer programmes exist to involve residents	154	3.86	1.73
Initiatives in place to assist persons with disability	150	3.69	1.87
Destination has clear policies on social tourism to benefit the local population	169	3.67	1.79
Plans exist to assist people from underprivileged communities	157	3.65	1.85
Legacy training and participation incentives exist for locals	159	3.61	1.73
Mentorship, apprenticeship programmes exist to train and involve locals	161	3.52	1.79

locals ($\bar{X}$ = 3.61; sig. = 1.73). Local and regional pride seems to be enhanced through hosting events and cultural activities ($\bar{X}$ = 5.23; sig. = 1.61) is also regarded competitive given the mean and variance. Mutual understanding and tolerance between local and tourists also returned favourable results, which show that locals are welcoming to tourists and this means they are capable of dealing with visitors—but tourism figures will likely increase so this can be later measured during and after the ECoC. While the results suggest events can help reinforce a strong sense of cohesion and rapport from the local residents, referring back to education and training programmes measured under the supporting resources determinant in Table 9.4, these findings relate to mentorship and apprenticeship programmes to train and involve locals ($\bar{X}$ = 3.52) in Table 9.7. Although residents recognise there are adequate tourism, events and cultural education programmes at local higher education institutions in Table 9.7, the result (being just above the competitiveness threshold) suggests existing tourism, events and cultural education programmes have room for improvement going forward. Likewise, with regard to managing and organising a destination's competitiveness and development, it is essential to consider local viewpoints because community residents are integral, vested stakeholders. Moreover, input from local resident voices becomes even more crucial when it comes to organisation, because residents will play a founding role in showcasing the destination's hospitality, production of heritage and place appeal—each corresponding with place image (Alberti and Giusti 2012; Richards and Wilson 2007), as discussed above.

It is important that the local population benefits, beyond increase pride and place, and is able to make use of new facilities and activities. As noted above, while venues and facilities are built for events and/or tourism-related purposes, results presented suggest that residents are able to make use of the venues. Given Matera is a smaller city, the local population is involved and benefits from events and related cultural activities. Additionally, it is expected that results relating to pride in place and community involvement indicators will increase. It must be noted, the main recommendation that needs to be highlighted from this study is an increase in educational and training opportunities. This might be addressed through collaboration with local universities and event planners, or with city managers and planners who can cooperate with higher education institutions to promote continuing professional development courses to train people how to manage events and create appeal to attract international audiences. Likewise, volunteer opportunities are important and can play a vital role in training locals and allowing people to gain new skills (see Smith 2012; Benson and Wise 2017). Local enterprises are also integral to the social and economic development of a destination (Wise and Whittam 2015; Wise et al. 2017). In this research, the indicator relating to focus on local business strengths and the encouragement of local enterprise opportunities averaged below the competitiveness threshold at 3.89, suggesting there is not yet enough focus on engagement or opportunities for local businesses. It is essential that local businesses are able to engage with planning and regeneration initiatives because they are at the forefront of local development. This also suggests that local social impacts and conditions need further consideration among policymakers. What else is important to note, the number (N) of responses to indicators under the determinant social conditions to improve local wellbeing was much lower compared to findings concerning the other determinants of competitiveness. Thus, the issue is perhaps not solely a lack of policy specific to delivering social impacts but an overall lack of participant understanding among the survey respondents. However, future research during the events might yield different insights, because residents will be playing a central role during this time, in working towards the successful delivery of the 2019 ECoC.

9.5   Concluding Remarks and Future Research

The ECoC is expected to further catalyse local, regional and national culture in Matera whilst aiding community development to promote subsequent economic production. This chapter assessed how residents of Matera perceive their destination's competitiveness ahead of the 2019 ECoC using the Integrated Model of Destination Competitiveness as a basis for analysis and discussion. Central to the contribution of this chapter was the focus on social impacts (proposing indicators under the new determinant: social conditions to improve local wellbeing). An insight reflected on in the previous section was an attempt to understand how residents perceive social conditions, surrounding their involvement and/or how they

might benefit from the 2019 ECoC. This approach to research is useful for planners and policymakers because it allows local residents to reflect on destination strengths and weaknesses to help inform policy and practice. Such research is also an attempt to foster more inclusive legacies for residents and promote the importance of local involvement and participation.

Some key findings from this study suggest limitations facing the development of Matera (and the Basilicata Region) as a tourist destination, given that transportation connections directly traversing this part of Italy are minimal. Strengths that come from such isolation are the nature and scenic beauty that many travellers seek because it creates a distinct ambiance. Understanding conditions associated with social impacts, based on perceived future community participation, is part of the contribution being developed in this chapter. Like in previous ECoC hosts, local residents will play an important in displaying their destination and culture to visitors through events (Đurkin and Wise 2018; Keofoed 2013; O'Callaghan and Linehan 2007; Richards et al. 2013). Moreover, the ECoC designation represents a chance to get people involved through volunteering and to learn new skills that will help with developing the tourist industry and attracting future commerce (Richards et al. 2013; Richards and Palmer 2010; Smith 2012). This work is also significant because developing peripheral areas is a challenge, and the perspectives offered to identify areas in which improvement is needed. Campón-Cerro et al. (2016, p. 1) note the pressures rural destinations face, because emerging 'destinations now must operate in extremely competitive markets, forcing destination managers to seek out innovative strategies and sustainable competitive advantage.' Therefore, destination competitiveness studies aim to inform tourism policy, governance and planning that will lend to frameworks for sustainable development by identifying initial strengths and weaknesses based on insight gained from local residents.

This study begins what will be a longitudinal research study focusing on the ECoC 2019. Future research needs to build on the quantitative findings to gain more in-depth insight through qualitative research to better assess how community residents are involved, engaged and benefit from a major event. The next step in the research process is to conduct a series of surveys and in-depth interviews with destination managers and social/cultural policymakers working to develop and deliver Matera's 2019 programme.

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Chapter 10
Citizen Participation and Public Funding in Ohio

Amy E. Rock

Abstract Citizen participation is a key element in publicly funded community development projects, but the key to citizen engagement is not yet fully understood. In Ohio, applications for a competitive element of the Community Development Block Grant were declining, and program administrators were considering scrapping the program entirely based on community feedback on the difficulty of the requisite citizen participation. In urban areas, a direct connection between traditionally disenfranchised populations, neighborhood identity, and increased participation has been observed. However, in rural areas, the link between socioeconomic indicators and engagement is often harder to find, as demographics are often more homogenous than urban areas. Neighborhood identity may also stretch to a broader regional definition in small cities. This research seeks to discover if demographics or neighborhood identity play a strong role in citizen engagement, in order to develop a predictive model for participation.

Keywords Citizen participation · Public funding · Citizen engagement
Community development

10.1 Introduction

Citizen participation can mean many things, from grassroots community groups, to town hall meetings, to fully institutionalized processes such as voting. Some communities have begun to incorporate participatory elements into various aspects of governance, such as budgeting and administrative decision-making (Yang and Pandey 2011; Coursey et al. 2012), environmental policymaking (Irvin and Stansbury 2004), and more. The benefits of an engaged citizenry are widely acknowledged, but often times the process of cultivating that engagement remains a

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bit of a mystery. Much of the research on who engages and when has been conducted in metropolitan settings, sometimes even a single neighborhood in an urban area. But what happens when you try to implement a participation requirement on a larger level? Here, we examine public participation in small communities across Ohio, in the United States, as they engage (or not) with public funding opportunities.

Citizen participation is an important aspect of publicly funded projects and community development. While both public and private funding may ultimately provide a public benefit or become a public good, public funding differs from private funding in that the cash originates from a public source, and therefore public input is required prior to expenditure. Publicly funded projects typically have more restrictions placed on them as well. Public funding is limited to particular types of projects, such as infrastructure, which will benefit a large group of citizens, and may have additional restrictions, such as lifespan, interaction with environmentally or historically sensitive areas, and impact on housing. While private projects are still subject to some regulations (building permits, zoning codes), these restrictions often do not apply, and the types of projects they may fund are limited only by the will of the funder. In the case of public projects, the funder is effectively the people, and therefore citizen participation becomes the means by which the will of the funder is determined.

This research examines a particular aspect of the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG), a resource available to assist communities across the United States with a variety of projects, ranging from infrastructure to economic development. Competitive applications to public funding programs typically require a citizen participation component, to ensure that funds are being spent in ways that are beneficial to the community, rather than at the whim of whoever submits the application. But when participation rates are low, funding may be difficult to secure, regardless of demonstrated need. It is therefore important to understand who participates in public decision-making, as a basis for understanding the outreach process.

The Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Small Cities formula program, and by extension the competitive set-aside programs, are designed to help small communities or defined neighborhoods make community improvements that would otherwise be financially unattainable. These funds are often limited but can be effective for small projects, or when used to leverage other funding, to complete larger scale projects such as major infrastructure improvements. According to Foster-Fishman et al. (2009), not only does citizen participation create more empowered constituencies but can also improve a community's ability to leverage resources.

CDBG Formula funds are distributed automatically and calculated based on the number of LMI households, and specifically target areas with higher numbers of low- to moderate-income (LMI) families. Cities which receive $50,000 or more are considered "direct cities"—the city itself is the grantee, and they are responsible for administration of the funds. If the city receives less than $50,000 but more than $20,000 in funds, they are considered an "acquired city". In this case, the county in which the city lies is the grantee, but funds are specifically for use within that city.

If a community will receive less than $20,000 in awarded funds, the funds are lumped together with values for the unincorporated areas of the county, and the county is the grantee. Under Ohio's county governance structure, the county commissioners then determine how the money is spent based upon requests for funding from villages, townships, and other eligible entities. Each grantee applying for a share of the funds must adopt a citizen participation plan, which includes public meetings to present ideas and solicit community feedback, advise citizens of public meetings, information and records regarding the proposed use of funds, provide assistance preparing requests for funding, and establish complaint and grievance response procedures. Citizen participation is measured in this context by attendance at public hearings and any public meetings to identify project support and/or opposition, and any calls or letters to the commissioners in support of or opposition to any proposed projects (Office of Housing and Community Partnerships 2010). While citizen participation is required, the level to which commissioners solicit or heed input from the community varies from county to county, a fact which has been criticized by scholars and citizen action groups (Fagotto and Fung 2006). This process, which is only the beginning of the grant cycle, can take months to complete if there are a number of communities in the county seeking access to project funds. When this process is managed by a county employee as part of other administrative duties, the process can seem daunting.

The Neighborhood Revitalization program is designated sub-fund of the CDBG program, but unlike its formula counterpart, the NR program is strictly by application only, and citizen participation is not just a requirement, it is an important part of an application's acceptance or rejection. All of the processes for the Formula grant must still be completed, but with even less assurance of receiving funding (although the amounts are often higher). Cities and counties may designate investment areas, in which a minimum of 51% of households must meet LMI guidelines (HUD, Office of Block Grant Assistance 2014). In addition, communities must also leverage matching funds to show that they are vested in the development of their community (Office of Housing and Community Partnerships 2010). The applications are scored by the Ohio Department of Development, now the Ohio Development Services Agency (ODSA). While smaller benefit areas may have a stronger sense of community, they alone may lack the necessary resources for a comprehensive NR application. In Ohio, only nine or ten proposals are funded each year, limited by total funds available, but also by quality of application, which includes project appropriateness and citizen participation. An understanding of demographic factors which may impact citizen participation can lead to greater involvement by residents of small communities. It is the intent of this paper to examine citizen participation in Ohio's Neighborhood Revitalization program to identify patterns in citizen participation. If such a pattern exists, it may also help explain the likelihood of communities submitting successful applications.

10.2   Framework and Hypothesis

Docherty et al. (2001) attribute the increased inclusion of citizen participation in policy to a rise in participatory democracy and a desire for improved bureaucratic accountability. This often begs the question of whether the process of recruitment should strive for inclusiveness or competence (Yang and Pandey 2011). Residents of small rural communities often feel disconnected from the process, and sometimes ill-prepared to untangle bureaucratic requirements. The entire administration process, from application through environmental review, contract negotiation and management, and project oversight and final reporting for a single county's projects are sufficient to keep a full-time employee occupied year-round, as the author knows from personal experience. When these requirements are paired with other duties, keeping up with the baseline obligations of the grant can be overwhelming. Participation activities are, therefore, often somewhat token, meeting but seldom exceeding the benchmarks set by the program.

Fagotto and Fung (2006) note that citizen engagement increased following policies in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s aimed at increasing community participation in neighborhood planning (see also, Haeberle 1987; Fagotto and Fung 2006). Early aspects of these efforts include the creation of neighborhood associations in urban areas, designed to bring neighborhood identity to civic planning (Haeberle 1987). Haeberle (1987) found that within the city of Birmingham, Alabama, those neighborhoods with clearer boundaries and stronger neighborhood identity were more likely to encourage residents to participate in the governing and planning process. He found that this sense of identity in many cases outweighed the anticipated socioeconomic predictors. In the case of rural projects, small villages may more closely resemble neighborhood identity characteristics than townships, however, smaller benefit areas such as a stretch of road may have even closer connections. Yet, citizen participation rates are not uniform across these communities, nor are the number of applications for the competitive program equally distributed throughout the state. Perceptions of relevance of individuals to the process definitely impact participation rates (Coursey et al. 2012; Irvin and Stansbury 2004), and outreach is sometimes necessary for marginalized populations to feel relevant. Key citizens are often a gateway to the implementation of citizen participation efforts, but it is important to make sure time spent on soliciting and managing citizen participation is time well spent. Topics on the table should be focused, not broad, and the process must have relevance to the decision (Irvin and Stansbury 2004).

Trust in both the institutions involved, and institutions in general, are significant to the process (Mannarini et al. 2010). A hospitable meeting environment may reduce the number of attendees seeking the exit, but free food is not the only solution (Irvin and Stansbury 2004). Yang and Pandey (2011) argue that public management of the process trumps demographics, but traditionally disenfranchised populations may lack faith in the institutions which manage the process, reinforcing the idea that demographics may also play a key role in who participates and how

often. Yang and Pandey (2011) note that faith is a two-way street: public managers are less likely to involve citizens who they feel lack the competence for effective participation. Education and income levels are often indicators of skills such as the ability to form wise opinions and communicate effectively in the participation process, which de facto excludes low-income citizens with little to no formal education.

The link between citizen participation and demographics has been tested before and continues to have relevance (Haeberle 1987; Foster-Fishman et al. 2009; Prieger and Faltis 2013; Wang et al. 2015). In urban areas, neighborhoods with higher rates of poverty have traditionally lower rates of citizen participation. Wang and Van Loo (1998) also note that the perception of poor communities is that they are often "depoliticized", and note this is a recurring theme in urban renewal and community development research. However, in a study of participation in public budgeting, Hong (2015) found that voluntary participation resulted in more engaged participants and that lower income residents had higher rates of participation, concluding that low-income neighborhoods were more vocal in a process where they felt empowered and connected.

Wang and Van Loo (1998) argue that areas of lower income can be expected to have greater citizen participation. However, the NR program requires that communities be at least 60% LMI, which could be expected to equalize that influence somewhat. It may be that income is a strong predictor in some areas, whereas other socioeconomic factors such as educational levels may outweigh that influence in other areas. Household income, age, race, gender, marital status, and educational levels will all be examined, based on findings from several prior studies (Haeberle 1987; Foster-Fishman et al. 2009; Hong 2015). Percent owner-occupied will be used as an environmental indicator of neighborhood identity, from Haeberle's (1987) study.

