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Bottom-up Urbanism in temporary Urban spaces

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Abstract

Bottom-up Urbanism is an alternate approach of city-making which sprung up by the end of the post-modernist era. It has a long history of unsuccessful attempts, overlooked by the top-down conventional players for various reasons. However, by the end of the 20th century, there was a steady increase in supporters, mainly consisting of young city makers belonging to distinct professions who believed in the ideology of a citizen-led planning approach, a presumable change occurred in considering objectives for formalizing the informal.

“There is no logic that can be superimposed on the city; people make it, and it is to them, not buildings, that we must fit our plans.” — Jane Jacobs

There is a strong connect between the bottom-up approach of planning and temporality. These urbanisms often start as temporary initiatives in ‘waiting lands’ and are short-lived. Analysing in-depth, the temporal characteristics of bottom-up urbanisms is an important reason why they turn out to be widely accepted by fellow denizens, since it adheres to the changing demands of the dwellers. Hence in a way can be characterised, “timeless”. The flexibility and openness marks this approach entirely different from the rational process of city making. However, since these initiatives start in temporary vacant spaces, abandoned lands, decayed buildings, with or without the permission of the proprietor, they encounter in-numerous obstacles on the long run. This is a reason why many temporary bottom-up urbanisms are transitory and end before its potential wholly tapped. The initiatives are initiated at different levels, as squatter movements, grass-root initiatives to citizen collective organizations, at times as a reaction against the decision of the government, there are ways through which bottom-up urbanists attempt to establish their desire or voice their opinion. The intent of the research is to explore and analyse in-depth the planning, processing, functioning and the end result of such processes taking into account and cross comparing a catalogue of bottom-up initiatives which had its inception in temporary urban spaces, in the European context, for there lies a great opportunity to read through, synopsise the dweller’s idea and understanding of a self-made space which could be the way-forward for creating such communities in future. The ultimate goal is to hypothesize reasons as to how the initiatives can sustain as long-term visions, still retaining the fluid character of ‘temporality’.

Key words: city making, bottom-up, collaboration, temporary, long term.

Bottom-up Urbanism in temporary urban spaces

1. Introduction

City makers, Urbanists, planners, city developers, investors- there is one underlying commonality between these individuals. Behind their undulating efforts, challenges faced and strived hard; they create one fundamental entity which continues to remain dynamic, functional, and sustainable- we call it, *the city*. But what are cities? What is city-making? What are cities made up of? Why do they function? Who needs the city and the city needs whom?

*"With cities, it is as with dreams: everything imaginable can be dreamed, but even the most unanticipated dream is a rebus that conceals a desire or, its reverse, a fear. Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their dialogue is secret, their rules are absurd, their perspectives devious, and everything conceals something else."*¹

Cities are packed with boundless dreams and extreme fears as mentioned by Italo Calvino but they are filled with tiny beings that make up these perceptions for themselves- the *Men or its denizens*. It is primarily for these beings the cities are created and planned with immaculate thought processing by the persons referred above. But is it possible to place the citizens of a city under one distinct category? For, there lies varied diversity. For instance, observing the street activities in Paris one finds, walkers, bakers in the patisserie, Parisians seated at cafes, an elderly couple, artists, cyclists, immigrants and tourists. It is evident they all belong to different backgrounds, creed and culture. Yet they co-exist and live together at a place which is designed and created based on the assumption they are one and the same substance of livability. It is predominantly because of this reason; life in most cities eventually fades with time. Whilst there lies a great difficulty to create cities based on individual's perceptions, it is feasible to argue with the point that there lies an objectivity amongst the subjectivity- that being, collectivity and collaboration of minds.

1.1 Intent of the research

*The city, as the noted urban sociologist Robert Park once wrote: "man's most reliable and on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire. But, if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself."*²

¹ Calvino, Italo. *Invisible cities*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974.

² Harvey, David. "The Right to the City". *The Emancipatory City?: Paradoxes and Possibilities* (n.d.): 236-239.

The aim of the research paper focuses on a scenario which is gaining momentum at present due to the change in the radical thought process of young city makers. This has paved way to an extent that it has altered the views of the government towards this creation as a potential approach to city making. This method of planning takes its principles from the living cells of the entity- citizens of the city. In the complicated matrix of actors, the traditional process of urban planning ignores the group of participants at the least bottom, whereas conversely, the evolved alternative takes them into account as the foremost and most important part of the entire network. It is a methodology where a citizen or a collective group sets the initial ignition to a venture with a clear motto not dependent on the city council. The ideology behind these projects is to achieve the desires and dreams about creating a better city for better life, through co-creation and collaboration by the citizens themselves. This approach, called 'Bottom-up Urbanism' has been on the upsurge since post-modernism and it has varied dimensions and facets to it. Focussing on the dimension of scale, these start in the neighbourhood level to the creation of an entire town. Other types similar to this approach are tactical urbanism, DIY urbanism, pop-up urbanism, guerrilla urbanism, emergent urbanism etc.

1.2 Question

What are the vital determinants for realizing a bottom-up intervention which emerges in temporary urban spaces?

Other questions

Who initiates the project and does that affect the course of the entire process?

Who are the actors that provide input in the design process? How is a consensus formed? Which is more feasible?

When it comes to the authority to take decisions, how is it done? When openness, equality and community-collaboration are the main elements, how do they handle when it comes to authoritative decision making?

Can these projects be implemented on a long term without the intervention of an expert? Can the inherent feature of temporality still be retained?

1.3 Hypothesis

An informally evolved spatial dynamic augmented by comprehensible organizational structures is the crucial factor determining the permanence of projects which emerge as bottom-up initiatives in temporary urban spaces.

1.4 Methodology

The research paper is more exploratory in nature built on theoretical approaches. The literature review takes upon the theoretical analysis of the subject which leads to the interpretation of spine with a framework of the case studies based on parameters.

The core of the research is predominantly qualitative in nature. The data collection was through intense literature studies mainly from research papers and online databases. The study was partly undertaken through observations, on-field interviews, electronic interviews and through collaboration with other researchers. The observation involved a combination of visual ethnography and Auto-ethnography, which employed an in-depth recording of self experiences where role-playing was involved taking the positions of different stake-holders in a particular process while examining the project alternatively. This led to the critical analysis of each project in a multi-dimensional scale. On-site observations included cognitive-mapping, photo-documentation and recording user-behaviour which later was interpreted according to the particular field of investigation. Thus the understanding of each case study had a different type of qualitative methodology depending on the nature of the project and the particular phenomenon attempted to be examined.