While the value of citizen participation in effective decision-making remains unclear (Yang and Pandey 2011; Coursey et al. 2012), as long as it is a requirement for particular public processes, it is important to understand what draws citizens to participate. There has been some speculation that small communities lack the resources to administer multiple funding sources, and the management of larger funding sources flowing into these distressed regions from programs such as the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) may have taken precedence. Community capacity building is part of these conversations and others involving the interaction of public agencies and land-grant universities with communities (Kimmel et al. 2012). In the case of the NR grant, low participation rates threatened the future of the program. ODSA officials felt that the recent decline in applications and the relatively low citizen participation rates reflected a lack of interest in the program. This study, therefore, poses the hypothesis that low participation rates are due to low numbers in demographic groups that are known to be more engaged in public decision-making.

10.3   Methods

The study was conducted specifically using applications to the Neighborhood Revitalization program set-aside of the CDBG program, as administered in Ohio. In cooperation with ODSA staff, data was collected from NR applications for the years 2005–2009. These years were selected to evaluate the impact of the program prior to policy and administration changes that would potentially impact applications. As noted earlier, the number of applications decreased late in this period, the reasons for which are still unclear. The application process remained unchanged during this period, with the exception of an increased emphasis on citizen participation. For the first two years of the data, the citizen participation points possible were ten; for the remaining three years 15 points were possible, therefore, the citizen participation score has been normalized by possible points, and rendered in the current 15 point scale. These scores were then joined to the point feature for the community in question. In the case of a township-wide project, the community closest to the center of the township was assigned the score. The history of the Public Land Survey System in Ohio means that, for the most part, townships are typically five or six miles across, so the error generated by this method as opposed to the creation of a centroid for these few townships is minimal (Fig. 10.1).

With just the normalized citizen participation scores mapped, a distinct pattern already begins to emerge. Every county in Ohio has at least a handful of eligible communities, but there are distinct gaps in the pattern of applications. Activity in the southeast and west-central is high, as noted anecdotally by ODSA staff. However, what is also notable is the lack of activity in the major urban centers, with the exception of Toledo. This illustrates a lack of applications on behalf of low- to moderate-income neighborhoods in larger cities, a point of concern for urban revitalization advocates. The second pattern to note is that the higher participation scores tend to be clustered, which suggests that communities may have discovered a formula for success in the realm of citizen participation that they can then apply in subsequent applications. Alternately, this may suggest some regional cooperation in the form of shared expertise or the influence of a shared grant administrator, discussed later.

To evaluate community demographics, socioeconomic variables (income, age, race, marital status, educational levels, and owner-occupancy rates) were measured at the census block group level and were taken from the 2010 Census. The NR program requires that an investment area be at minimum 60% LMI, but even with this restriction, there is still considerable range in poverty levels from one area to another. Because of this restriction, and the importance placed on income levels in other research (Wang and Van Loo 1998; Hong 2015; Prieger and Faltis 2013; Wang et al. 2015; Sieber et al. 2016), income was tested in a variety of ways. Median household income, variation from state median income, number of persons below the federal poverty level, number of persons not below poverty level, and the percent of persons below federal poverty level were all tested independently to discover the most significant measure of income and participation. Educational
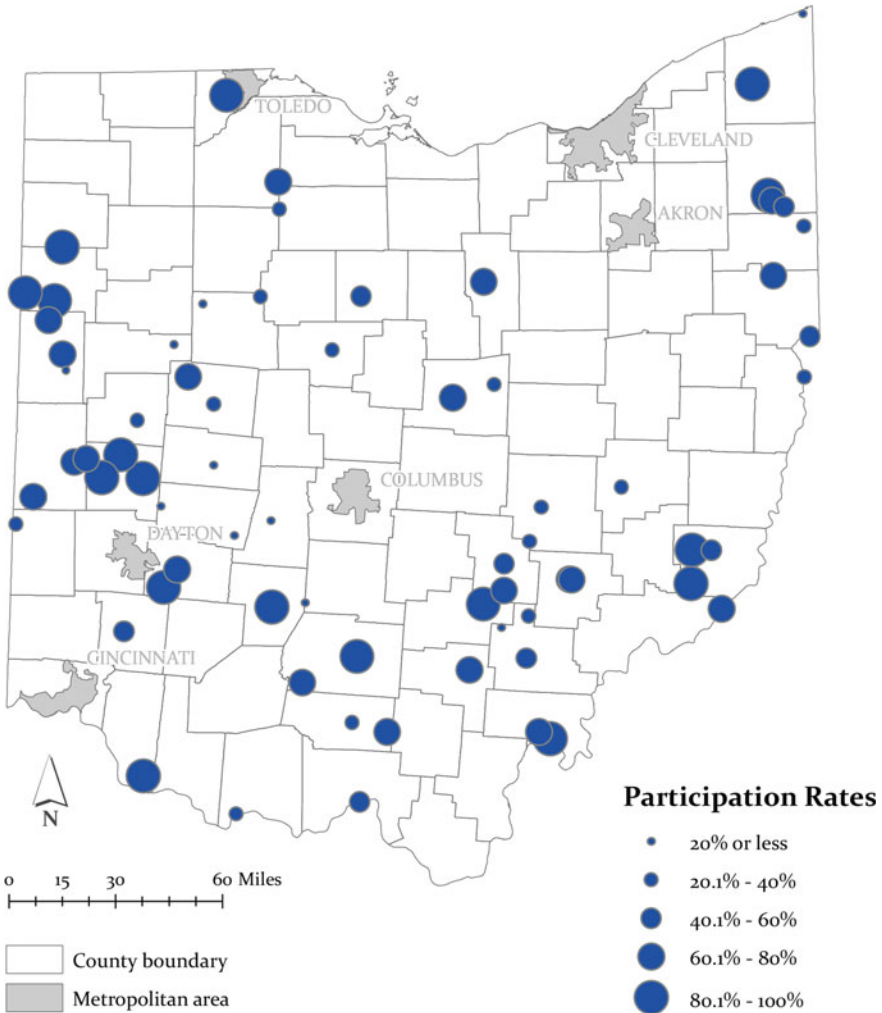
Fig. 10.1 Citizen participation scores

attainment was grouped into categories by highest level of attainment as follows: no formal education; grade school or middle school (no high school education); some high school; a high school diploma (or equivalent); some college; a two-year degree; a four-year degree; and advanced degrees, which include master's degrees, doctoral degrees and professional degrees, such as medical or judicial degrees.

A simple overlay of each variable with the participation scores was done initially as a visual test of spatial autocorrelation in variables. In categorical variables, such as educational attainment, stepwise regression was used to determine the most significant category for each variable, with the standard α threshold of 0.05 to

reduce Type I and Type II errors. Additional variables were included speculatively, such as veteran status, household size, and commute-to-work times, which can be an indicator of community connectedness (Lundberg 2001). Poverty, owner-occupancy, median age and persons commuting more than 60 min were all higher in the Appalachian region (southeast part of the state), but only household size approximated the pattern of applications. Multivariate linear regression was then performed to test predictive capacity. Findings are discussed below.

10.4   Findings

In contrast to existing research (Wang and Van Loo 1998; Hong 2015; Prieger and Faltis 2013), there appears to be no direct correlation between income levels and either quantity of applications or citizen participation scores. When income was removed from the model, R^2 values increased and p-values became more significant. This was so surprising that income was tested in several additional ways, in order to be able to rule it out completely. Median income was tested initially, then variation from the state median, then number of persons below the federal poverty level, percent of persons below the poverty level, and last, the inverse of persons below the poverty level. Variation from the state median was the most significant of these, but still severely reduced the utility of the model. Employment status was also evaluated, in an effort to tease out some connection between income and participation rates, to no avail.

From other research, age, race, gender, marital status, veteran status, and educational levels were tested, as well as owner-occupancy rates, which often report at higher levels in rural areas than urban. Median age proved to be a strong predictor, with a p-value of 0.022. No individual race (as reported by the Census) was a strong indicator, but the percent of nonwhite population did prove to be predictive, with a p-value of 0.001. This was somewhat surprising, given the overall low numbers of nonwhites in the participant communities. Marital status and gender were not strong predictors, and, like income, were tested in both raw counts and as a percent of total. Veteran status had a reasonable p-value when used alone, but was not predictive in the final model. Educational levels were interesting. These were aggregated into eight categories: no education; no high school; some high school; high school diploma; some college; two-year degree; four-year degree; and advanced degrees. Within the education group, the categories of "some high school" and "high school diploma" were slightly predictive, but the other levels were not at all significant. Further aggregation did not resolve the matter, and the model only improved when education was taken out entirely.

When household types were tested against each other, married households with no children appeared as though they might be significant, but when added to the rest of the model, did not prove to be predictive. Household size was likewise non-predictive. Owner occupancy, thought to perhaps indicate community cohesiveness, looked initially to be very strong when used as the sole variable, both as a

raw number and a percent of housing units. However, when combined with other variables, it became wildly unstable, with *p*-values jumping to over 0.80. Applications are more frequent in counties with 60–80% owner-occupied housing, but this accounts for 79 of the 88 counties, so is hardly causative. Commuter statistics, which Lundberg argues can indicate identity with a community outside the community of residence, pointed toward a travel time of 60–89 min as the most significant, but with a *p*-value of 0.065, were rejected in the final model.

Of the variables collected and tested, the final model yielded median age and percent nonwhite as the only significant predictors. Interestingly, the greatest concentrations of submitted applications occur in counties with a median age of 35 and up. This bears up but does not strictly match, Prieger and Faltis' (2013) finding that nationally, 46–55-year-olds were the most likely to participate. The final model was as follows:

$$NORMCP = -2.52 + 0.275 \text{ MED\_AGE} + 11.78 \text{ PctNonWhite}$$

The adjusted R^2 for this model was 19.61, and *p*-values were significant, at 0.022 and 0.001 for median age and percent nonwhite, respectively. Figure 10.2 shows that higher participation values were predicted with greater accuracy than values in the center of the range, but not with enough regularity to indicate heteroscedasticity. This is likely due to the fact that the observed value, the normalized citizen participation score (NORMCP) has a maximum value of 15, so as predicted values approach 15, the margin of error is naturally reduced.

However, as evident in Fig. 10.2, the model over or underpredicted in almost every case. A look at the histogram revealed a slight skew toward underprediction, with 33 values overpredicting by more than 0.25. Twenty-five values were overpredicted; however, maximum overprediction values were somewhat larger than the
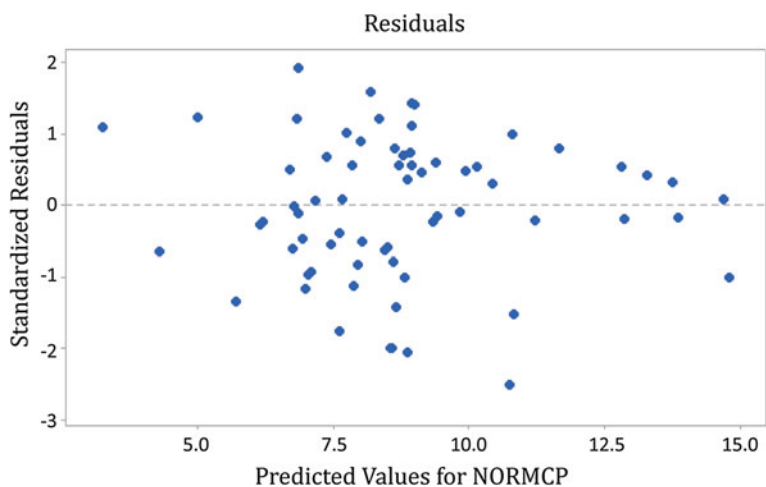

Fig. 10.2 Plot of residuals

underprediction (−2.56 as opposed to 1.91). Only 12 of 70 observations were in the range of ±0.25 points.

Mapping the values using a natural breaks classification method revealed a slight spatial pattern to the residuals (Fig. 10.3). Overpredicted values were more likely to be near the center of the state, while underpredicted values were farther toward the boundaries. As noted with Fig. 10.2, the value of the residual did not show direct connection to the citizen participation score, except at the top end of the scale (Fig. 10.4).
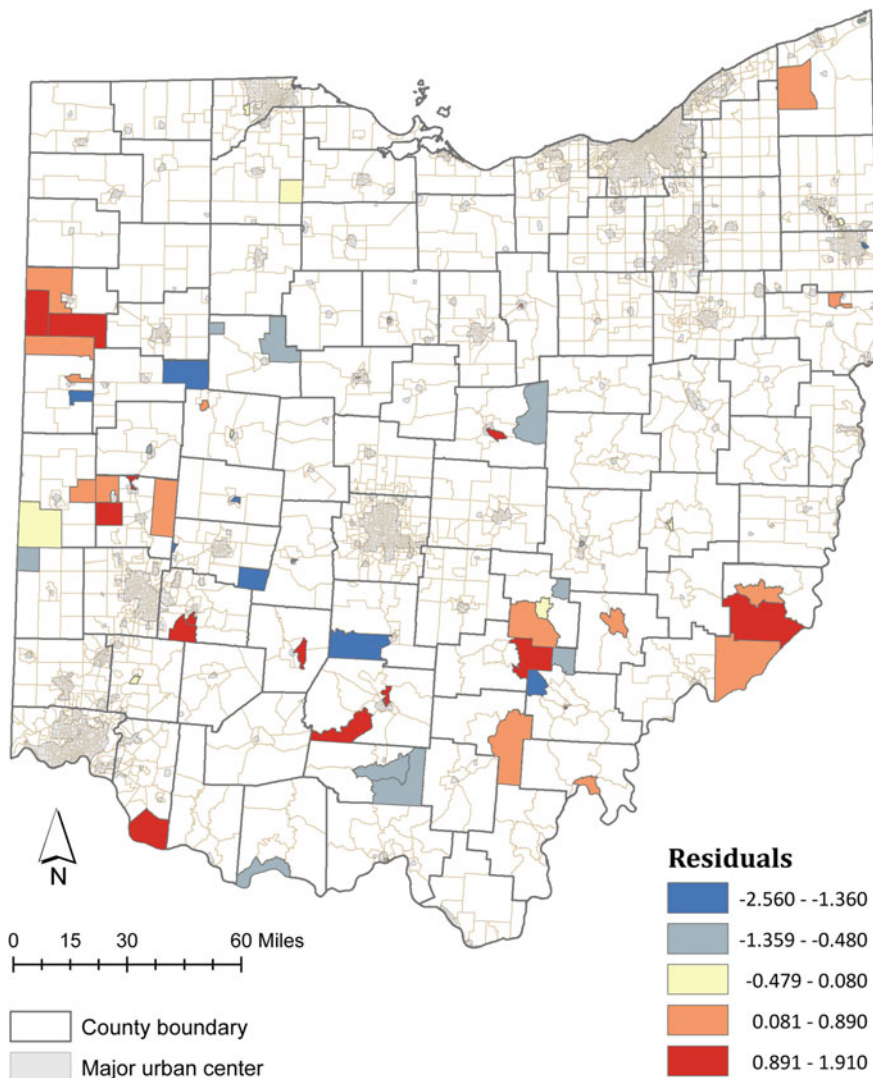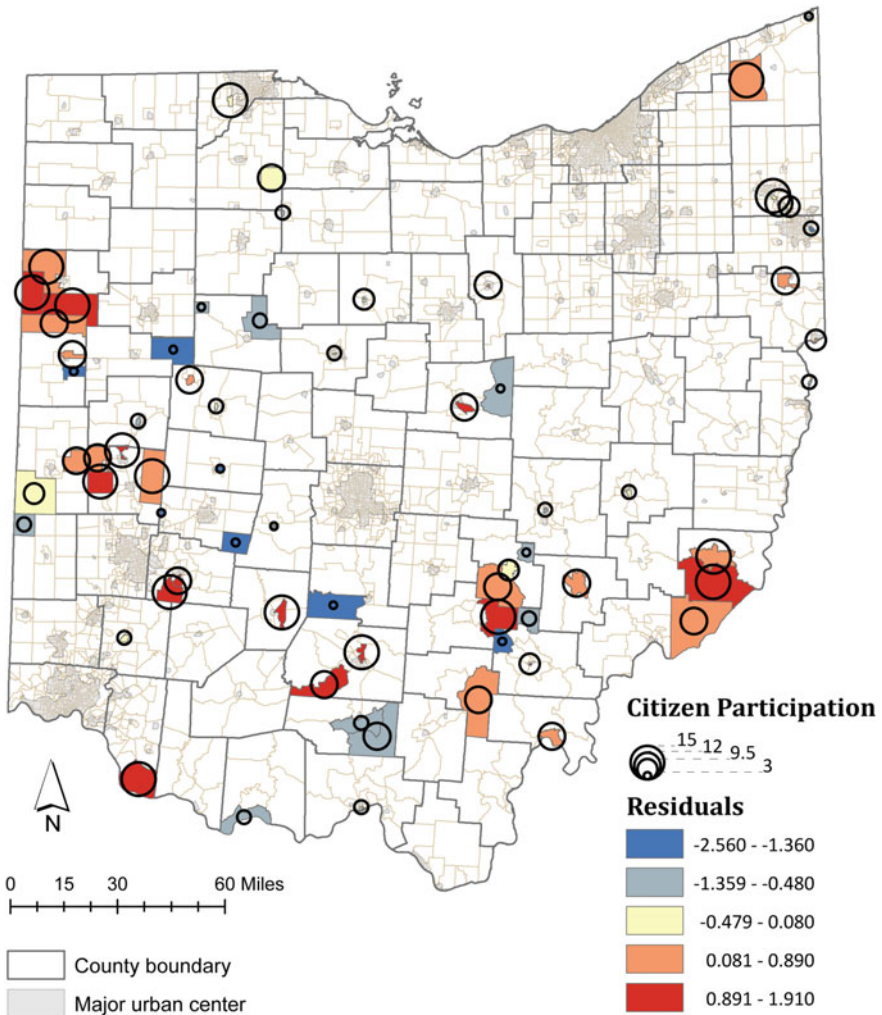

Fig. 10.3 Residuals

Fig. 10.4 Citizen participation rates and residuals

10.5   Discussion

While the model has been somewhat predictive, its overall utility is somewhat
questionable. The generally homogenous composition of most rural Ohio counties
may serve to nullify the techniques used successfully in more diverse urban areas
(Bonds and Farmer-Hinton 2009; Wang and Van Loo 1998). While age and non-
white populations were the strongest predictors, these communities were not suf-
ficiently distinct in these populations to accurately label them as identified
demographics which traditionally engage in citizen participation. It is also possible

that the longstanding general trend of higher poverty and unemployment rates in the Appalachian region has contributed to the sense of futility that many expresses regarding funding activities. Or, this may be a consequence of other research being conducted in smaller, more concentrated settings such as a single metropolitan area. While the population of Ohio is similar to that of the nation's larger metropolitan areas, the distribution across a larger geographic area can mean that many factors which other researchers are able to take as comparatively homogeneous, such as trust in institutions, the ability to recruit citizens through consistent media outlets or even management of the participation process may vary more widely across an entire state. Whatever the cause, it is evident that demographics alone do not tell the whole story.

Management of the citizen participation process has been found to have significant impact (Mannarini et al. 2010). For longer term projects, trust in institutions (in general and specific) and a sense of community are significant. This echoes the 2010 findings. Communities which previously had lost trust in either their government or in outsiders were less likely to submit future applications. In some communities, these grant applications and subsequent participatory sessions are administered by a local official, such as a county clerk, as part of their regular duties. In other areas, these responsibilities may be undertaken by a local nonprofit, such as a community action agency, or, in rare cases, by a for-profit organization. Fung (2015) refers to these monitoring parties as practitioners and argues that effective citizen engagement is a product of well-designed participation processes and institutional trust.

Yang and Pandey found that the public management structure was more significant than demographics in predicting participation results (Yang and Pandey 2011), which may be even more critical in rural areas than in urban. Based on the informal observations of the community mentioned, a combination of normative and instrumental processes contributed to the success of their application. Building trust and generating buy-in may be insufficient alone; residents may feel they are being courted, with little faith in the process of project selection. On the other hand, reliance on instruments to gather suggestions and build consensus may become rote exercises with little faith by residents in the outcome. The two regions which exhibited the most consistent successful applications correspond to areas where the NR application process is managed as a full-time position, rather than one of many tasks performed by a county administrator. These administrators had also developed a relationship with community leaders, and subsequent applications required less groundwork to be laid before the community was prepared to interact with the funding opportunity. A future study examining the methods used to recruit participants and time available to manage the process may reveal more relevant connections to the process.

Requirements to attend public meetings may limit some citizens' ability to participate. Public meetings are often held on weeknights, when people may have conflicting obligations. Some communities have sought to overcome this by providing opportunities for digitally enabled participation (Sieber et al. 2016). This may include digital voting processes, public participation geographic information

systems (PPGIS), social media and more (Bennett 2012, Chang 2012). However, these efforts are limited by both the administrative capacity of the community or agency seeking participation and the ability of the citizens themselves to participate digitally. The gap between digitally enabled and digitally isolated citizens, often called the digital divide, can manifest as a product of demographics. Research on digital participation supports prior evidence that distinct differences exist by gender, class and ethnicity regarding who participates. The lack of adequate internet infrastructure in many rural communities can also hinder digital interaction, regardless of intent or ability (Sieber et al. 2016). The solicitation of feedback via the web can have other consequences as well. Fung (2015) argues that this may trivialize the process by further disconnecting the citizen from the decision, and such triviality undermines the legitimacy of the process. Bennett (2012) also noted that crowdsourcing and participation solicited through social networking often lead to social fragmentation and personalized politics, resulting in an increased lack of consensus. In rural communities spread over larger areas than metropolitan neighborhoods, this effect may even be magnified. The road to successful participation would seem to lie in more direct, human connection.

The question of how to make citizen participation effective has been studied in the literature since the late 1970s (Yang and Pandey 2011). Fung (2015) reminds practitioners that formal structures for public governance lend legitimacy to the process and the institutions. He notes also that many of these practices are comparatively new, moving from public hearings and public meetings to more diverse forms of participation, such as participatory budgeting, and originated in specific agencies (education, health, etc.) rather than a broad brush application. In spite of the acknowledged importance of participation, participation in the United States has declined (Prieger and Faltis 2013). Efforts to identify participant motivation have met with mixed success. Despite their various predictive models, many other researchers (Coursey et al. 2012; Irvin and Stansbury 2004; Fung 2015; Mannarini et al. 2010; Hong 2015) also mention the value of community connections—the use of key citizens, building trust in the institutions which manage the process, hospitality and management of the participation process, and variations on the theme of human interaction, which may be less definitively connected to demographics.

The importance of citizen participation in urban and rural renewal projects cannot be overstated. The City Beautiful movement focused on beautification rather than social welfare, which brought criticism from those who wanted funding spent on improving housing stock (Isenberg 2004). Postwar urban renewal in the United States displaced whole communities of people under the guise of removing slum and blight conditions, again with a paternalistic air (Boyer 1983). Slum and blight are still conditions which can be flagged for improvement with public funding, but now carry the requirement for public participation. Thus, we are still left with the question of who participates, and why.

It has been the experience of this author while working directly with this and other public funding programs, that in many poor rural communities, there are "focus groups" of concerned citizens, who attempt to mobilize the community at large. This actively reflects Yang and Pandey's (2011) assertion that "the same

handful of people participate most of the time" (p. 883). If their efforts are rejected or fail to achieve tangible results, many eventually give up. For others, it serves to reinforce their perception that "it won't make a difference" if they participate or not —the lack of resources in the community is felt to be insurmountable. During this author's work with a community action agency which had four dedicated staff members to manage the participation process and administer the grants across a three-county area, it was evident that greater success was to be had by securing the assistance of a few well-known and enthusiastic residents, rather than posting informational flyers posted around town or making announcements at council meetings. This may be a manifestation of the way the sense of community manifests in isolated villages (Foster-Fishman et al. 2009) or a reaction to public opinion of the local political culture (Docherty et al. 2001).

This is borne out to some extent by one particular grant application from the author's own experience. Shortly before the conversation that led to this research, a small community was participating in the CDBG funding process. Several meetings were held in an attempt to get citizens to rank projects which had been suggested by local and county officials. A publicly funded water infrastructure project from a few years prior had been poorly managed by the engineering firm that had secured the grant and had left them feeling disconnected from any ability to control their own destiny once funding was awarded. Citizens were openly distrustful of "free money". The first two meetings were poorly attended, with fewer than a dozen community members (and only two council members) despite flyers posted around town and the lure of free refreshments. A third meeting garnered approximately two dozen attendees, by virtue of commandeering a senior citizens' luncheon. For the fourth meeting, the author spoke with several key citizens regarding the proposed projects, discussed their concerns, and noted the possibility of leveraging other funds, and need for community input. This final meeting had 75 in attendance and resulted in not just volume of participation but also quality feedback for the grant application, which helped leverage three other funding sources. As noted by Irvin and Stansbury (2004), the use of key citizens is an excellent gateway to citizen participation. The spatial nature of the pattern of higher participation scores in this study appears to correspond with direct intervention by program administrators and similar agencies with staff devoted to the process and may be more indicative of outreach and past success than demographics. Additional study is needed to evaluate this apparent spatial connection.

10.6 Concluding Remarks

The ultimate aim of this research was to assist state program officers in diagnosing problems with applications for the NR grant. Despite the general failure of the model to provide a firm structure for predicting participation, valuable lessons were nevertheless learned about the process. As for the low application rates received in some years, a change in the metric for participation may also yield different

outcomes. Scoring for the NR application is as follows: percent and number of LMI persons to benefit from the project (20 points), leveraging of other funding sources (20 points), program impact (45 points) and citizen participation (15 points). As noted earlier, citizen participation can be linked directly to a community's ability to leverage funds, therefore, the 15 points awarded for directly observable citizen participation, as measured by meeting attendance and survey responses, takes on even greater significance. Given the significance of the recruitment and management process, it is possible that the public consensus goal of participation might be undermined by particularly charismatic meeting organizers. In the case of more involved public participation, such as public budgeting or policy development, greater benefit and engagement are had from cultivating a competent pool of citizens, rather than simply an inclusive one (Hong 2015; Yang and Pandey 2011). Perhaps a change in the way citizen participation is measured would yield different results. A smaller number of more engaged citizens might have more impact both on the success of the application and the overall success of the project.

As long as we continue to value community decision-making, we will seek to understand how and why citizens are motivated to participate. This study is important to that understanding, in that it guards against universal application of a demographic model. The simple assessment of demographics, which seems to clearly fit in a number of urban neighborhoods, works less well across a large group of more rural communities. Whether this is yet another manifestation of urban–rural differences, a factor of less densely populated communities, or simply applying the measurement across an entire state rather than a single metropolis is unknown. Wang and Van Loo's study (1998) also examined CDBG funding, so it is doubtful that the application of federal funding at a local level makes the difference. The space between communities in this study may, however, mitigate the spillover effect (Lundberg 2001) of success in neighboring communities, while in a denser urban area, these successes may be seen as closer to home, and therefore more attainable.

The outcomes of this study led to considerable discussion by state program administrators regarding the application process and began a process of simplifying the application. This may, in turn, yield answers to some of the speculations above. There is also an emerging spatial pattern to the applications, and to the results of this model, as noted earlier. A spatial examination of the data may more effectively answer the question of where engagement is higher, which may in turn help demonstrate why citizens participate.

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Chapter 11
The Informal Local: A Multi-scalar Approach to Examining Participation in Urban Renewal

Priti Narayan

Abstract Since India's integration into international trade and finance, significant efforts to transform urban landscapes into world-class cities are underway. The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Project (JNNURM), which commenced in 2006, is an important milestone in this trajectory, with its goals of investing in urban infrastructure and reforming governance to aid development. Multiple scholars have reflected on the empowerment of elite actors in urban governance and the instrumental, exigent forms of public participation in recent urban development programmes like the JNNURM. Spaces of participation are largely colonized by elite actors, allowing for anti-poor outcomes to emerge. This paper assesses this popular narrative of the JNNURM and its participation apparatus. By examining the particular history of urban development in India, and the implementation of the JNNURM in Chennai and Coimbatore, the paper points to the ways in which the urban poor did participate in the JNNURM—outside the ambit of institutionalized participation. While elite and state actors constructed the larger logic of exclusive city-making within the JNNURM, negotiations were strategically made by the poor *at the scale of the local* to ensure better outcomes for themselves where possible. These local negotiations complicate narratives that tend to totalize urban development projects like the JNNURM, demonstrating its vulnerability to historically contingent and informal relationships with elected officials and bureaucrats. A multi-scalar approach to examining citizen involvement may aid in a better understanding of struggles for citizenship and the possibilities for broader political transformation.

Keywords Urban India · JNNURM · Urban governance · Public participation
Urban poor · The local · Bureaucracy · Elected representatives
Scale · Citizenship

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11.1   Introduction

Since India's integration into international trade and finance, significant efforts to transform urban landscapes into global cities are underway. The Indian city has become a hotbed of investment and institutional reform, in a bid to improve its infrastructure and empower urban governance for development. The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Project (JNNURM), which commenced in 2006, is an important milestone in this trajectory: it made available a sum of Rs. 50,000 crores (∼US\$7.5 billion) to multiple cities to create world-class urban infrastructure such as roads, bridges and drains. The project mandated the implementation of the 74th Amendment of the Indian Constitution and the enactment of the Community Participation Law in order to ensure adequate devolution of power to the urban local body and effective citizen participation in urban governance.

Multiple scholars have reflected on the empowerment of elite actors in urban governance as the vision of an investor-friendly city created through private sector efficiency gains prominence (Coelho et al. 2011; Shatkin and Vidyarthi 2014). Participation has taken on instrumental, exigent forms aiding the market-oriented visions of recent urban development programmes like the JNNURM (Coelho et al. 2011). Spaces of participation are largely colonized by elite actors and the state (see Ghertner 2015; Harriss 2007), allowing for anti-poor outcomes to emerge. Indeed, India has the largest number of development projects, and possibly the largest number of people displaced by development projects, in the world (Robinson 2003). The story of the JNNURM is consistent with this narrative. It has made available Rs. 1,073.19 crores (∼US\$161 million) to construct almost 30,000 resettlement homes in the periphery of the city, thus directly enabling the eviction of the urban poor from the central city. Almost all states have rejected the installation of local *area sabhas*, foreclosing opportunities for the poor to participate in local urban governance. But does this mean that the voice of the urban poor has been completely shut out?

This chapter will assess the narrative of the JNNURM and its participation apparatus. By examining the particular history of urban development in India, and the implementation of the JNNURM in Chennai and Coimbatore, I point to the ways in which the urban poor did participate in the JNNURM—even if outside the ambit of institutionalized participation. While it was true that elite and state actors constructed the larger logic of exclusive city-making within the JNNURM, an examination of only this type of institutional participation is essentially a limited one that does not make room for the negotiations *at the scale of the local*, strategically made by the poor to ensure better outcomes for themselves where possible. These local negotiations complicate narratives that tend to totalize an urban development project such as the JNNURM as a monolith driving specific outcomes, demonstrating its vulnerability to local, historically contingent and consistent relationships with elected officials and bureaucrats. These relationships indicate a flexibility at the local level, which can be the means of establishing citizenship and achieving broader political transformation.