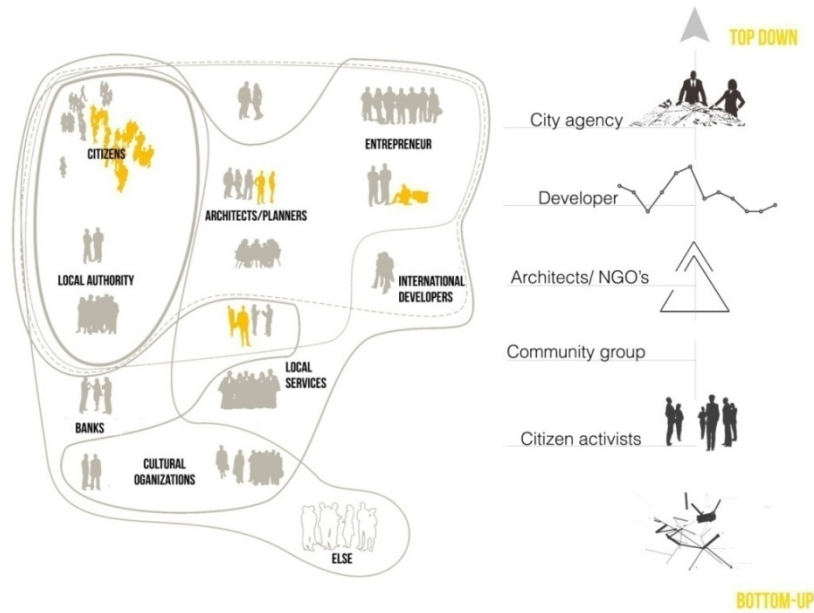
Hence, there was a wide range of qualitative techniques used for better understanding of the subject, involving literature studies, self-reflection and a participatory involvement of other researchers.

1.5 Framework

The research framework is such that, it involves the understanding of diverse case studies from different cities in Europe analysed under scenarios, resulting in an inference through an overlapped cross-comparison between the cases. The case studies which are picked are categorised under the framework as a spine, based on the protagonist of that particular project. The research attempts to comprehend the process of how each project was handled by its actors with time. Even though, every project has a narrative of its own, they all were created under one common goal- collaboration of bottom-up actors through co-creation for establishing an alternative approach.

‘Employing different data sources facilitates the researcher in the exploration of a phenomenon within the specific context’ –Baxter and Jack.

Aiming to find the unexpected programmatic synergies which could lead to the excitement of the local community to imagine a long term vision, a spine of case studies is drafted based on the role of the protagonist involved in the bottom-up process. The segregation based on the crucial actors helps in proceeding with further analysis of the research with respect to the chosen parameters.



The role of actors in the process is given the most importance after exploring into how bottom-up urbanisms generally work, which is further explained in detail in the research paper. The transition of actors within a time frame and the immediate response of this seen in the course of the project make it a critical factor for every actor to play a strong role in the process. The whole process fails if it witnesses a loose link in the chain, thus the complicated mesh generated shows the working of these interventions requires further analysis in order to realize an initiative on a long term.

The case-studies sorted in the spine are divided into three broad zones based on the protagonist of the projects- Primary stakeholders, Intermediate stakeholders and the deciding stakeholders. The case studies divided under these three zones are cross-compared and analysed in parallels with three base parameters which are space, time and functioning as the base parameters. The interpretation and methodology of the spine-framework is further explained in detail in the research paper.

1.4 Resuming an exploratory research

“La traduction des idées politiques dans la conception des espaces publics: Le cas d’une place publique piétonne de centre ville conçue autogestion” is the title of the research paper authored by Orillard Florence. It primarily deals with the case of cross comparing two public squares at Hamburg, the underlying difference between them being the contrasting approaches used in the design process- Top down versus bottom-up planning. The author exemplifies the necessity to put an end to the standardization of designing public spaces. The methodology employed is a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis; the two public spaces are recorded through literature reviews, direct observations and interviews. It clearly establishes the link between the anticipation of use arising from a po-

litical intention and its effect on the functioning of space. They are studied based on various factors, space and social context as the main.³

The two pedestrian public squares chosen for the study are Hein Kollisch platz and Park Fiction situated in the red-light district of St. Pauli. Hein Kollisch platz is located amidst a shopping arcade whereas Park fiction has a scenic river view. The public spaces designed based on contrasting planning strategies, the former was planned and executed by the municipal authorities while the latter was entirely an outcome of bottom-up planning where the citizens struggled against the local authorities to build and design a public space for themselves. The research is an analysis of the distinct planning approaches and an investigation through the process, time taken, actors involved and political disparities, along with the observation of the spaces in the present day scenario. The inference of the research illustrates that the scale of appropriateness and the social perceptions linked to the space by the citizens mark a stark contrast, predominantly because of the approach applied during the planning process. Hein Kollisch platz is almost an unused, vacant, dead space while on the other hand Park fiction is a vibrant and a finely adapted space by the public. The cross-comparison proves the need for the formalization of unplanned spaces and informalization of the formal. The study is dealt in such a way that it points out both the negative and positive outcomes of top-down and bottom-up planning strategies. Not only does the author strongly emphasize the dominance of top down players over bottom-up planning strategies, but also brings out the potential possibilities of a citizen-led movement and the prospects of an open- collaborative approach. Hence, the current research paper primarily takes its root from Orillard Florence's inference and bottom-up urbanisms are further analyzed in depth, looking into ways of mapping the patterns of the unplanned.

There are different perspectives and approaches to this duality of the space as the created and the creator. The biggest tension between a top-down urbanism where the different power spheres are the creators and a bottom-up urbanism where the least powerful aims at shaping the city are - the appropriation of the space by users without following the top-down rules, thereby incorporating fresh scenarios, new uses and interpretations of the built environment. The research does not aim to criticize top-down urbanism by trying to disapprove the way it works; its motive is to expose the unnoticed, short-lived, temporarily created bottom-up urbanisms and analyzing the depth of the potential it offers for the future of urban planning.

³ Florence, Orillard. "La traduction des idées politiques dans la conception des espaces publics: Le cas d'une place publique pié-tonne de centre ville conçue autogestion". University of Tours, 2013.

2. Bottom up urbanisms

Bottom-up planning methods were established in urban communities in the United Kingdom and United States of America from the late 1960's ranging from advocacy planning in which qualified planners acted as advocates for a particular community, negotiating with city authorities on the community's behalf and interpreting technical language⁴, to formation of neighborhood corporations where participants directly managed state grants to plan their own economic development programmer in the ghetto⁵, to the use of unconventional methods to facilitate community decision-making and planning of resources.