11.2   JNNURM in the Urban Development Trajectory

The urban emerged as a site of intervention in India in the early 1970s, when the Integrated Urban Development Programme was introduced as part of the Fifth Five-Year Plan of the Government of India after Independence (Diwakar and Peter 2016). Among the earliest developmental players in urban India was the World Bank, which had emphasized the significance of urban problems in various reports until then. Chennai was a testing ground for the Bank's policies, and a 'single-city demonstration project for new urban management initiatives' (Raman 2011, p. 77). The World Bank proceeded to loan millions of dollars as part of two rounds of the Madras Urban Development Projects (MUDP), to undertake transport, shelter, road, solid waste projects and provide technical assistance. This was followed by the Tamil Nadu Urban Development Project, between 1988 and 1997, during which time $255 million was disbursed to the state to undertake urban projects (Krishnan 2007, as noted by Raman 2011). As larger scale investments found their way into urban interventions, the government's approach to service provision began to transform. In a post-liberalization landscape marked by the commodification of land and an emphasis on infrastructure development, the Indian city has emerged as a site of spatial segregation, as expansive urban development and environmental improvement projects are fast evicting the urban poor (Baviskar 2010, 2003; Coelho and Raman 2010; Ghertner 2015; Graham and Marvin 2001). Land owned by the state has been increasingly released into the market for revenue gains, driving out the slums that have thrived on public land for generations. In turn, the availability of large amount of funds for flood alleviation, housing development and urban renewal from the late 1990s has enabled the construction of thousands of resettlement housing units in Chennai's peripheries (Raman 2011).

The rise of cities as investment epicentres has resulted in multiple attempts to empower urban local bodies to mobilize and manage resources. The 74th Amendment, enacted in 1992, set up the administrative structure of urban local bodies, and sought to energize urban local bodies by strengthening the legislative, fiscal and functional powers of urban local bodies to enable them to be 'vibrant democratic units of self-governance'. It envisioned doing this through the constitutional composition of *nagar panchayats*, municipal councils and municipal corporations for urban areas of various sizes and in various stages of transition. The Twelfth Schedule listed various responsibilities of the Urban Local Bodies (ULBs), including urban planning, regulation of buildings, roads and bridges, water supply, public health and solid waste management, urban forestry, slum improvement and upgradation, urban poverty alleviation, urban public amenities such as parks, street lighting and bus stops, among others (Indiacode n.d.). The 74th Amendment sought to decentralize governance not only by empowering ULBs but also by ensuring free and regular elections and setting up ward committees to ensure greater citizen participation in the decision-making. The state government is responsible for passing laws or orders to set up ward committees constituting a ward or two, and to determine its constitution and tasks. Ward committees would then address local

problems by participating in the planning and administration of these wards. Representatives from non-governmental organizations and citizen groups can be nominated to the committees as well (TERI 2010).

The JNNURM aimed to encourage fast-track urban development (GoI n.d.) based on the same tradition of investment in infrastructure and strengthening of local urban bodies. In order to provide investment support to about 65 cities, the JNNURM made funds available under two components: the Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG) component, which funded roads, storm water drains, bridges and solid waste management projects for the entire city, and the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) component, which funded shelter and basic facilities for the urban poor (typically the centre provided a large share of the project costs, around 50%, and the state government covered the rest). Cities were asked to draw up City Development Plans (CDPs) to identify needs and gaps in existing infrastructural services, from which projects to be funded by the JNNURM, strategies to implement reforms, and an investment plan would emerge. The Corporation of Chennai accessed funds under both these components. Specifically, under the BSUP, the Corporation had two projects approved: one to provide housing aid and infrastructure to a set of declared slums, and the second to provide infrastructure such as gyms, playgrounds and child care centres for officially recognized slums and informal settlements alike (Transparent Chennai 2014). The implementation of these projects will be examined for their participatory aspects later in this chapter.

Among the stated goals of the JNNURM was to enhance the capacity of ULBs functionally and financially. One of the mandatory reforms stipulated to this end was the implementation of the 74th Amendment by all cities receiving aid. Other reforms included adoption of accrual-based double-entry accounting, e-governance, property tax reform with GIS to lead to increased revenue for ULBs and reasonable user charges to cover operation and maintenance of public infrastructure (Srinivasan 2008).

11.3 Empowerment of ULBs or the Private Sector?

Despite the explicitly stated attempts to empower ULB governance both in the JNNURM and before it, multiple scholars have reflected on how the current development model is accompanied, even aided by the empowerment of elitist actors in governance. The World Bank's interventions into shelter provision in Chennai in the 1970s ushered in a depoliticized, 'technocratic neoliberal' approach, characterized by deregulation of markets and cost recovery (Raman 2011, p. 77). Funding was conditional on the requirement that shelter practice remains free of political interference, which led to the delinking of shelter policy from politics through the bureaucratization of leadership and the introduction of expert committees to lead housing projects (Raman 2011). In the time since, a nexus of players, including business lobbies, financial institutions, infrastructure finance

companies, international donors, think tanks and parastatals, route international developmental aid and foreign investment into development projects in the country (Benjamin 2008). Private parties have routinely begun to feature in urban projects, as investors as well as planners. A separate financial intermediary called the Tamil Nadu Urban Development Fund (TNUDF) was set up in 1996, with the explicit aim of enhancing 'the flow of private capital to the urban sector' and facilitating 'private sector participation in infrastructure' (TNUDF website, n.d.). The induction of 'private sector efficiencies' was considered integral to the JNNURM, through the 'development, management, implementation and financing of projects, through Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangements' (GoI n.d.).

Given that private sector participation was considered imperative for the sake of efficiency, the JNNURM did not succeed in ensuring the leadership of the urban local body in the implementation of the project. On the one hand, the departments or agencies designated as the 'nodal agency' in order to simply assist urban local bodies (Transparent Chennai 2014), ended up determining the selection and financing of projects (Sivaramakrishnan 2011). For instance, in Chennai, the urban local body, the Corporation, did not spearhead JNNURM projects. The nodal agency of the UIG was the Tamil Nadu Urban Finance Infrastructure Development Corporation (TUFIDCO) (Transparent Chennai 2014), a 'corporation' registered under the Companies Act (TUFIDCO n.d.).

On the other hand, the existing governance landscape is itself a fragmented one. Urban areas are administered by local bodies such as corporations, municipalities or city councils, depending on the size of the urban body. The municipal area in turn is divided into wards, the smallest administrative unit and territorial constituency within the urban area, each of which elects a councillor (also known as a corporator). Councillors constitute ward committees which undertake urban governance. At the level of the ward, elected councillors work with ward-level officials such as junior engineers, assistants, health and sanitation workers. Councillors are also allotted discretionary funds with which to implement local projects. So it seems like within the existing system of urban governance, the hand of electoral representative democracy is evident, at least on paper. But in practice, although the Constitution recommends a list of tasks and services to be provided by the urban local body, a number of other specialized agencies and special purpose vehicles render services (Transparent Chennai 2014). Under the JNNURM, the Corporation of Chennai was but one among multiple agencies, including the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB) and the Chennai Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board (CMWSSB) implementing the approved projects. The latter two agencies are 'parastatals', somewhat autonomous government agencies created expressly to be market-oriented and profit-making in providing their specialized services, apolitical and independent of elected local governments (Coelho 2005). The CMWSSB, in fact, procured the largest proportion of funding for all UIG projects in Chennai, 69% of the whole; only the remaining 31% was approved for the Corporation of Chennai (Transparent Chennai 2014). Even within the BSUP component, the Corporation of Chennai was able to access only 14% of the total funds. Parastatal Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board received over 77% of the approved cost of projects.

The twin objectives of strengthening ULBs and increasing private sector involvement in urban infrastructure creation proved to be contradictory in implementation. Ambiguity within the guidelines of the project allowed contradictions to exist (Mosse 2003) and enabled one of the guiding principles, private sector efficiency, to thrive over ULB empowerment. The Indian ULB has the potential to reflect local priorities through electoral representation and the devolution of power, as mandated by the Constitution. However, a fragmented governance context favouring techno-bureaucratic bodies run like corporations over the ULB, and a development programme emphasizing efficiency did not result in much impact on the already limited power of the ULB. The JNNURM might even have undermined the power and capacity of the ULB. It is also worthy to note that funding, in practice, was not necessarily conditional on the implementation of reforms as was stated in the JNNURM policy document. Funding continued anyway, while reforms were implemented in an inadequate manner. Another stated reform of the JNNURM was the implementation of the Community Participation Law, and the following section will elaborate how this law and community participation as a whole was included in the JNNURM.

11.4 Participation in Neoliberal India, and in the JNNURM

In addition to the shift of power to the private sector, neoliberalism has enabled the rise of public participation in governance, with the aim of ensuring transparency and accountability. Coelho et al. (2011) and Harriss (2007) trace the emphasis on governance to the failure of the World Bank's economic reforms and poverty alleviation measures in the 1990s. Effective governance required the reform of government institutions and processes in order to facilitate market processes and interventions. The carrot-and-stick approach of international aid meant that government processes had to be freed from politicization to ensure efficiency, as in Chennai's TNSCB in the 1970s with World Bank intervention into shelter policy. The World Bank also set up a community development wing in the TNSCB, which liaised directly with slum communities to ensure consent and collect user payments (Raman 2011). For governance processes to be accepted and owned by the people, building processes of consensus building into these institutions was essential, giving rise to what is broadly called 'civil society participation' (Coelho et al. 2011; Jenkins 2003). In India, the so-called second-generation reforms are aimed at institutional transformation in order to ensure macroeconomic transformation (Coelho et al. 2011).

A demonstration of such a reform can be noticed in the JNNURM: in addition to implementing the 74th Amendment, the JNNURM required that cities mandatorily implement the Community Participation Law (or include its provisions in existing municipal laws). The law attempted to introduce another tier in governance beneath
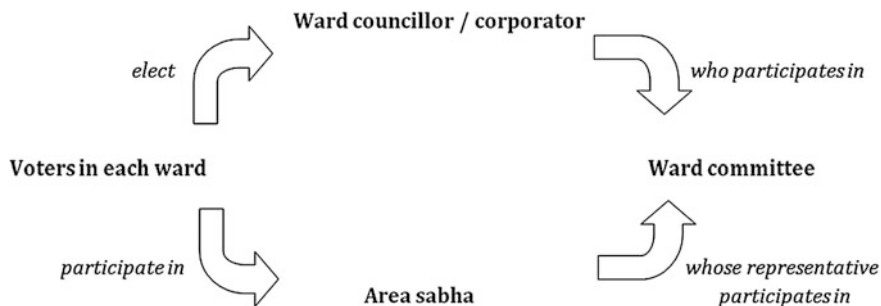
Fig. 11.1 Area sabhas as envisioned in the Community Participation Law

the municipality and the ward committee, the area sabhas or neighbourhood assemblies, consisting of the registered voters within a ward. This was along the lines of the *gram sabha or village assembly* in rural India, which elects representatives into the local elected body of self-government at the level of a village or small town. The area sabhas were an attempt to institutionalize citizen participation, to directly involve citizens in setting priorities and exerting pressure to implement existing regulations, 'deepening' democracy and promoting transparency and accountability in governance (JNNURM Primer, n.d.). Representatives of area sabhas are envisaged to be part of ward committees alongside elected representatives (see Fig. 11.1).

However, these attempts to rescale urban governance were not been embraced by all Indian states. Not all have implemented the 74th Amendment in its true spirit. Tamil Nadu, for instance, where Chennai is located, constitutes ward committees with only the elected councillors as members (TERI 2010, p. 7). Existing administrative zones were simply converted into ward committees, in compliance with the 74th Amendment. Even though the implementation of the Community Participation Law was also mandatory reform under the JNNURM, as of December 2009, only 12 states had carried this out (TERI 2010). The law does not seem to have been implemented in Tamil Nadu. Democracy, it seems, remains merely representative in the Indian Urban Local Body. The following section will interrogate citizen participation theoretically, and examine whether participation was indeed inadequate under the JNNURM.

11.5 Theory of Participation, and How Development Projects Are Understood

The role of participation in an unequal society has been theorized for multiple decades now. In the context of 1960s America, Arnstein (1969, p. 216) posited that citizen participation is citizen power, a 'redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes,

to be deliberately included in the future'. She emphasized that participation is the route to a more equitable sharing of society's benefits. For Fung and Wright (2001), representative democracy coupled with techno-bureaucratic administration is no longer able to preserve democracy's ideals of active citizen involvement and equitable distribution of the nation's wealth. The way forward to revive declining democratic institutions, for them, is through a redesign of democratic processes as Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) institutional processes. Demonstrating this reform through examples including village governance in India, they identify features of EDD, including devolution of power to local units, centralized supervision and coordination, and state centeredness.

On the other side of the debate, Cruikshank (1999) offers a critical eye on democratic citizenship itself, calling it a strategy of government. Citizens are made, in order to enable self-governance in the polity, with the citizens themselves being effects and instruments of political power. Participation then is subjection, a technology of governance, a way to make people 'voluntarily' participate in projects that may not even lead to favourable outcomes for them. Ellis (2012) extends this to the particular context of development policy, positing that citizens are cast as urban stakeholders, a new public at the site of the public consultation in world-class cities. It is at this site that new subjects, as well as an essentially elitist, collective neoliberal discourse, are produced. Multiple scholars have observed that forums of citizen participation, particularly the public consultation, are elite, invited spaces that empower the middle class and reinforce agendas already set by international development donors (Coelho et al. 2011; Harriss 2007). In fact, Coelho et al. (2011) argue that the Community Participation Law itself would only empower middle-class residents, who are already equipped with the necessary social and cultural capital to participate in ward-level decision-making. Ghertner (2015) demonstrates how under the Bhagidari scheme in New Delhi, the state itself has been gentrified. Bureaucratic change has been instated in a manner in which the state machinery is compelled to respond to middle-class resident welfare associations, weakening the bureaucrats' ability to address the concerns of the poor (who would constitute what Partha Chatterjee calls 'political society'—detailed later). Institutional participatory components in policy aim to foreclose the scope of political claims-making by constraining participation to apolitical, technical, civic terms (Coelho et al. 2011; Harriss 2007).

In addition, components of policy aimed at participation and empowerment lend legitimacy to development agendas usually driven by international donors offering standard solution packages to all sites of development (Cornwall and Brock 2005). Participation is a bid for public support through which new subjects are constituted, consensus is manufactured for outsider agendas; the open-ended nature of participation allows the coexistence of contradictory objectives, and room for agendas to be controlled (see Mosse 2001, 2003). Participation is increasingly becoming less radical, existing to simply pander to donor requirements (Mosse 2001). Coelho et al. (2011) argue that even tokenistic forms of participation are on the decline, the efficiency of implementation and 'fast-tracking' of development often taking precedence and priority over participatory processes (Mosse 2001).

11.5.1   Institutionalized Citizen Participation Under the JNNURM in Chennai: The City Development Plan

Indeed, the actual implementation of the JNNURM in Chennai faced several of the same issues pointed out in critiques of participation laid out so far. Raman (2013) details how the process of drafting the CDP could not be effectively participatory. Initially, two iterations of Chennai's CDP were appraised (by the Administrative College of India) as being flawed, inadequate and inconsistent, particularly in that they did not address questions of governance and institutional frameworks. Notably, neither of these iterations included consultative processes: slum residents, resident welfare associations, environmental groups and other members of civil society all expressed their complaints against the draft uploaded on the Internet. However, despite the complaints and the problems in the CDP, the plan was approved and projects sanctioned, but the city was asked to rewrite the CDP yet again.