2.1 Background

Bottom-up urbanisms did not have its inception as an urban movement or as a direct approach towards alternative urban planning as such. It had a deliberate incremental growth, which started out as a reaction from a common man's perspective, to make his livelihood better by involving himself with or without the help of a collective group of fellow citizens, in the betterment of the scenario in which he resides. The initial scale with which this type of urbanism progressed was micro, on a neighbourhood level. It was intended for creating short-term solutions for problems which were faced for a prolonged period of time. In other words, they were spontaneous responses to solve the urban issues which arose due to the neglect of the state. Tracing back to events which had similar lines of starting points, it can be linked to the pop-up or do-it-yourself culture. A bottom-up planning approach is a culmination of similar events, which eventually led to the creation of an entire community in a holistic manner. An example is the Les bouquinistes at Paris, which had its beginning way back in the 1500's and can be considered a parallel to pop-up retailers.⁶

⁴ Davidoff, Paul. "Advocacy and pluralism in planning". *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31.4 (1965): 331-338

⁵ Arnstein, Sherry. *Ladder of Citizen Participation*. Journal of the American Planning Association, 1969.

⁶ Arieff, Allison. "It's Time to Rethink 'Temporary'". *Opinionator*, 2011. Available: <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/12/19/its-time-to-rethink-temporary/>



Les bouquinistes at Paris

The Bouquinistes of Paris are booksellers of used and vintage books who pursue their occupation along large sections of the banks of the Seine. Set up along three kilometers of the river and acknowledged a UNESCO World Heritage site, the 240 bouquinistes make use of 900 wooden boxes to house some 300,000 old books and a number of journals, stamps and trading cards.⁷ Initially they started off as unsanctioned activities along the banks of the river, facing opposition from the city-authorities, eventually after witnessing the response to this initiative by the public, the city decided to institutionalize the activity under certain specifications. Today, they exist as one of the unique identities to River Siene and Paris.

The bottom-up approach began to gain momentum after the 1970's, when citizens began to start looking at alternate ways of living in terms of affordable housing and solving urban issues taking a confrontational approach towards investors or central government. From pop-up and do-it-yourself culture there was a shift towards thoughtful urban development using the same methodology on a superior scale. It was received with a positive attitude by the citizens in North America and Europe. Especially in Europe, there was a considerable increase in the formation of such communities.

2.1.1 Initial reception

In the 1970's when squatters, grass-roots organizations, citizen collectives and local councillors dominated such initiatives, the approach often led nowhere. There was a persistent contradiction between formal urban planning and informal urban use. During this period, even though different studies based on the examination of unplanned and unconscious processes of urban development were established and went unnoticed, it opened up seemingly interesting perspectives and gathered the attention of different professionals. This includes, "The death and life of Great American cities" by Jane Jacobs (1961), Learning from Las Vegas by Robert Venturi (1972), Collage city by Colin Rowe (1978) to name a few. They all broadcasted the structures of the unplanned in altered ways. This led to the investigation of the city planning scenario and served as a critique of the prevailing

⁷ Bouquinistes. (n.d.). Retrieved April/May, 2016, from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bouquinistes>

orthodoxies of urban planners and Architects. The intense debating did not particularly have a significant motive and hence often resulted abrupt with hassled decisions. The major issue was the factor of time which this approach demanded. The growth rate of city patterns was at an unrelenting speed which was possibly why the top-down players could not accept this approach as a potential alternate. But in the 1990's there was an almost complete reversal; investors and central governments regained power and the present stakeholder management brought together a range of participants, capitalists and local activists alike, mediating conflicting interests within an integrated decision making process.⁸

2.1.2 Significant shift in viewpoint

There are several reasons behind the drastic change of opinion about bottom-up planning from the start of 1990's, if observed closely; it was more of a gradual process rather than an impulsive shift. Some of the important view-points are summarized below,

- There was a need for an alteration in the traditional mode of planning to be more responsive towards grassroots innovation, simply because the concept of co-production invited users to design and deliver public service sharing the equal relationship with the professionals. This new approach based on the ideology of democratic citizenship, encouraged decentralized control by the authorities, active participation of users, mutual and reciprocal relationship between users and professionals. Although time-consuming, looking at the upsurge of participants moving towards informal communities and the success rate statistic in the general functioning of informal economies, professional planners and local authorities were pushed to accept the experimentations.
- Some designers embraced the methodologies of user-centered and participatory design after accurate understanding of bottom-up initiatives. They realized that creativity and knowledge of people open up new possibilities for local authorities who could learn the needs of people and encourage their participation. However, local authorities were dominated by central powers and were less attentive to the needs and capacities of the users. Planners, architects and urbanists found it vital and significant to build dialogues between users and authorities to promote these initiatives. Nevertheless, designers, serving as facilitators rather than sole

⁸ Oswalt, Philipp, Klaus Overmeyer, and Philipp Misselwitz. *Urban catalyst*. Berlin: Dom Pub, 2013.

creators, were involved to bring the value of users to the authorities and to create a democratic dialogue between authorities and users by constructing innovative strategies.⁹

Many pilot design projects illustrated that, by applying co-creation as a strategy, there were potential signs of success facilitating user participation and promoting dialogue among stakeholders. These were some of the core reasons which caused the shift in accepting bottom-up planning as an alternate approach. Especially, with particular reference to the European societies, user participation is given more importance in the past two decades.

2.2 Current scenario and the way forward

The present situation is such that the concept of co-production has swept across many European countries and has taken a marked turn towards ordinary people who are regarded as resources. Particularly, citizens are placed as active contributors, rather than passive recipients.



The rise of spontaneous urbanism attributes to a confluence of factors; the 2008 recession, which has forced cities, developers and even individual citizens to become more resourceful; shifting social demographics, young and upwardly mobile demographics and the internet as a catalyst that has accelerated the exchange of ideas and prototype ideas adaptable to local specificities. City-makers have started to believe that the need to not only design around the needs of people, but engaging them in the design process and planning is the way forward towards creating a new urbanism.