Money from international donors such as the German government and the Asian Development Bank was used to hire a private governance consultant to compile the new CDP. Two retired bureaucrats joined the consulting team to provide local knowledge, and Raman and her research centre were involved in organizing the public consultations for this version of the CDP. Raman (2013) recounts the shortage of funds, time, capacity and manpower, and the absence of information about the JNNURM and its projects in Tamil, the local language, as obstacles which had to be surmounted for the consultation to be held. The consultants were also wary of an activist presence at the consultation, for fear that they may not contribute to the infrastructure-driven vision of the CDP, and instead preferred experts. Although ultimately, the consultation was one that was attended by many workers' organizations and demonstrated diversity, Raman reports that the impacts of the consultation are unclear. The report that emerged from the consultation was part of the new CDP, but this CDP was never approved. The citizens' reports of the JNNURM, such as those compiled by the Hazards Centre (2010) also confirm that in most cities, approved projects have no relation to the approved CDPs.

Raman (2013) points out that although public participation was mandated by the guidelines of the JNNURM, there was enough ambiguity for city governments to design their own process. The involvement of private consultants meant that these consultants set the terms of the engagement, foreclosing the opportunity for the public to demand accountability, as they could from their elected urban local body. More importantly, the JNNURM was only seeking to address the urban issue through investment in infrastructure. There was no room for the demands the public made at the consultation in Chennai: workers demanded access to better social security benefits, low-interest loans and a decrease in privatization of municipal services. Even the infrastructural suggestions made, in situ provision of services and tenure for slums, pedestrian infrastructure, well-serviced markets and vending spaces with water, toilets and childcare creches, did not translate into JNNURM projects (Raman 2013). Instead, Rs. 1,073.19 crores (∼US$161 million) was sanctioned to enable

the eviction of almost 30,000 families through the construction of resettlement homes in the peripheries of the city. Despite a participatory process then, an anti-poor outcome was arrived at. It demonstrated that the larger public had no say in the vision for the city. Indeed, some groups refused to participate in the consultation in Chennai because their participation would lend legitimacy to the JNNURM.

11.6   Citizenship Beyond Institutionalized Participation: Vote-Bank Politics and Porous Bureaucracy

It would seem like Indian cities fit into the definition of what Castells (1983, p. 122) calls the 'dependent city':

> the ecological form resulting from the residents' lack of social control over urban development because of their forced submission to the good will of the state and to the changing flows of foreign capital. The dependent city is a city without citizens.

Residents are part of an asymmetrical relationship with the state, in which they do not have control over urban development in the contemporary Indian city increasingly shaped by the changing flows of capital. However, a notable aspect of theoretical debates both supportive and critical of citizen participation, as well as analyses critiquing how participation is implemented in projects like the JNNURM is that they all focus mainly on institutionalized forms of participation. These debates seem to constrain the potential and impact of participation to a very specific form, that of participation in institutionalized spaces, much like the projects they seek to critique. However, given the specific socio-economic trajectory of India, there are other ways, outside of the realm of formal participation, in which citizens, especially poor citizens, are able to exercise agency, perhaps even lay claim to the resources of the state, even in projects like the JNNURM.

The relationship between citizenry, its elected officials and bureaucrats is to be examined closely. The Gramscian idea of passive revolution is said to have occurred in postcolonial India, where the bourgeoisie, due to its relative weakness in society at the time of independence, allied with old dominant classes to acquire power at the level of the state, while attempting gradual transformation of the society (Sanyal 2007, p. 31). The way for the bourgeoisie to seek legitimacy then was through a mixed agenda, consisting of its own goals, as well as the goals of other subordinate groups (Sanyal 2007). Kaviraj (1988) posits that capital cannot be single-handedly dominant in Indian society and state; instead, what one witnesses is a form of governance where public policies are marked by configurations of 'vertical clientelist benefit coalitions' which include the subordinate classes. Thus, actual political configurations are not symmetrical to class divisions (Kaviraj 1988, p. 54). Even if one group in the ruling coalition is dissatisfied, the ruling bloc is threatened with political disaster (Kaviraj 1988). This points broadly to what is, not a one-sided submission of society to the will of the state, but a mutual relationship in which the state must secure legitimacy by conceding to the demands of society.

This sort of patronage-based relationship (often disparagingly referred to as 'vote-bank politics') is precisely the sort of mechanism which encourages civic governmentality by members of a civil society (Ellis 2012; Harriss 2007). In fact, Harriss (2007) claims that the implementation of the 74th Amendment is resisted precisely because it seeks to undercut patronage politics through self-rule. Yet, the quintessentially *democratic* nature of vote-bank politics cannot be denied, given the ability of the political society to vote elected officials in and out of power, in exchange for services or state resources. Sanyal (2007, p. 37) argues that this democratic framework poses an obstacle to full-blown capitalist development. 'Vote-bank' politics, therefore, allows poor groups to make some claims on services and infrastructure in urban areas (Benjamin 2008; Corbridge et al. 2005), problematizing ideas of dependence (Castells 1983), or the total subjection of the people to preset and/or elite policy agendas.

This is a particularly salient phenomenon in Tamil Nadu, where both dominant parties, the DMK and the AIADMK, have historically relied on clientelistic benefits to consolidate local strength and legitimacy (Subramanian 1999). Shelter policies in Tamil Nadu, too, were rooted in patronage for much of the 1960s–1980s. The state constructed and delivered concrete apartments to the poor where they already lived, couching housing policy in Tamil rhetoric ('God we shall see in the smiles of the poor') with the expectation that the poor would return the favour by voting for the DMK, the dominant party throughout this period. The Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB) was created in the 1970s specifically to dole out housing to DMK supporters (Raman 2011). As mentioned earlier, the arrival of the World Bank in the 1970s, caused a paradigm shift in housing policy, depoliticizing and bureaucratizing the TNSCB. Speculative urbanization further advanced the move towards a market-oriented approach to housing, and the following decades saw the dominant parties maintain legitimacy through other clientelist measures (Wyatt 2013). The popular narrative, among slum communities and in activist circles, is acquiescence among the poor is reinforced through the distribution of petty consumer goods, rendering them vulnerable to exclusionary city-making (see, for instance, Balakrishnan 2015). In place of the pre-neoliberal exchange of votes for housing and secure tenure, slum consent is bought through the handout of television sets and grinders. The role of the ward councillor is significant. Berenschot (2010) characterizes the role of the Indian ward councillor as political mediation as brokerage (between the state and the people), patronage and particularization (of laws to suit particular needs). While middle-class citizens are able to approach high-level bureaucrats and elected officials to have their problems sorted, poorer residents seek recourse first with local councillors (see Swain 2012). In Tamil Nadu, the patronage function is perhaps the most prominent: it is through councillors that ruling parties distribute consumer goods such as television sets, grinders, fans and bicycles, and the poor are able to demand accountability for delay or lapse in the distribution of these goods.

This paradigm change in the mode of patronage has indeed affected tenure security for the poor. From the early 1990s, thousands of families have been evicted from the city centre to free up land for development and urban renewal. They are

rehoused in peripheral tenemental ghettoes where they suffer inadequacy of essential services and livelihoods. However, the provision of alternate housing even when there is no legal obligation to is significant (at least prior to the enactment of The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act in 2013). In a state where patronage remains a predominant means of governing, the provision of alternate housing with some access to basic services and (relative) tenure security to poor residents indicates the continuing symbiotic relationship between the elected state and the voting public. Chennai is perhaps unique in India for the sheer number of resettlement tenements constructed for its evicted poor in the last 20 years: at least 50,000 homes and counting. Sutherland et al. (2015) compare Chennai to South Africa for the sheer scale of its state-driven resettlement programmes.

State action, such as eviction of the urban poor, is not simply the product of the will of the state or of capitalist interests: it is a complex process of negotiation between state actors and multiple forces in political society (Chatterjee 2004; Kaviraj 2000). In order to establish what this 'political society' is, Chatterjee (2013) draws attention to the trajectory of modernity in postcolonial societies, in which rational bureaucracy and universal suffrage preceded the formation of civic associations, unlike the democratic state in the West. The domain of civil social institutions in colonial societies was restricted to a small section of the colonized population. Once the new republic after independence was formed on the basis of universal suffrage and a liberal democratic constitution, the space of politics was splintered into:

> a narrow domain of civil society where citizens related to the state through the mutual recognition of legally enforceable rights and a wider domain of political society where governmental agencies dealt not with citizens but with populations to deliver specific benefits or services through a process of political negotiation. (Chatterjee 2013, pp. 13–14)

'Political society' for Chatterjee (2004, p. 74) is 'a site of negotiation and contestation opened up by the activities of governmental agencies aimed at population groups'. Political society is set somewhat in opposition to the more formal, associational means of participation in state decision-making afforded by civil society, increasingly hegemonized by capitalist and urban middle classes. This has been witnessed in the case of projects like the JNNURM as well, where institutionalized, civic forms of participation have been made available only to elite civil society, at the site of the public consultation (Ellis 2012; Harriss 2007). Population groups who are the targets of governmentality become invested with ideas of community and kinship, which become the basis of both collective claims-making as well as bases of support for vote-bank politics. These groups are then able to collectively use the language of moral rights to appeal to the state (Chatterjee 2013). For example, Das (2011) outlines how the moral rights to occupy land, coupled with the legitimacy as legal subject obtained from having a ration card, allowed slum-dwellers in Noida to access state housing as a right to life. This indicates that moral claims can, in some cases, be channelled into the legal, producing legal citizens of the poor.

Moral claims can also be made at the local level, where a 'porous bureaucracy' exists. This refers to the cultural and social ties shared by the poor and those at the lower levels of the bureaucracy (Benjamin and Bhuvaneswari 2001), which allow a political, vernacular means of making claims (Kaviraj 1988). Hawkers in Mumbai are thus able to access urban space in Mumbai through collaborative arrangements with officials around a 'moral economy' (Anjaria 2011).

Examples of the poor's enduring relationship with lower level bureaucrats were amply demonstrated under the JNNURM, this based on research done with ward-level bureaucrats focusing on the Corporation's housing projects in Chennai. The Chennai Corporation's housing project, where it provided aid for residents to improve their housing, was a voluntary one. Although beneficiaries had to meet certain criteria, such as residence in a declared slum and falling below poverty line, they could opt into the project. Apart from providing guidelines for the Community Participation Law and providing social audit checklist templates, the JNNURM did not specify any guidelines on how local public participation must occur. The Detailed Project Report only contained a technical checklist, with no mention of public participation at all. Yet, our interviews with beneficiaries and bureaucrats reveal that in multiple slums, the Junior Engineer (JE) or Assistant Engineer of the concerned ward gathered the potential beneficiaries and spoke to them in detail about the project. Following this, residents could decide whether to opt for it. Babu, a beneficiary from a settlement in Kilpauk, Chennai, said that the JE was helpful throughout the house construction, helping him navigate bureaucratic requirements in order to access aid.

The Corporation also provided local infrastructure such as internal roads, gyms and playgrounds as part of the second phase of the project. Two of the JEs interviewed mentioned that decisions on what sort of local infrastructure to create and where were made only by talking to local residents. This included asking residents for suggestions directly, as to what infrastructure they needed, and consulting elected councillors as to what works needed to be prioritized. The JE of Ward 177 West Velachery alluded to the very process by which elected urban local governance works: people complain to the councillor about services, who in turn consults the JEs of the concerned ward who then find the funds or scheme to create that infrastructure; it was through this process that decisions were made under this JNNURM scheme as well. According to him, residents of West Velachery received two gyms and two multipurpose event halls upon the people's request under the JNNURM. The JEs were in touch with the councillor in order to select eligible slums and beneficiaries for housing projects as well. For reasons that have to do with vote-bank politics, it remains in the interest of the councillor too, to ensure that project benefits reach the residents of urban slums.

Even where evictions were concerned, relocation of people into resettlement tenements built with JNNURM funds was also not uniformly forceful. Conversations with residents of Rajiv Nagar in Valankulam, Coimbatore reveal a degree of active decision-making on the part of the people, in opportunities provided by the state. At the time of interviews in 2014, residents had been living Valankulam located on the edge of a water body for 45 years or so, rushing to the

nearby school for refuge during the frequent flooding in their homes. In the context of the JNNURM, public meetings were held in 2006, presided by the local MLA (an elected member of the Tamil Nadu State Legislative Assembly), at which residents asked for in situ reconstruction of their homes, beyond a protective wall between them and the water. However, this option was denied to them, perhaps because this is not a common practice to house slums along bodies of water. But the MLA did allow them to choose between resettlement housing being developed in two locations, Ammankulam and Ukkadam. Residents reported that since they were indeed seeking respite from the flooding, they opted for housing in Ukkadam. Ukkadam was not far from where they already lived, which meant that their livelihoods would not be affected. Houses in the new tenements were also much bigger than their current dwellings. It was on the basis of these legitimate factors that residents made the decision to opt for their relocation to Ukkadam.

11.7   Where Does Democracy Thrive?

This chapter is not an attempt to redeem the Indian state by pointing to the slivers of democratic opportunity that are still available in the local state apparatus. It would be remiss to leave out a discussion of all the ways in which people's participation, in both an institutionalized and informal sense, was foreclosed. Until the very end of the JNNURM implementation, the impact of the people's consultation on the CDP remained unclear. As for the projects that were ultimately approved to receive funding from the JNNURM, the people had no hand in the actual design or goals set in the projects. None of the demands raised in the public consultation, even infrastructural ones, such as markets and vending spaces, featured in the list of final approved projects. While residents of all the slums that benefited from the Chennai Corporation's BSUP projects reported that the overall character and living conditions of their settlements had improved drastically as a result of the infrastructural improvements that were taken up, they were much more cynical than the bureaucrats interviewed about the participatory aspects of the project. Even where avenues for participation were available, it was not always that the people's suggestions could be heeded. For instance, a resident of West Velachery, Chennai reported that the people demanded a public health facility, but were provided gyms under the JNNURM Corporation scheme. Most importantly, the residents of Chennai have had no say in the plans to construct thousands of resettlement homes under the JNNURM that resulted in their dispossession. Although social audit checklists were prepared as part of the JNNURM (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation 2011), no social audits on the resettlement tenements were actually conducted. The tenements built under the JNNURM flag the same issues as resettlement tenements had raised before: inadequate access to livelihoods, education and other basic services, high rates of crime and unemployment.

What this chapter seeks to do, then, is to complicate common understandings of urban renewal projects such as the JNNURM as monoliths, where policy agendas

drive pre-set outcomes, with very little room for the agency of the poor (see Banerjee-Guha 2010; Sanyal 2007). In theoretical accounts so far, neoliberal urban development driven by private, elite interests is shown to transform both urban landscapes and institutional processes. Opportunities for citizen participation are now available predominantly for the elite and middle class, because the ultimate goals of development projects and private capital also align with the interests of these constituencies. Elite actors even tap into the electoral process to enable capture of resources, market efficiency and cost recovery (Coelho et al. 2011). Attempts by the poor to participate meaningfully also involve them organizing in types of associations that are akin to those found commonly in more affluent civil society (Coelho and Venkat 2009). However, especially at the scale of the local, there has not been adequate engagement with how the poor navigate urban renewal, in ways that suggest continuity from older forms of public engagement.