The game of innovation that alters from 'for' people to 'with' people implies the mind-set that "celebrates the creativity of mankind by creating value at all levels" Co-production concept regards ordinary people as the biggest untapped resources in the public service design and delivery systems. It is based on the belief that

⁹ Wu, Yiyang and Miaosen Gong. "The Design Challenge of Bridging Bottom-up Initiatives and Top-Down Governance", 2012. Available: <http://cumulushelsinki2012.aalto.fi/cumulushelsinki2012.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/The-Design-Challenge-of-Bridging-Bottom.pdf>.

every human being endowed with a heritage of skills, develops solution to deal with the problems of everyday life

This shift has lined a way in the creation of different forms of bottom-up initiatives at different scales; even though they are closely associated with one another, are termed different- Tactical Urbanism, Do-it-yourself Urbanism, Pop-up urbanism, guerrilla urbanism, spontaneous urbanism, emergent urbanism etc., are all a collection of similar temporary changes on a low cost strategy, solving urban issues in pioneering ways. Tactical urbanism captures one's thoughts in the many ways it disrupts and challenges the status quo. The urbanists feel there is something exciting about citizens taking action and reclaiming space. The culture of Do-it-yourself home improvement is slowly moving onto the streets and public spaces in cities where people want to invest and improve collectively owned property. Place-making is an evolving practice in community-making and there are many initiatives which have sprung up after 2008 comprising of design collectives accelerating this approach of bottom-up urbanism on a larger scale.

3. Temporary uses

Countless city authorities in Europe and North America that are given with the task of revitalisation and re-development of urban areas, first and foremost lack the resources and most importantly the power and control to implement comprehensive master plans. Temporary uses flourish both in the in-between spaces where there is flexibility in the rigours of the property market and in areas where multi-use is possible. Some uses are planned and formal; some are informal, unintended, impulsive or even unlawful. Some occur when a city is shrinking, some when it is growing. Some uses last for a weekend, some are seasonal while others may last for a longer period of time. Some are acts of political insolence, while some are government interventions. Given this wide range of qualities, temporary activities need to be defined with concern. 'Temporariness' is a tricky impression to pin down. The term denotes a finite period of time with a defined beginning and end. The basic problem with temporary action is that it can only be accurately identified in retrospection.¹⁰

"Liquid modernity is characterized by uncertainty, continuous risk and shifting trust. What is trustworthy today may not be tomorrow. Such fragmented lives require individuals to be flexible and adaptable- to be constantly ready and willing to change tactics, to abandon commitments and loyalties

¹⁰ Verwilt, Katrien. "Changing metropolis iii", *Issuu*, 2012-2015. Available: https://issuu.com/cphmetropolis/docs/changing_metropolis_iii

*and to pursue opportunities according to their current availability. We might speculate therefore, that is such a world temporary activities of all kinds could be expected to flourish'*¹¹

There are problems in trying to assess contemporaneously a phenomenon whose factual context is momentous. A use is not temporary until it has proved to be so, by fading. The book 'temporary city', written by urban planner Peter Bishop and environmental scientist Leslie Williams is an interesting take on this concept, explaining through case-studies from all over the world, hypothesizing the idea of 'temporariness' as a positive outlook for handling 'waiting lands' and a potential harbinger of the future.

3.1 Link between bottom up interventions and the temporary city



The fundamental link between the two is the role played by the citizens who initiate and process innovative forms of alternate urban living. They also extract an increasingly concerned response from landowners and developers who are now recognizing their plans need to be more flexible and that eventually there may be a spot for temporary activities or interim phases of development, in the face of economic ambiguity and rapidly changing possibilities. Some are clearly making use of the excess vacant property and the reduced risk that short-term leases offer to new businesses. But there is also a status associated with time-limited exclusivity that has the user appeal. In parallel, there appears to be many temporary 'claims' on the city, such as art installation, urban agriculture, pop-up food trucks and recreation activities from individuals or communities with an alternative concept about its use. Many of these 'bottom-up' interventions or transitory reconfigurations of space seemingly arise without any consent from authorities.

Thus there always seems to be an overlap between the concept of 'temporality' and the approach of bottom-up urbanism as summarized below; it can also be said, that most of the projects initiated by temporary users (citizens) in disused lands or buildings eventually turn out to be a part of bottom up urbanisms.

- Flexibility- risk of failure on a long term being lesser
- Adaptability- for the changing needs and concerns
- Ability to explore fresh dimensions

¹¹ Bishop, Peter and Lesley Williams. *The temporary city*. London: Routledge, 2012.

- Focussed on the need of the hour
- Idea of collaboration and co-creation
- Unified diversity between the actors.

3.2 Backdrop of the European scenario

Temporary uses are neither trivial nor novel manifestations. They have existed in the industrial nation for a long time now. In their growth stage during the second half of the nineteenth century, shanty towns were widespread on the urban periphery. In the wake of the Great depression, the late 1920's and early 1930's squatter settlements and self-built structures flourished. After World War II, emergency housing and subsistence food cultivation were widespread in Europe's distraught cities. In 1970's and 1980's, politically motivated squatting occurred in numerous large European cities that endangered alternative lifestyles and housing models in protest against clean-sweep planning and speculative vacancy rates.¹²

With the collapse of the socialist states and the end of the East-west confrontation, new streams of migration developed in Europe accompanied by informal economies flourishing in Eastern Europe. It was not only the cultural economy that gained importance; the economy and urban structures were entirely transformed. The migration of industrial production to low wage countries as well as the advancing rationalization of production led to the emergence of vast industrial wastelands in Europe and North America. On the other hand, new working, consumer and recreation programs were concentrated in new exurban centres and sub-centres such as shopping malls, leisure parks or office districts. This resulted in enormous vacancy rates in inner-city strip malls and office buildings. In many places, out-migration and falling birth rates led to population loss; residential buildings fell empty.

These empty spaces were often condemned to a waiting loop with no prospect of being made use of in the intermediate period. Hence, this change led to a spatial polarization; alternatively, zones with high development pressure and a shortage of space were created at both regional as well as on the local level and stagnated areas developed where there is a surplus of space. Thus, this resulted in decay and growth occurring hand in hand.

3.2.1 From Island Urbanism to the Urbanity of in-between spaces

These developments were accompanied by a changing planning culture. Integral and comprehensive urban planning was to ensure quality living conditions for the entire population. By the 1970's, this model fell into a state of crisis and was replaced by the concept of the "corporate" city. Currently,

¹² Caldecott, Stratford. "The Age of Access: How the Shift from Ownership to Access is Transforming Modern Life, by Jeremy Rifkin". *The Chesterton Review* 29.1 (2003): 186-189.

the primary goal of planning is the stimulation of private investment. A policy of this kind only has its eye on the financially sound, solvent strata of the population and concentrates more on the investor and marks itself in a kind of island urbanism. Sites that are relevant for investments are planned as projects, while the territory in between disappears from the public consciousness. Enclaves develop in which everything is planned down to the last detail and the territory between is ignored, along with which, includes the socially and financially weaker residents. The land which was once a continuum of urban space ultimately disintegrates into two areas with virtually opposing characteristics.¹³

Yet it is precisely these areas neglected by the state, capital and planning that often stand out due to their special urbanity. Because here, the city is designed and influenced by financially unsound players who are excluded from corporate projects. By exhausting non-monetary resources- such as derelict spaces, unofficial network and people power- these players succeed in inhabiting another form of a city in zones that are temporarily unusable in traditional real-estate terms. Only here, beyond the controlled enclaves, does such temporary, informal and innovative practices unfold.