Examining the implementation of the JNNURM at the level of the local, outside of institutionalized spaces, indicates that urban renewal does not necessarily operate through newly created bureaucratic structures (as in the Bhagidari scheme in New Delhi that forces all levels of the bureaucracy to respond to middle-class concerns) (Ghertner 2015). In fact, this research demonstrates that while all formal attempts to empower local self-rule (through the 74th Amendment and the Community Participation Law) have failed, already existing informal networks between residents, elected officials and lower level bureaucrats have thrived. Poor residents negotiate with local ward councillors to access state resources and benefits in exchange for local support, legitimacy and votes, and with lower level bureaucrats on the basis of a shared social status and the bureaucrats' interpretation of policy at the level of local implementation. Although the JNNURM did not instate an exact procedure to hold public meetings, especially at the level of the ward or the settlement, some bureaucrats and elected officials took the effort to hold discussions with residents anyway. 'Citizen participation' is not a monolith either, confined to particular institutionalized forms, homogeneous in its manifestation (Arnstein 1969). The sort of 'participation' outlined here, occurring outside the realm of institutionalized, formal participation, is definitely messy, less accountable and less consistent. One could even argue whether these negotiations constitute 'participation' at all. However, the negotiations indicate a potential for flexibility at the local level that, even if unreliable, can be the means for establishing citizenship (as access to urban space and urban renewal) and broader political transformation.

Negotiations between the state and political society are perhaps a start to examining how urban renewal works at the scale of the local, and how urban outcomes can be made more humane and more responsive to the needs of the poor. What Benjamin (2008, pp. 723–724) calls 'occupancy urbanism' provides hope, whereas: '"occupancy" refers not just to physical space but also to the appropriation of real estate surpluses made possible by the "embedding" of municipal government into popular society'. Porous bureaucracy is a mechanism challenging the neat divide between 'state' and 'society' implied by Castells' idea of the dependent city, and occupancy urbanism is the potential outcome of this relationship. Occupancy urbanism has led to the establishment of legally ambiguous forms of tenure,

which challenge ideas of legal private property, and therefore of citizenship itself. It allows the decoupling of service provision from formal title, possibly opening avenues for squatters to access better services and transforming land use regulation in scales larger than the local (Benjamin 2008, p. 727). Occupancy urbanism produces a sphere that refuses to be disciplined by NGOs, and ideas of microcredit and entrepreneurialism and citizen participation that are used to manufacture consent to dispossession (Benjamin 2008, pp. 722–723).

Indeed, because of the mutually dependent relationships with society, the Indian state continues to give the right to occupy land to the working poor as welfare (Ghertner 2015). This tendency of the state is in decline in the face of speculative urbanization, but is certainly still alive, and could prove a deterrent to development-induced dispossession. Citizenship may be differential, especially since different rules apply to welfare measures for political society and civil rules for legal citizens (Chatterjee 2004). Yet informal, political arrangements like patronage emphasize that citizenship is a spectrum; it is not restricted to sites of institutionalized participation. Most importantly, patronage relations are a form of resistance to full-blown neoliberal capitalism. They pose an obstacle to both the retreat of the state in neoliberal development and the subjection of people to market-driven urban renewal. To examine patronage relationships is not to fall into what Purcell (2006) calls the 'local trap', a claim that the local is the scale of transformation; it is only an attempt to examine what urban renewal looks like at the scale of the local.

However, even at a larger scale, the strong democratic framework within which capitalism is embedded often poses hindrances to neoliberal urbanism in India (Shatkin and Vidyarthi 2014). For instance, the recent empowerment of traditionally subordinate caste-based groups has resulted in an *increase* in patronage and subsidies for these groups, going against the logic of the market. Private investments in infrastructure such as energy are discouraged by the problem of cost recovery (a key aspect of neoliberal governance) due to patronage politics (Bardhan 2009, p. 34). Neoliberalism in India is perhaps better explained 'not as the top-down imposition of a coherent and homogeneous ideology, but rather as a flexible and dynamic process, in which state actors at various scales apply market criteria to governance' (Shatkin and Vidyarthi 2014, p. 4). Despite the threat of penalties and withdrawal of funds under the JNNURM, very few states actually implemented the rescaling of governance to empower metropolitan local bodies. This points to the resistance of state governments in empowering other scales of governance that might aid development.

A more granular, multi-scalar approach to studying urban renewal, especially considering the historically contingent trajectories of particular places, is essential to understanding the opportunities for people to participate in processes of urban renewal, the challenges presented to top-down policy designs and ultimately to identify pathways to more equitable urban outcomes. This research is a step in that direction.

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Chapter 12
URB@Exp: Urban Labs as a New Form of Participation and Governance

Thomas Höflehner and Friedrich M. Zimmermann

Abstract Cities are facing economic, social and environmental challenges of growing complexity. Solutions will only be possible by value-based, integrative and inclusive concepts, approaches and processes. Therefore, transdisciplinarity and new governance methods, such as Urban Labs, are needed to meet today's 'Grand Challenges'. The transdisciplinary approach of this chapter is based on city-specific societal challenges, which are supplemented by specific scientific challenges leading to science–society interactions and knowledge exchange using participatory experimental platforms, like Living Labs and City Labs. Real-life experiments in these Urban Labs support networking, social and reflexive learning for joint visions, capacity building and co-designing beyond hierarchies, unequal power relations and the dominance of economic interests. Consequently, these novel forms of governance lead to new coalitions and networks, technical and social innovations that foster the capacity of urban actors to cope with complex change dynamics.

12.1 Introduction

All across the world, cities are facing economic, social and environmental challenges of growing complexity, which are interlinked in their causes and consequences. For instance, intense migration flows towards cities leads to (mostly unregulated) processes of suburbanization, increased cultural diversity (and thus

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tensions), ageing populations, economic pressures with growing inequalities and social polarization, environmental pollution, degradation of public space or housing shortage, as examples. The question raised by policymakers and decision makers, as well as scientists and civil society, is how these challenges can be met and how need-oriented, sustainable solutions can be found. Since modern urban challenges are so multifaceted, different actors and stakeholders from society and science must cooperate on exchanging knowledge and experience, to find mutually accepted solutions. Consequently, new forms and methods of urban governance are needed.

The European Union has an increasing interest in supporting the development of innovations in urban governance to cope with the current social, economic and political situations (European Commission 2001). Such support is to not only inform policy strategies but also in research, where the issue of governance is a key topic. There is growing awareness that universities and other research institutions should take more responsibility for our society in change by being an active part in transdisciplinary research for sustainable transition processes. A concrete example is the RCE Graz-Styria (Regional Centre of Expertise on Education for Sustainable Development), a transdisciplinary research platform at the University of Graz, Austria, which was engaged in a flagship project called 'URB@Exp: Towards new forms of urban governance and city development: learning from urban experiments with Living Labs and City Labs' from 2014 to 2017. The EU-funded transdisciplinary research initiative investigated new forms of urban governance by developing Urban Labs and focusing on co-creation and joint learning. Together with academic partners from the Netherlands (Maastricht University), Sweden (University of Malmö and Lund) and the foresight and design studio Pantopicon from Antwerp, the RCE Graz-Styria applied an action research approach in five European cities (Antwerp, Graz, Leoben, Maastricht and Malmö) for developing evidence-based guidelines for implementing Urban Labs to foster sustainable, inclusive, liveable and economically viable cities. The project consortium had direct access to diverse urban experiments that brought together policymakers, actors from civil society and academics for jointly developing new ways of dealing with urban challenges.

This transdisciplinary setting can be seen as an innovative approach to community participation with a focus on innovating and reshaping collective interaction and accountability in urban/community development. The establishment and strengthening of coalitions of stakeholders and networks across permeable institutional boundaries constitute new arenas for public participation. The implications of new forms of community involvement are even able to incorporate those who lack presence or voice in traditional political practices (Cornwall 2004; Taylor 2007). Urban Labs and Living Labs in general, can be seen as both, space and methodology for community participation with the purpose to initiate development processes including ideas, interests and experiences from multiple stakeholder groups (Bergvall-Kåreborn et al. 2010). The Urban Labs investigated in our partner cities served as real-life experiments in which platforms for knowledge creation, exchange and application between science and society were established.

The project was based upon action research and a multi-method approach (including transition experiments by Kemp and Loorbach 2006; logical levels and envision methods by Janschitz and Zimmermann 2010; agonistic participatory design by Björgvinsson et al. 2012) with the objective to improve the engagement of diverse groups of actors and citizens in Urban Labs. The research was finally targeting the development of guidelines for setting up, running and evaluating Urban Labs as well as a toolkit for practitioner for implementing and supporting Urban Labs. The challenge of the project team was the designing of the research results as practical, needs-oriented and useable as possible, keeping an eye on the requirements of the different target groups (for example, formal decision-makers, politicians, entrepreneurs, civil servants, citizens, Lab participants, actors, stakeholders or marginalized groups).

12.2 Governance as a Key Element for Sustainable Development in European Cities

Urbanization is the most important development phenomenon of the globalized world driven by industrialization, growth of services, information and communication technologies, social change and new (economic) dependencies. Therefore, cities play a key role in the territorial development but also in all matters of sustainable development (European Union 2011; Zimmermann 2016). The European Commission has acknowledged that cities 'play a crucial role as engines of the economy, as places of connectivity, creativity and innovation, and as centres of services for their surrounding areas' (European Union 2011, p. VI), and therefore aims to support cities to create them as place 'of advanced social progress with a high degree of social cohesion, socially balanced housing as well as social, health and "education for all" services; a platform for democracy, cultural dialogue and diversity; a place of green, ecological or environmental regeneration; a place of attraction and an engine of economic growth' (European Union 2011, p. VI). Hereby, the focus lies on the smart, sustainable and inclusive growth, main priorities in the Europe 2020 growth strategy (European Commission 2010). Urban development goals are therefore connected with economic growth initiatives including competitiveness, good accessibility to services, job security and prevention and reduction of social inequalities and poverty. These economic and social development goals are closely linked to issues of energy, resources and urban ecosystems (European Union 2011). More urbanization leads to increasing use of resources; consequently, energy supply, waste disposal, quality and supply of water, mobility and living space will become crucial issues, since the supply of resources is limited (Bullinger and Röthlein 2012). The Scientific Advisory Board of the Joint Programming Initiative Urban Europe summarizes these challenges as follows:

> […] public services are deteriorating and the welfare state is being eroded; inequalities are rising; the population is aging; and the livelihoods of cities are becoming increasingly sensitive to the vagaries of extreme weather events. Urban governance is facing new and multi-scale challenges and respond to these effectively may require hitherto unknown degrees of cooperation and indeed co-creation […]. (Coutard et al. 2014, p. 2)

The European Union is aware of the importance of the multidimensional sustainable development (European Commission 2011, 2015; European Council 2006), although its policy strategy is based on economic growth interests (European Commission 2014). In the context of sustainable development, the normative concept of governance is important (European Commission 2001). Governance processes promote the interaction between state, civil society and economy to work out joint solutions, which are dynamic, needs- and goal-oriented, based on a broad consensus—and hence are sustainable (see Grunwald and Kopfmüller 2012; UNDP 2014). By including relevant actors in development processes, new perspectives arise, a mutual understanding develops, as well as empowerment and a higher commitment can be reached (Sørensen 2012; Sauer 2003). Governance is therefore a participatory, inclusive process, promoting 'interaction in an increasingly complex, diverse and dynamic national and international environment' and is broader 'than the traditional, unilateral, and authoritative forms of government whose governing elites sit on unilateral commanding positions' (Farazmand 2004, p. 11; see also, Bevir 2012). The shift from an authoritative understanding of government to interactive, participatory governance is therefore connected to experimenting, testing and implementing new collaborative forms of governance (Rhodes 1996). Thereby, learning is the key element of interactive governance processes in order to create joint solutions. This includes reflexivity, deliberation, collective learning processes and the co-creation of transition experiments with explicitly strategic learning goals (Gilardi and Radaelli 2012, p. 155).

When initiating such learning processes, one has to be aware of collaborative systems of governance conditions regarding socio-economic and power relations between actors, hierarchies or the positioning of marginalized groups—all leading to imbalanced levels of participation, empowering some while disempowering others (Huisman 2014; Swyngedouw 2005; Garcia 2006). Urban Labs are a new form of governance, holding the potential to bring different actors together to work on sustainable solutions and to initiate mutual learning processes in which involved actors communicate and work at eye level, despite different social, economic and political prerequisites, backgrounds and resources.

12.3 Living Labs, City and Urban Labs

The Living Lab approach was primarily used in computer sciences in the 1980s for fostering participatory design in human–computer communication (Bødker et al. 2000). In recent years, this co-design approach shifted to social, economic and political sciences as well as into regional studies for fostering new approaches to

innovation. The advantage is that labs are becoming constitutive parts of new governance structures by being more open, inclusive, democratic and more creative than traditional 'closed' approaches (Mitchell 2000; Sotarauta and Srinivas 2006; Wallin 2010). Thereby, citizens are engaged actively in innovation and development processes (e.g. idea generation, prototyping, testing and validation). End users are seen as contributors to creative and co-designed processes rather than being passive recipients. This results in creative collaboration between citizens (as customers), developers and other stakeholders (European Commission 2009; Dutilleul et al. 2010).

Within the framework of current urban-planning developments, the Living Lab approach is increasingly used in smart city strategies, often referred to as City Labs or Urban Labs. The interest in urban implementations can be traced back to the aim of adding public value, expressed in economic, social and ecological benefits, both in public and private domains. In these real-life applications of 'open' social innovations in urban settings, local governments and other actors/stakeholders jointly seek to learn about and are involved in new ways of dealing with urban challenges (Gerometta et al. 2005). What unites Living Labs and City/Urban Labs is an interest in experimentation with a strong focus on co-designing and learning. The 'living' application of the Living Lab concept in urban-planning contexts indicates interesting connections with the understanding of urban development as a participatory, transdisciplinary process, as a knowledge-intensive (research) activity and as a theoretical-methodological framework for place-specific trial-and-error interventions (Karvonen and van Heur 2014).

The Directorate-General for Regional Policy of the European Commission emphasizes that such forms of 'living social labs' appear to be a particularly promising, innovative approach of governance for addressing complex urban challenges and create public value (European Union 2011, p. 53). Nevertheless, policymakers and other urban stakeholders experience difficulties with the implementation of Urban Labs, because of the early stage of the concept. The ontological, epistemological and methodological framework for innovation using the broad concept of Labs is still evolving. The workshop 'Towards a manifesto of Living Lab co-creation' summarized that research is needed to 'identify contexts that are most promising to facilitate co-creation for certain innovation goals' and that we are 'only now at the beginning of exploring suitable processes for involving Living Lab participants in innovative co-creation processes'. Moreover, it is reported that 'there exists no explicated set of processes and methods to support Living Lab co-creation' (Følstad et al. 2009, p. 7).

These findings indicate a need for systematic analysis of the challenges of implementing Living Labs and to research those measures, processes, tools and methods that are being used or could be used to remove barriers related to establishing Urban Labs. Such challenges may be either across thematic areas (such as those of governance and of meeting supporting infrastructure requirements) or specific to particular implementation phases. As an example, a cross-cutting challenge across implementations is to engage and retain commitment among actors and stakeholders with heterogeneous backgrounds and needs in the context of

asymmetries in the value distribution across different stages of development for developers and citizens. It is suggested that reflective co-creation using methods explicitly addressing the different expectations, objectives and meanings ascribed by the heterogeneous actors involved is needed to enable innovation benefits from the rich diversity in Living Labs. Therefore, Living Lab facilitators play a crucial role in perspective brokering enabling different stakeholders to develop a spirit of common interest and collaboratively accelerate the project (Budweg and Kristensen 2009).