3.2.2 Temporal flux

Post-Fordism is characterized by dynamism of social processes which is reflected in the use of space. Temporary uses are only an example of a broader tendency of particular interest to one that includes the “appropriation” of urban spaces as well as the spatiotemporal dynamism of services. Where workers are often in transit or work at home, they no longer have a fixed place of work in an office but various working opinions in a differentiated environment such as hot-desking a lean office space. Permanent ownership is increasingly being replaced by various schemes.¹⁴ These developments are reinforced by opportunities for mobile communication and site-related information, by locative media and social networks. The potentials of this augmented urbanism stimulate and indeed generate completely new urban practices. Architecture is for the most part too sluggish for the innovations of the post-fordian knowledge society, which has led to the emancipation of numerous new urban practices from building production.

4. Context of the research

Focusing on Europe, the current practice of urban use is such that they are strongly influenced by migration and are constantly shifting socio-cultural processes. Self confident new players thrust

¹³ Oswalt, Philipp, Klaus Overmeyer, and Philipp Misselwitz. *Urban catalyst*. Berlin: Dom Pub, 2013.

¹⁴ "The Mobile City | Mobile Media and Urban Design". *Themobilecity.nl*, n.d. Available: <http://www.themobilecity.nl/>.

themselves into the public space of traditional European cities and have a profound influence on the conventional, day-to-day practices and established points of view. European metropolises are increasingly colorful and culturally diversified. While the offspring of earlier immigrant workers are aspiring towards emancipation, many of the newcomers who joined the regional and international labor migration movements have also contributed to cultural diversification. The gradual opening of eastern Europe, increased migration within Europe through liberalization of the job markets, as well as the growing global networking of European cities fueling increased migration from countries outside of Europe explain this new reality. Informal markets and raw forms of trade, imported from threshold countries, are progressively defining the everyday image of the European cities. The acceptance of lower standards opens up new scope for immigrants, which they skillfully exploit for the development of their own networks and economic cycles. In metropolises such as London or Paris, informal economies developed long ago that ensure the livelihood of many newcomers. This chapter deals with the situation in Europe particularly, with subject to the growth of such informal sectors in the last two decades.¹⁵

4.1 Urban context

Urban development processes in Europe have vast time gaps, where there is a considerable amount of time between the end of the former use and commencement of the future use. In general, in the European cities observed, these spaces function as breeding-grounds for transitory uses. Thus, this spatial vacuum is a fundamental for the birth of temporary uses in cities. Although the reasons for these time gaps vary significantly. For example, in the case of Berlin, after the unification of the wall, there were parcels of unused lands leftover without any property owner nor residents, which eventually were occupied by the temporary users and led to major squatting scenes. This led to the recognition of Berlin for its empty lands and in turn attracted breeders from all over the world for they had their primary necessity in abundance. There is a strong relationship between temporary users and the site they appropriate. The effect of temporary uses on the development of a certain location can be different. They are divided into typologies and explained below;

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¹⁵ Oswalt, Philipp, Klaus Overmeyer, and Philipp Misselwitz. *Urban catalyst*. Berlin: Dom Pub, 2013.

¹⁶ "Urban Catalysts". *Cordis.europa.eu*, 2013. Available:
<http://cordis.europa.eu/documents/documentlibrary/65794761EN19.doc>

•*Stand in*: Where temporary users do not have a lasting effect on the location, but only uses the vacant space for the time available.

•*Impulse*: The users trigger the future development of the site by establishing innovative programmatic synergies at the site.

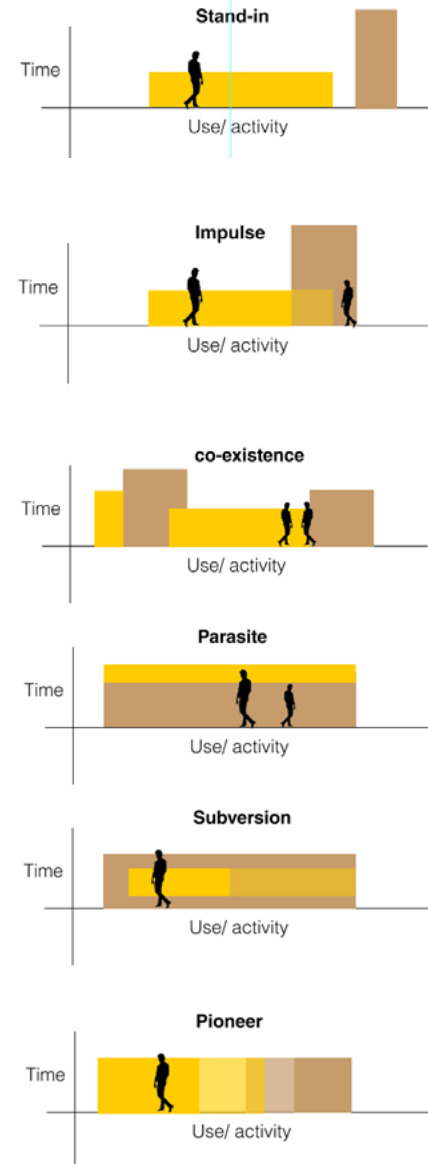
•*Consolidation*: Temporary users establish themselves at a location and in due course of time they are transformed to a permanent use.

•*Coexistence*: In certain sites, the temporary use continues to exist minimally even after the introduction of a permanent program on the site.

•*Parasite*: Temporary use is developed depending on the existing uses taking advantage of the potential co-operation and availability of space.

•*Subversion*: Temporary users interrupt a functionally existent site by squatting as a political action. Even though for a limited period, this changes the circumstances of the space. An example is the housing in a university or factory.

•*Pioneer*: The temporary users collectively appropriate a fresh land, establishing a mode of settlement, which might turn into a permanent one.



4.2 Economic context

The economic context is strongly associated with the urban situation. For instance, in a city, the density and the rate of turnover depends on its local market condition as well as the new investments. Predominantly, the informal communities do not have their primary focus on monetary assets. This is understood to be an independent system or even as an “economy-free” enterprise. Even though temporary uses start off in niches, they are connected to the economic sphere. In a way they have better probabilities to evolve with lower economic pressure. However, the deliberate non-monetary character of temporary uses rather creates alternative economies. These are economies based on barter systems, on social capital and on recycling of values. Such forms of value production can often be converted into monetary value. Many of the initiatives blends these economies and at-

tempt to establish a self-containing enterprise, which in due course provides enough assets to move out of the temporary niche.