With the substantial increase in interest in the Living Lab concept, several hundred such initiatives have now been established across the EU, spread across a variety of application domains (see ENOLL 2017). This growth in implementations provides an opportunity to experiment and learn more systematically about the Living Lab approach—including how the broad framework is translated into context-specific applications in actual implementations in specific domains—while simultaneously applying the Living Lab concept in real situations to address real and urgent innovation challenges. New Living Labs also allow to test and learn from these in real-time scenarios, so implementations can be made more effective and efficient in the future.

Against this background, it is important to explore the implementation of Living Labs:

- to describe and measure how—and how successfully—the Living Lab concept is being implemented and for which purposes in specific domains;
- to understand the challenges in implementing Living Labs in different contexts and domains and in relation to specific innovation goals;
- to describe successful implementation designs and practices, and to identify factors in successful implementations that deepen the understanding of the scope to transfer or customize the approach.

Research is needed to investigate how scale-up and extension can be supported, for example, by defining, testing and validating Living Lab design principles, developing generic or customizable methods, supplying guidance notes on the use and combination of methods, and providing illustrative and inspiring case studies of successful implementations and innovation outcomes. For adequately addressing these questions, it is necessary that cities and relevant research institutions initiate mutual learning processes to exchange their knowledge and experiences with establishing Living Labs and City/Urban Labs as new form of urban governance (Scholl and Kemp 2016).

12.4   Urb@Exp: Transdisciplinary and Multi-method Approaches for Action Research

12.4.1   Transdisciplinarity as a Prerequisite

The URB@Exp project is focusing on an intensive interaction between science and society with the goal of finding and testing new ways of governance through the implementation and exploration of Urban Labs. Therefore, the consortium has chosen transdisciplinarity as its key methodological approach to react adequately to the great societal and scientific challenges (Jahn et al. 2012). This is the basis for integrative transitioning processes through action research. The framework of the project can be summarized in the following hands-on transdisciplinary approach outlined in Fig. 12.1.

Figure 12.1 shows that the starting point, on the one hand, is the societal challenges in the cities, like deindustrialization, segregation, polarization or environmental issues, and on the other hand, the scientific challenges which try to meet the necessities of the society by research results contributing to value-based transformation and change. These challenge levels are integrated into an Urban Lab where the interaction between urban actors, stakeholders and researchers in experimental spaces is creating a new governance platform. Although the RCE Graz-Styria is designed as an interactive platform for research and knowledge exchange and we are working with experienced city representatives as well as a trans- and interdisciplinary URB@Exp project team, we are facing different
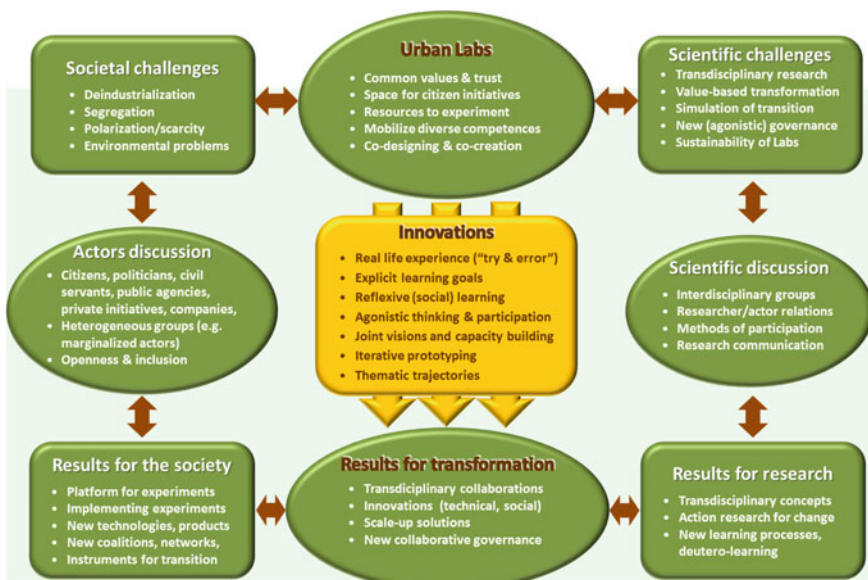

Fig. 12.1 Keystones of the transdisciplinary approach of the URB@Exp project

challenges arising from the approach to actively contributing to transition and implementing Urban Labs as new forms of governance: (1) Since the project is undertaken in five cities across Europe, each city has different historical backgrounds and developments, and it has different government structures as well as capabilities and environments. These differences are main challenges for the knowledge exchange between city partners. Also, the question how to include marginalized groups and guarantee their participation in new governance processes, without burdening them with obligations and without creating tensions between different social groups needs to be discussed (e.g. citizens with migration background, women, refugees, single parents, elderly people, etc.). (2) The project consortium has an interdisciplinary setting, which has the great potential to include different theories and approaches, and therefore enriches the scientific and the social perspectives. Still, it is challenging to overcome disciplinary and theoretical barriers, translate key terms and discourses as well as trying to find a common language to produce results which are comparable and applicable in urban settings. Furthermore, the consortium struggles with the broad definition of the term 'Lab', a term which is experiencing a great boom, not only in scientific discourses but also in economy, politics and the wider civil society. The consortium has to find a way on how to position its project within this broad and different discourses and how to communicate its understanding of Urban Labs as a new form of governance within its networks and cooperation partners. As mentioned before, the international scientific project team is highly diverse in its disciplines, age groups, experience, structures, research traditions and theoretical approaches. Team building and finding an effective and efficient way of communication to undertake research together, also in the foreseen time framework, remain crucial aspects. And there is also the communication with the city partners and with urban actors and stakeholders, where the difficulties of the transformation of the scientific language into a commonly understandable language have to be met.

The transdisciplinary approach is creating results for the societies that initiate societal learning processes for sustainable solutions for future city developments. URB@Exp tries to achieve this overall goal by developing guidelines for policymakers as well as a concrete and applicable toolkit for practitioners fostering a successful implementation of Urban Labs. Results for the research community emphasize the action research approach for transformation and new deutero-learning methods. These results are brought back into the actors' discussion and the scientific discussion, and are the bases for transition which in any case will not only lead to problem-solving but will consequently lead to the new definition of societal challenges and scientific challenges. Social and reflective learning are ways to generate new research approaches and research questions in dialogue with societal actors in the Labs. This constant and revolving learning and development process is one of the most important aspects of the pursued new forms of urban governance.

The setting and the learning processes in the Urban Labs have the potential to lead to social innovation and transformation. By applying different ways of communication, cooperation and co-production, networking, agonistic participation and (social/reflexive) learning in real-life experiences as well as contexts, joint missions

and capacity building will lead to new coalitions, networks and technical and social innovations—first at the experimental level, followed by a scaling-up process to implement the results of Urban Labs on a broader scale. It is obvious that scientific and social challenges in general, but especially seen in the framework of this project, are closely interlinked, and solutions can only be found by value-based, integrative and inclusive approaches. Therefore, transdisciplinarity and new governance methods (such as Urban Labs) are needed more than ever to finding new ways of urban development under the constraints of today's 'Grand Challenges'.

12.4.2 Boiling Down the Methods—Multi-method Approach for Action Research

The Urb@Exp project aims to develop evidence-based guidelines and design principles concerning types of issues/domains/challenges for which Urban Labs are most suited, how such initiatives can best be organized in terms of structure, process and participation, and how Urban Labs can best be combined with formal local governance structures. The analytical framework for achieving this goal is based on a multi-method approach that combines the three scientific concepts of transition experiments, logical levels and agonistic participatory design. Table 12.1 summarizes key aspects of these three scientific approaches.

Table 12.1 Boiling down the key aspects of transitioning, agonistic participatory design and logical levels

Theory concepts Logical levels	Keystones towards urban sustainability	Transitioning	Agonistic participatory design
Identity	• Vision • New image	• Societal challenge (persistent problem)	• Alternative futures • Marginalized actors • Inclusion
Values Beliefs	• Mission • Value orientation	• Fundamental change in structure, culture, practice • Medium/long-term perspectives	• Power ambiguity • Shared ownership • Diverse perspectives
Capabilities	• Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats	• Deutero/reflexive learning • Scaling-up • Broadening and deepening	• Mutual learning • Agonistic meeting spaces • Dialogue
Behaviours	• Strategies	• Problem structuring • Learning goals • Co-design • Evaluation	• Iterative prototyping • Experimentation/ Learning-by-doing • Friendly hacking
Environments	• Implementation of concrete projects and measures	• Regimes • Niches	• Questioning existing practices • Commons

The notion of transition experiments derives from the literature on strategic niche management (Hoogma et al. 2002) and transition management (Rotmans et al. 2001; Kemp and Loorbach 2006). The characteristics of transition experiments differ from standard innovation experiments aimed at testing and demonstration, and seem to be more appropriate for societal questions addressed in Urban Labs as they consider complex causes, agonistic interests and disagreement about potential solutions. In this context, transitioning is changing an innovation initiative into a transition experiment by maximizing co-creation and strategic learning. This allows an open and unbiased process rather than achieving predetermined outcomes and avoids common mistakes, such as insufficient user involvement, and overemphasis on technical improvement (Hoogma et al. 2002; Van den Bosch 2010). In URB@Exp, the concept of transition experiments is combined with agonistic participatory design, which aims at democratization of Urban Labs, by involving actors with diverging or even conflicting viewpoints. Thereby, the focus is not primarily on seeking consensus, but to create arenas where controversial perspectives, values, interests and concerns may be explored and discussed (Björgvinsson et al. 2012). Moreover, URB@Exp makes use of the logical level approach and envisioning methods to frame Urban Lab experiments in the context of value-based visions for sustainable urban development and strengthen the focus on strategic learning goals. Visions and envisioning processes help to create inspirational images of the future of the city, which can stimulate stakeholders to design or upscale innovative actions and experiments for sustainable urban development (Janschitz and Zimmermann 2010). The combination of these scientific approaches contributes to the development of design principles and guidelines for establishing Urban Labs as new forms of governance.

The integrative multi-method approach in URB@Exp can be understood as value-based agonistic friendly hacking of urban transitions through experiments and mutual learning processes. The implementation of this theoretical-methodological background allows deriving three elements of Urban Labs, described in the next chapter, that are in the focus of the specific action research initiatives in the different partner cities (Table 12.1).

12.5 Elements of Action Research in Urban Labs

12.5.1 Agenda Setting

The first element of action research in Urban Labs focuses on the identification of central actors of integrated and sustainable urban development with their needs for participatory development of long-term visions, common strategies and concrete agendas for transition experiments. The URB@Exp project applies the logical level approach and envisioning methods to frame Urban Lab experiments in the context of value-based visions and enforces the focus on strategic learning goals. Top-down levels (e.g. a small Urban Lab task force) can propose few critical values as a basis

for the discussion about urban transition. By using innovative communication methods, bottom-up involvement of a wider group of urban actors can complement the discussion. Common principles need to be set up at the interface of 'top-down meets bottom-up' to create appropriate room for business and society orientation as well as a strong orientation towards individual values and preferences. This is probably the most crucial point in the process: the possible and sometimes inevitable clash between common and individual value systems. At this point, mediation procedures play an important role to achieve the joint value set for the development and to support its diffusion into the urban system. Envisioning and potential inspirational images of the future are the basis for visions and for strategizing, additionally mobilizing concepts stimulate innovative actions and experiments. Monitoring and evaluating these strategic learning processes will guarantee continuing and scaling-up of successful actions and measures.

12.5.2   Process Design and Experimenting

According to the co-design and agonistic participatory design, action research in Urban Labs should include stakeholders with different or even conflicting opinions. Thus, through ideal process design, a mutual understanding of the respective perspectives and needs can be created. Therefore, Urban Labs initiate participative experiments that are equipped with a 'license to fail' because transition experiments are strategic experiments that foster learning-based change processes. In a transdisciplinary setting, researchers, Lab practitioners and city administrators co-create open innovations/solutions. The term 'co-creation' encompasses collaboration, dialogue, consensus building and visible results. Co-creation refers to an exercise of collectively working on the creation of public value, based on some kind of (partial) ownership by both stakeholders and governments. How public and private actors can effectively contribute to processes of co-creation has been identified as a major gap in existing knowledge on (sustainable) urban governance. In the context of the URB@Exp project, this issue is addressed with the concept of 'infrastructuring', referring to the continual creation of essential communication structures and processes. Thereby, the goal is to raise long-term relationships between different actors in order to build networks from which innovations can emerge (see Hillgren et al. 2011).

12.5.3   Learning and Embedding

Transition experiments are time-limited, innovative and have specific, predefined learning objectives, which are monitored and evaluated. The experiences are tested and included in further experiments by scaling-up, broadening and deepening. Deepening refers to profound learning, broadening to repeating an experiment in another context and to link it with other issues, and scaling-up to the appropriate

institutional embedding. The greatest challenge for transition experiments is to disseminate lessons of reflexive learning to city planners and embed them in urban governance structures. The active involvement of city planners in the choice, design and evaluation of local experiments for urban governance as well as exchange and mobility programmes for policy workers and Lab practitioners are suitable examples to support the institutional embedding.

These proposed elements of action research in Urban Labs are not necessarily following a specific order; they can be regarded as different components of an iterative (co-design) process. Therefore, learning and embedding lead to new agenda setting, process design and experimenting (e.g. when a Lab is being evaluated, closing down, starting a new round of funding or similar). According to the experiences from the action research in the different URB@Exp partner cities, the academic consortium is aiming to enhance these elements, to accompany them with specific examples from the partner cities (storytelling) and to include complementary methods and indicators to evaluate the experiments. The annotated results are leading to basic guidelines for setting up, running and evaluating Urban Labs (Scholl et al. 2017).

12.6 Guidelines for Urban Labs

12.6.1 Aligning Agendas

Urban labs explore alternative futures in a collective approach, without fixed ideas or preconceived solutions. Therefore, some of the most central aspects and strengths of Urban Labs involve articulating and aligning agendas, i.e. promoting participation, creating dialogue and stimulating open-minded experimentation. These processes face several challenges, including harnessing the creative potential of conflict and balancing power relations in a context of social, political and economic inequality. Finding ways of identifying and communicating the core problems, aspirations and values of participating stakeholders in the face of these challenges is therefore one of the key tasks in setting up, running and learning from urban laboratories. Those setting the agenda should highlight and discuss how perspectives from non-traditional or previously excluded groups can be used to formulate a clear purpose. Additionally, it is of the utmost importance that all participants remain receptive to alternative problem framings, methods and outcomes, while keeping in mind the fundamental importance of intangible values. In finding shared agendas, physical platforms for discussion and experimentation can be crucial. Aligning agendas hinges on active participation, and both the communicative and experimental aspects of the Urban Lab emphasize the importance of a physical location where different interests and experiences can meet. Organizers should consider setting up a 'neutral' meeting place or rotate venues in order to avoid one group having both the burden and the implicit power of providing a physical space. As the lab progresses, participants have to be prepared to

reformulate the aims or even the problem/issue itself in light of new discoveries and input. Many Urban Labs are set up without a specific endgame in mind. As a consequence, participants need to continuously re-evaluate what their agenda and expectations are, both to themselves and to their partners. Organizers should consider setting up regular meetings specifically devoted to discussing the participants' agendas, rather than relying on individual participants raising the issue.