Evidently, to reach this level of self-sufficiency is a difficult task. Therefore, governmental subsidies play a crucial role to get the process going. There is an enormous difference in the way they receive subsidies by public bodies and it depends directly on the economic situation of the city. Thus, in thriving economies like Amsterdam, temporary uses get immensely supported by the local government. In economically stagnant cities like Berlin, there is very less financial support for temporary uses. This dependency on the general economic situation of the city has contrasting results on the interventions. The low-pressure economy, as in Berlin, opens up more spatial niches for alternative enterprises and bottom-up initiatives, but there is barely any public financial support. In contrary, growing economies, the real estate is highly priced, making it much harder to establish alternative uses. Although, when the initiatives are introduced, it is feasible to get public funding and put the temporary uses on a more stable phase.¹⁷

4.3 Cultural context

The common feature between the European cities where one can cite a number of bottom-up initiatives is the most recent boom of cultural economies. In-order to promote the cities in a unique manner, there has been an added focus on the innovative sector by the city authorities which is the creation of “cultural industries”. According to economists this sector has the potential to become one of the most important, playing a central role in the transformation of the cultures of cities- the shift from cultural consumption to cultural production. This is a networked system and refers to the production of goods, which has a figurative meaning to it more than a functional value. For the creators of this sector, if the venture becomes a success, it earns recognition and capital, but there always has been the factor of risk attached to it. As an implication one has to design a strategy which allows a constant flow of projects



Recently, there is a rise in the start-up culture with respect to this sector and this situation gives immense opportunities for young and creative professionals to further explore the field. The availability of low-cost spaces on a temporary basis is an added plus for this type of creative entrepreneurship.

¹⁷ Mets, Urmo. "A Guide to analyse and enhance urban public spaces in Estonia". *Issuu*, 2013. Available: https://issuu.com/urmomets/docs/final_book_small.

The differences in the cultural context preliminarily lie in the various historical backgrounds of the cities where certain cities are known for their “culture of temporary”. Berlin is an example of that. Many historical breaks and changes have allowed temporary niches to grow. Because many cities evolve and develop from these kinds of alternate movements and subcultures; they are encouraged as a part of the progression, for instance- Amsterdam. Italy does not have this strong alternative movement, but a long history of informality. Thus, they widely accept bottom-up interventions for it is not assumed to be an alien concept. However, this is much more difficult in cities like Helsinki and Vienna, who do not have this sense of informality. It is interesting to notice that the economic and cultural context does not go hand in hand, but in contrasting directions when it comes to temporary initiatives. According to the research, economically down-trodden cities have a strong cultural background than the financially steady ones when it comes to the scenario in Europe.¹⁸

4.4 Legal contexts

The legal context is almost on the similar lines for all the five cities studied as a part of the research project, which are Amsterdam, Berlin, Rotterdam, Hamburg and Copenhagen. The comparative study reveals that the legal framework is a crucial element determining the development of temporary uses in urban residual spaces, yet lacks regulation. Transitory uses are not yet a part of legal debating nor are they included in officially binding detailed land use plans. They are not considered as a potential element by the planning authorities. Further investigation about the legality of these transitory uses reveal that they don't give much importance and in most of the cases ignored, but in reality they serve to be an alternate form of living and when the question of legality arises, since there is no position in the master plan to fit in the present scenario, it eventually leads to the evacuation and the dissolution of the entire community. Even though the major cause behind the failure are funding and economical issues, when the temporary users try to seek help from the public authorities, the issue of legality is viewed as the key problem.

According to analysis, the main obstacle is the conflict between temporary users and town planners with regard to future development of the site as well as the lack of social acceptance of such uses. However, this issue of legality cannot be generalized, for instance, in the five cities chosen, there is a strong difference between one another in terms of size, context and organizational structures, and this causes a direct effect on the scenario of temporary uses. Thus in the European context, the issue of legality plays a striking role while attempting to realize a temporary initiative on a longer term.

¹⁸"Urban Catalysts". *Cordis.europa.eu*, 2013. Available:
<http://cordis.europa.eu/documents/documentlibrary/65794761EN19.doc>

4.5 Reason behind the cities chosen

The five cities chosen are Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Berlin, Hamburg and Copenhagen, the reason behind choosing these cities in particular is the increasing number of bottom-up initiatives adding value to the city in many different ways. Even though all are Northern-European cities, the context of economic and culture differs from another. Amsterdam and Rotterdam can be closely associated with each other.

Being Dutch cities, the outlook towards bottom-up urbanisms are received with much more dignity and tolerance. There are different scales to temporary initiatives in the Dutch land starting from the neighborhood level to creating a community in a holistic manner. In general, the Dutch planners and authorities have realized the potential of what temporary uses could do to help the wellbeing of a city which is evidently seen in the means by which they encourage these initiatives. Likewise, Hamburg and Berlin are the other two German cities chosen, where the functioning and acceptance of temporary uses are not vastly similar to that of the Dutch cities.



Berlin known for its “temporary culture” is probably one of the earliest cities known for its bottom-up movements. It was initiated way back by a group of free-thinkers during the unification of the Berlin wall and until present, there are unanimous groups of breeding clusters spread all over the city. Unlike the Dutch, the tolerance level of German city authorities are much lesser; they oppose such movements even-though it sets the spark at unused lands by creating a programmatic synergy which could have lasted for a long period.

This intolerance is mainly due to the uncertainty accompanied with the evolution of the process. There is a strong emphasis on the economic context linked to this scenario as explained previously. This leaves the authorities with not much of a choice to decide on establishing the project as a long term vision. Hamburg is facing a similar situation to what is happening in Berlin, but with the only difference, that the projects are comparatively recently incepted and developed, hence the approach is more open-minded, new-age and collaborative.

The final city chosen is Copenhagen for the only project which stands out among all the bottom-up initiatives in Europe- Christiania, takes the role of a forerunner in initiating similar processes all over Europe, having a long history. Backed up by a strong group of breeders, Christiania still struggles even after 40 years to establish itself as a legalized free town.

Even though the cities and case studies have contrasting differences in their general methodology towards making and functionality, there are two essential similarities based on which the case studies were picked to be a part of the research,

- All the case-studies kicked off as a temporary, bottom-up initiative and eventually gained momentum turning into permanent ones or are on the process of attaining a more stable position in the system.
- These case-studies fall among the predominantly well-known projects in the European scenario, hence extensive study has already been undertaken on the same which gives an elaborate insight of the projects.
- The case-studies have had a fair share of all the stakeholders during the building of the project, this includes- Citizens, community organizations, architects, NGO's, entrepreneurs, city authorities etc. Thus the projects have gone through the complicated web of diverse actors during the course of the process with respect to the time taken to realize them. It has never been under the involvement of one particular group of actors. The process has been dynamic throughout, through the shifting role of different actors.