12.6.2 Fostering Plurality

Urban labs provide opportunities for diverse and marginal actors to participate in and influence processes and activities. Bringing together a plurality of perspectives and knowledge is key to finding new ways of understanding and addressing complex issues. Plurality is also important for the aim of Urban Labs to create more inclusive cities. A city is made up of different values and interests, and it is important that in the processes and activities of Urban Labs incorporate such diversity and ideally provides opportunities for different groups in the city to be heard and to contribute to the processes and outcomes of the lab. Therefore, it is not enough to set up a cross-sector partnership structure; attention needs to be paid to plurality. It is important to carefully consider the specific agendas of potential partners, to ensure that they represent and contribute different perspectives, knowledge and influences to the lab. Labs should reach out and create relationships with and trust from marginal, alternative actors to ensure that marginal, alternative perspectives are not lost along the way. It is key to support participants in exploring and discussing possible frictions, rather than avoiding them. This can be supported by anchoring the need for participation (and the importance of plurality) at a strategic level within the lab. The way participation is organized and carried out should be tailored to the specific conditions and characteristics of each process. Additionally, lab practitioners should consider how participants can initiate and operate their own processes within the lab or what opportunities participants have to influence the processes they are engaged in. Moving from participation to co-ownership requires to support participants in articulating, discussing and understanding their different interests as well as to resonate with participants regarding where and how responsibility and control can be shared.

12.6.3 Finding Position

Urban labs are hybrid niches positioned at the boundary between local administration and society. Finding a suitable position for an Urban Lab requires deeper insight into the local context, above all the local culture and structure of participatory urban governance. Lessons from past initiatives can be incorporated into the Urban Lab, and other ongoing participation initiatives can be connected to the lab to

increase synergies and avoid overlap. Institutional backup has proved to be vital and needs to be organized. It can help if the establishment of a lab is set out in a policy document. Even better is active support and engagement by high-ranking city officials and policymakers who can act as ambassadors for the lab towards their colleagues and the outside world. It is important to consider the connections an Urban Lab should establish, and to involve stakeholders from various domains and municipal sectors. A niche is an obvious position to choose for an Urban Lab. It helps in launching experimental projects and trying out new approaches. As a niche, a lab can still become visible as a somewhat autonomous platform and create its own identity, which will help to get new people involved in city-making. A hybrid position gives the Urban Lab space to act and engage different worlds and different actors in addressing urban problems. There is not one perfect hybrid position; rather, it is a continuum of possible positions, some of them closer to the local administration and others closer to society. In order to integrate the language, values, knowledge and interests of different actors from different domains, Urban Labs need to do active boundary work. Different values and interests need to be rendered transparent and intelligible, and their integration should be facilitated. It is important to clarify the roles, the ensuing responsibilities and the mutual expectations of all stakeholders. The local administration in particular has a chance to experiment with new roles. The position of an Urban Lab is never set in stone and should be open to negotiation. It is especially evaluation moments or transitions to a new phase which can be useful for reflecting on the lab's position and readjusting it.

12.6.4 Building Organization

Urban labs have transparent leadership and organizational structures tailored to specific goals and local conditions. Therefore, lab practitioners should be clear about basic questions regarding the tasks and the ways in which they are fulfilled. This includes the identification of strategic orientations, target groups, responsibilities and modes of value creation. Additionally, municipalities implementing Urban Labs as new governance forms should decide how to anchor the lab within the overall administrative structure, and whether the lab should get a political mandate. These considerations provide a solid basis for the further elaboration of internal operating procedures, decision-making and conflict management processes. After the specific operating procedures and routines of the Urban Lab have been defined, there is the need to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the lab practitioners. In addition, it can be very useful to think about installing a reflection group made up of experienced practitioners and experts who supervise the lab to ensure that the tasks are fulfilled, and who provide guidance and troubleshoot where necessary. Thereby, it is important to ensure a heterogeneous mix of functions and people with a variety of perspectives and knowledge within the reflection group. Moreover, one has to carefully consider the extent of the group's authority as well as its accountability.

12.6.5   Experimenting All the Way

Urban labs carry out time-limited experiments with the ambition of creating long-term relationships. This implies to look at each process and activity of an Urban Lab not just as a matter of developing, testing and/or implementing a possible solution for a specific issue, but rather as opportunities to collaboratively learn about the specific issue at stake and how it might be addressed together with different actors. Therefore, Urban Labs should carefully design a learning strategy and ways to address participation. It is important that Urban Labs are upfront with involved parties, politicians and funding bodies about the importance of failure as an opportunity for learning. Initiating experiments can be used in a rather open-ended and unstructured form, focusing on exploration as well as considering different possible perspectives on the issue at stake. Maturing experiments hold the potential to stabilize or challenge the ongoing work and knowledge production process. They involve reflecting and harvesting learnings from other experiments. Therefore, they should provide tools and structures to support shared reflection and learning. Finalizing experiments can be used to condense key insights and approaches. Hence, they involve more structured experiments with clear evaluation goals. Before starting up each process, Urban Labs should consider which actors are relevant in relation to the issue and how processes and activities can favour the creation of strong relationships among participants. An important task of Urban Labs is the provision of participants with skills and competences to continue experimenting on their own after the process is concluded as well as the support of actors in reflecting on and planning how they might take the process and its results forward. Moreover, Urban Labs should consider how the experiment can include more hands-on activities that are able to provide different ways to jointly explore and reflect the issue at stake. Such activities might range from writing down and sketching key words and concepts to implementing interventions in public spaces, from building small prototypes based on ideas and concepts to collaboratively organizing public events

12.6.6   Maximizing Learning

Urban labs aim to maximize learning from lab experiments by multiple actors. Although this sounds like stating the obvious, Urban Labs sometimes only start to think about the issue of learning long after the lab has been established. And even when learning has been identified from the outset as an important activity, the 'who', 'what', 'how' and 'why' are often still not clear. Important questions to consider are who should learn about which issues, for what purpose and how the learning process should be organized. Therefore, Urban Labs should jointly formulate learning goals by involving all selected participants in the formulation of the learning goals, which should have a direct relation to the major aims of learning.

This may start out as a very open process, with inputs from all participants, but should result in only a handful of learning goals. Too many learning goals make a structured approach impossible to implement effectively. Moreover, Urban Labs should design the structure of the learning process by planning a sequence of 'sources of new information' (e.g. experiments, actions and inputs from external experts) and joint reflection sessions. Reflection should not be organized only at the end, but also during the course of an experiment or project. This allows for timely adjustment of plans. Additionally, Urban Labs should record the learning process and capture the lessons learned by reflecting each session for producing a 'learning report' describing what has been learned. The jointly formulated learning goals must provide the structure and focus here, but lab practitioners should always check for important lessons derived from unplanned, emergent learning. Thereby, it is important to allow time for learning in the overall planning and reserve some budget for professional facilitation. The time and facilitation skills required for joint learning processes are generally seriously underestimated. However, without sufficient investments, learning is unlikely to produce worthwhile results.

12.6.7 Creating Public Value

Urban labs co-create public values, distributed transparently and fairly. These public values may take the form of economic, social and environmental benefits, in both the public and private spheres. It is a basic precondition to ensure the legitimacy of Urban Labs that they render transparent: (1) the participation of and investments by heterogeneous interests and stakeholders, (2) the monitoring and measurement of various kinds of public value generated through lab activities, and (3) the way these values are distributed. Some public values, investments, costs and benefits are more easily monitored and measured than others. While there can be no definitive solution as to how assessment and distribution should be carried out, it is important to address issues surrounding the harvesting of results produced by Urban Labs. The large range of values and aims guiding lab activities give reason to be cautious about using uniform, inflexible evaluation templates. Assessing achievements can be a fundamentally varied process, depending on what participants consider successful outcomes. These need to be made explicit and assessment needs to be transparent. The same inclusiveness emphasized in aligning purposes must be carried over into the assessment of achievements and distribution of co-created public values. This facilitates fair distribution while avoiding legitimate criticism of business as usual under the guise of an 'innovative' lab. The values of collaborative learning may be difficult to assess, but must be sufficiently recognized. This formation of social capital should be one important motivation for continuing to practice urban governance through Urban Labs.

12.6.8 Continuing Labbing

Urban Labs disseminate and anchor lab lessons throughout urban governance structures. Therefore, internal and external storytelling is a crucial task of labs because it supports sharing and interpreting the experiences gained. The establishment of an internal narrative discourse supports management decisions, unifies the lab team and fosters collective reasoning processes. A close dialogue with external stakeholders supports the transformation of the lab's experiences and knowledge into influence and action. Urban Labs with long-term orientation should aim to cooperate with research institutions in order to foster societal learning, participation and empowerment. They should also try to connect with like-minded initiatives and local activists to increase the momentum towards implementing transformative practices for sustainable urban development. The implementation of internal training and education opportunities strengthens the lab practitioner's social and personal skills to perform effectively in realizing the lab's goals and missions. Additionally, Urban Labs should foster external capacity building, including partnership development, exchange of knowledge, skills and innovative methodologies, as well as networking and sharing information about funding opportunities for societal change processes. When the lab's lifespan as predefined in its operation model has expired, the question arises what to do with the knowledge and experiences gained. In case of a continuation of the lab, it should be considered if there is a need to adapt the original operation model to changed organizational circumstances. Continuing labs should think about establishing suitable internal evaluation methodologies to support the lab's practices. Moreover, they should examine whether it is possible to transfer lab principles and working procedures to other communal departments and stakeholder networks. If possible, labs should integrate solutions, ideas, methods or processes tested or developed in the lab into urban governance structures.

12.7 Conclusion

In times of pressing social, economic and ecological challenges in cities all around the world, transdisciplinary approaches to implement new forms of governance are inevitable. Only when different actors and stakeholders with different backgrounds come together, share their knowledge, experiences and point of views, needs-oriented and sustainable solutions can be found on a mutual basis. It is extremely important to make different actors in society aware of hierarchies, unequal opportunities and unequal power distributions as well as including marginalized groups who are mostly aside societal mainstreams and are lacking inclusive thinking and acting. This is especially relevant in times when policy strategies at the global and European level prioritize economic growth and subordinate ecological and social dimensions to growth and profit. It is essential for all

stakeholders to become active 'designer' of our society with new methods of action research and innovative transdisciplinary methodologies to create new governance approaches.

The results of the transdisciplinary research and learning processes established through the URB@Exp project indicate that the theoretical-conceptual approach of Labs is able to contribute to improved governance of urban complexity. Urban Labs can function as interface between the city councils, local governments and civil society, and thus can be a suitable vehicle for developing new participatory working methods for managing urban development agendas. Thereby, the focus should be on building new coalitions, conducting transdisciplinary experiments with predefined learning goals and developing new knowledge. Mutual social learning processes and exchange of knowledge should be seen as integral part of Urban Lab initiatives. Due to the variety of urban challenges, it is essential that researchers, Lab practitioners and policymakers learn from each other and from experiences made in other cities in terms of structure, processes of co-creation and engaging of participants in Urban Lab initiatives. The contrasting experiences with different kinds of Labs in different places, involving different types of urban projects being embedded differently in systems of governance, help to evaluate different processes of co-creation, identify critical conditions for success, and to further develop the concept of Urban Labs. By adopting this action research approach, the consortium partners aim to guide Urban Lab initiatives towards positive outcomes.

Urban Labs seem to be an appropriate instruments to fulfil all these prerequisites, as they are spaces for joint and solution-oriented communication processes in an experimental setting (visions, scenarios, strategies, goals, measures, prototypes, etc.), are (1) using innovative, interactive, experimental methods; (2) creating participatory, reflexive, social learning processes based on concrete learning goals; (3) ensuring scientific and transdisciplinary monitoring; and (4) providing evaluation of achievements and fostering on iterative adaptation of goals. Extremely important are the guiding principles for Urban Labs like transparency, openness, nonviolent communication, diversity, gender equality, public and low-threshold accessibility, competitive motivation (agonistic design). The application of these principles minimizes the risk inherent to Urban Labs that they turn into co-opted instruments, which appear to be innovative practices fostering democratic governance, while actually achieving little in terms of shifting the status quo of 'business as usual' in urban development.

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The Future of Urban Renewal
Further Enabling Community Participation
through Policy and Practice

Nicholas Wise and Julie Clark

This edited collection presents international perspectives to show how communities mobilise and respond to renewal in different parts of the world, namely China, Hong Kong, India, Italy, Korea and South Africa, as well as drawing upon examples from both the United Kingdom and United States. In addition, a theory-practice chapter is included on the use of Urban Labs as supported by discussions from examples and collaborations from across the European Union. Urban renewal is not only approached differently around the world, depending on needs and stages of development, but it is understood differently, challenging us to understand the role of the community as a vital stakeholder in the process of urban renewal. The existence of such differences reinforces the lesson that there cannot be a one-size-fits-all model for, or understanding of, approaches to urban renewal: the importance of bottom-up, participatory urban management, which benefits local people, as opposed to top-down policies cannot be overstated.

Beyond the international scope, this book incorporates a diverse range of concepts and contexts for understanding urban renewal, community and participation. In some chapters the focus on renewal was infrastructural, whilst in others the emphasis was more on social change, local reactions, or collaborations. Thus, the need to consider community participation at different geographical scales became apparent. Renewal is often understood from planning perspectives, focusing on urban areas in transition and the need for new (or more modernized) infrastructures. But within and directly impacted by such changes are the very communities which have forged presence and semblances of power: top-down policies are not always inclusive in relation to meeting community needs and allowing local voices to be

heard. Community participation concerns community action and involvement, and while this is a struggle in some places to achieve inclusive and equal rights, in other places the ability to drive change locally is resulting in stronger ties across a range of stakeholders.

Geographers and social scientists will continue to assess, debate and critique how differing forces of power and stakeholder interactions shape communities. The international scope of this edited collection shows how practices and understandings of renewal and community change impact people differently. Social constructions of community, place and scale have invoked critical discussions of power and policy, space and place, community and identity, or planning and practice across a range of academic literatures (e.g. Agnew 1987; Harvey 2005; Lefebvre 1991; Smith 1990; Soja 2010; Suttles 1972). Many of these scholars have guided or influenced how scholars think about community, power and relationships across space and place. Likewise much of this work helps to frame new theoretical perspectives, epistemological debates and guide approaches, as observed in a number of recent contributions (e.g. Hénaff 2016; Leary-Owhin 2016; Low 2017; Manzo and Devine-Wright 2014; Meade et al. 2016; Sanz Sabido 2017; Wise and Harris 2017). However, it can also be argued that such theoretical insight (and sometimes oversight) acts solely as a guiding framework, offering assistance and oftentimes an accepted approach or broad perspective to guide researchers in terms of the approach taken, method(s) used or frameworks to assist interpretation. It is, however, through examination of communities, showcasing and where we work as scholars, and with whom, that we are required to consider differing concepts, to challenge perspectives and recognise practice, as guided by the very policies that impact specific communities and places. It is through on the ground research with community participants and voices that we as academics come to understand different perspectives and gain new insights specific to the people who experience renewal, redevelopment, revitalization and regeneration first-hand—and as this collection shows, such perspectives and insights differ greatly from place to place and community to community.

Future work will continue to further link theory and practice to inform policy. Given the range of cases and approaches covered in this book, a golden thread that links these chapters reinforces the need for academics to engage with a range of local stakeholders: among the stakeholders involved with urban renewal, and most impacted by it, is the community itself. In a previous edited collection, we spoke about the need to evaluate policy in order to plan for and advocate inclusive practice (Wise and Clark 2017). From this starting point we, as academics, are in a position to discuss concepts and critically examine arguments over who benefits from renewal—who renewal is actually *for*. Only through engagement with the community and understanding its participation, its mobilising efforts, can we better portray the local voice so that our academic work can have a lasting impact, helping to inform policy and shape practice.

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