4.6 Overview of case studies

Luchtsingel | Rotterdam

Initiators: Elma Van boxel and kristian Koreman (ZUS architects)
Contact: 5 year lease with property owner

A phase of the Het Schirblock project- construction of a pedestrian bridge across a 6 lane highway, elevated railway and parking lots to provide greater connectivity to a nearby, physically disconnected neighborhood. Under construction through an online crowdfunded campaign. Strategic move by the ZUS, each contributor gets their name etched on a plank in the bridge.



Initiators: Marco and Robert Shaw
Contract: Yearly lease with the city of Berlin.

The site of a former grocery store produces food again as a community garden
Beyond initial appearances, it is much more than an urban farm.
Contains a cafe, library, a restaurant and regularly hosts performances and lectures.
Rising property value, adding pressure to re-develop the site.

Prinzessinnengarten | Berlin

Christiania | Copenhagen

82 acres of land. Started as a squatter settlement. A Politically successful example Relatively stable standoff with the authorities for 40 years. Unbalance situation at the moment- drug use and anarchistic ethos. Segregated from the city Alternative, self sufficient community- own currency and legal system. They call themselves free town of Christiania. An Intriguing experiment but lacks focus.



Large scale citizen led effort organized with a strong focus on cultural production, might actually become relatively integrated and even embraced by some politicians and investors.
12 buildings saved from demolition by 200 artists.

Squatted from 2009- present, in a short period of time the settlement has achieved cultural vitality and is nominated in the UNESCO.
They have a strong focus with an oasis of activities.

Gaengeviertel | Hamburg

K77 | Berlin

Dominated by East German youths who had come out of various alternative subcultures during the German Democratic Republic in the late 1980's. Adopted a new form of site specific practice which served as a catalyst for the occupation of abandoned buildings. Occupied an empty apartment in Friedrichstain and turned its spaces into a temporary gallery spaces housing art exhibitions. Interesting to learn the spatial perceptions of squatters in this project.



Planning phase (1994-2003)
Initiators: Christoph Shefer and Margit Czenki (Local artists)
Owner: City of Hamburg

Citizen led planning as a response to the municipality's plan to give away the land to build luxury housing. Group of Artists triggered an opposition movement.
Initiators merged Art and politics in what proved to be a powerful combination.
Gathered extensive support of the neighborhood, city eventually responded to their demands.

Park fiction | Hamburg

Vrijburcht | Amsterdam

In IJburg, a recently built urban expansion project, planners reserved several plots for collective commissioning or self-built architectural projects. In these projects, a group of end users (eg. residents or workers) cooperatively realize the construction of houses, generally assisted by partners such as architects, housing corporations or the municipality. These projects can be considered bottom-up because end-users have complete control over the design and construction of their future homes.



Initiator: Versteg (1994-1999)

Former ship wharf. Initially squatted by Artists, later taken over by the city municipality. Major stakeholder is the city authority. Breeding ground for creative people. 1999- Municipality of Amsterdam hosted a contest for an entrepreneur with the best plan, 5 years to transform into a cultural hotspot. Resulted in eviction and protests which was later settled. Financial issues, unable to repay the debt. Under massive gentrification.

Almere | Netherlands

The city of Almere planned in the 70's experiencing growth issues. Instead of following the traditional top-down hierarchy, city has hired DUS, to supervise the DIY upgrades residents might want to make. Working through a consultation process with the residents, they put together wide range of concepts and templates. An online platform to further promote the exchange of ideas. DUS has also utilized an approach for programming and design consulting in collaboration with the local planning agency for the development of the Masterplan.



NDSM | Amsterdam

A group was commissioned by the Dutch government to improve the troubled neighborhood in Amsterdam west, Kolenkitbuurt through innovative methods. Cascoland is an international network of artists specializing in urban interventions. They were given 3 months time period to run a pilot project of their idea and it seemed to work wonders. The gradual transformation of the area began to happen through simplistic bottom-up developments.

Cascoland | Amsterdam

5. Interpreting the Spine

The case studies chosen from the five cities are arranged in a spine, which forms the basic framework for the research. The arrangement follows a concept where the importance is given to the protagonist involved during the developmental process of the project. The dynamic role of the actors has a direct influence in the shaping up of a bottom-up initiative. Irrespective of the outcome of the project, this significant change an actor can influence on the entire system is analyzed in depth. Thus each case study is studied with respect to the actors involved in the process and out of the many different actors which particular group/actor had involved the most and contributed in realizing/taking forward the project on a long term- basically, the protagonist. Hence the narration of the research proceeds on the view point of the stakeholders who can broadly be segregated into three which more or less is a breakdown of the organizational structure of a bottom-up Urbanism;



- Category 1- The stakeholders who belong to the bottom end of the spectrum- Citizens, community organizations, grassroots etc. Indicated as *Primary stakeholders*. Thus the case studies under this category have this group of actors involved the most in the course of the project.

- Category 2- The actors who more or less behave like agents in the process of city making even though they play an important role- Architects, city planners, urbanists, NGO's, entrepreneurs, environmentalists etc. Indicated as *Intermediate stakeholders*.
- Category 3- They are the actors who belong on the top, but come down to make this process work collaborating with citizens in an aim to make better cities. This category includes city developers, city authorities, investors etc.,. Indicated as *Deciding stakeholders*.

Thus based on these three main categories, the case studies are broken down and arranged in a sequential manner for further analysis of the temporary initiatives.

5.1 Primary stakeholders

In order to cultivate the critical potential of urban learning, there needs to be an engagement with “experimental forms of learning initiatives”¹⁹ These are initiatives that take up and pay attention to a more diverse set of voices and concerns about the city, and allow these other views to enter substantive planning and policy discussions. The question of how exactly this kind of grassroots learning happens, however, is an open question, making it an explorative process. This suggests that in the context of critical urban learning, experimental alternatives may have a valuable role to play. It puts the spotlight on those critical and everyday utopias that are more than realistic interventions to develop the existing city on the small scale, allowing alternative economies, political and social engagements to grow amidst the everyday life. It singles out those that also functions as experimental forms of knowledge making and testing, and as conceptual sites which inspire a rethinking of the dominant ideologies that shape the city. Experimental grassroots alternatives therefore provide exciting possibilities for an alternative process of urban learning.

5.2 Intermediate stakeholders

In addition to the temporary users themselves, a whole range of other actors are also involved in temporary uses. The first of these are the agents, who usually instigate larger temporary use projects and help them get off the ground without ever being users themselves. They create framework conditions that make it possible for others to launch a temporary use, including lease contracts with owners, official permits, political and administrative support and organizational structures. A crucial factor in the effectiveness of such agents is their ability to function as a bridge. They not only enjoy the sympathy of the temporary users; they also have a good understanding of their informal mechanisms, because they themselves come in part of the same milieu. At the same time, they can also speak the language of the authorities and the owners, which puts them in a good position to mediate between these opposing milieus. Once, they have initiated a project, the agents usually withdraw and leave its

¹⁹ McFarlane, Colin. "The Comparative City: Knowledge, Learning, Urbanism". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34.4 (2010): 725-742

subsequent development to the temporary users themselves. They act from their own sense of personal engagement, with no contract from the administrators or municipal policy makers and politicians.

5.3 Deciding stakeholders

In recent years, the phenomenon of temporary use has been discovered by municipal policy makers and politicians and the result has been that there are now official agents in addition to informal ones. Their work has emerged as an important factor in the development of temporary uses and this in turn has resulted in that work becoming formalized and professionalized. Cities now create special administrative offices to coordinate temporary uses or contract with private entities to do so, as in context of the neighborhood management. Because of the high demand, private agencies in many locations, such agencies work on behalf of owners and municipalities to bring spaces together with temporary users. With an office on site and in keeping with a concept developed in coordination with their client, they attempt to attract and, as it were, “curate” specific temporary user milieus. With the skill of experienced pilots, they support the temporary users in building organizational structures, planning, marketing, obtaining funds and securing permits. They coordinate local programs and actions. At the same time, they attempt to recruit owners to make spaces and structures available on a temporary basis, advise them in selecting temporary users and help resolve legal problems.

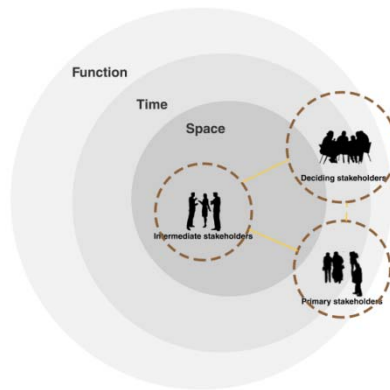
6. Parameters

This forms the core part of the research, where the case studies categorized are further sorted in order to understand the process of bottom-up initiatives in depth. Now that the framing of spine is interpreted, the categories split, the entire framework is studied based on three parameters; Space, time and function. In other words, it is a methodology which implies to investigate the process of the initiative cross-comparing between the three categories split while framing the spine.

For instance, under category 1- The case studies where primary stakeholders play the role of the protagonist are examined in detail with respect to these three parameters; as of how appropriate was the process of planning? (Space) How long did it take for realizing the initiative and what were the problems behind? (Time) How exactly did they handle practical issues? What is the current scenario of the initiative and what is the way forward? (Function)

The main reason for choosing Space, Time and Function as the base parameters to analyze the case-studies is because it gives a direct answer to the question mentioned earlier, which is the main aim of the research. By investigating the categories through the parameter space, it reveals the spatial quality and livability of the project, while analyzing through the parameter time, it exposes the harsh reali-

ties behind the authorization of the initiatives on a longer term which explains the level of feasibility, finally through the parameter function, it clearly explains the workability of bottom-up urbanisms, shows the sustainability and vision for the future development. Scrutinizing the categories of stakeholders through these parameters, explains directly the dynamic role of actors and their significant effect on the course of the process.



6.1 Space

What the many experimental urban interventions are concerned with, in one way or another, is the possibility of imagining and making a better city. This raises fundamental questions about how both the urban and urban alternatives can be understood here. Cities are traditionally perceived as iconic spatial formations, distinguished by the density and heterogeneity of social and material elements along with the network that connects them.²⁰ These dynamics in turn create a distinctive 'urban-ness' that is not only expressed in architectural forms but affects all the aspects of social life.²¹ Another approach focuses on the city as experienced in the everyday – the complex and chaotic practices of mundane life. This takes its starting point in particular from De Certeau's work, in which he casts the city as a text that is continuously written by movements and bodies. The urban here is defined through embodied practice, and the diverse life experiences within. More recently, relational conceptions of space have led to cities being thought relationally, too. What is emphasized here is not their distinct and bounded character, but the flows and mobility that reach beyond their physical locality, that connect places and dissolves clear spatial categories such as rural/urban, or city/region.

²⁰ Glick, David. "Bottom-Up Urbanism: A Survey of Temporary Use in Europe". *Issuu*, 2014. Available: https://issuu.com/david.t.glick/docs/bottom-up_urbanism_dglick/1.

²¹ Wandler, Jane. "Experimental Urbanism: grassroots alternatives as spaces of learning and innovation in the city". *The University of Manchester Library*, 2014. Online. Internet. 24 Sep. 2016. . Available: <https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/uk-ac-man-scw:240805>.

“The city is everywhere and in everything” This sums up the thought of temporary users behind the methodology of space-planning and the current chapter deals with the spatial-dynamism taking into account the temporariness, flexibility and openness which forms the base for project plans evolving out of bottom-up planning.

- How context based are the interventions?
- Aspect of Urban spatiality
- Scale of Appropriateness
- Levels of participation and transparency in planning
- Space dynamics in terms of flexibility

6.1.1 Patterns of the unplanned

In general the workability of spatial interventions by the primary stake stakeholders vary according to the scale of the project and the range of participants involved. The place of birth of these kind of projects plays a crucial role in determining the quality and space dynamics, that being the process initiator and context. The smaller the scale with more participants, the project achieves more appropriateness, while the other way, the aspect of urban spatiality becomes more individualistic. The projects have different ignition points, they start as squatter settlement or as a citizen collective or through grass-root movements. Each of these scenarios has a different impact on the growth of the project and has a direct influence on the nature of socio-spatiality aspect of the intervention.

Informal urbanism: A temporary land or an unused vacant property is identified by similar minded squatters which eventually turn into breeding grounds and invite people of similar thoughts to collaborate and expand. Unlike in the United States, where squatting abandoned buildings is instantaneously knocked down because of illegality issues, squatting in Europe has a higher degree of tolerance. Squatters in Europe are not necessarily people who are “homeless”; instead they are often willingly declassified and are self-identified with counter-culture movements foreseen as political demands for affordable housing, heritage preservation activism or as a forerunner of alternative communal lifestyles^[1]. In most cases the factor which gathers the attention of fellow breeders is the idea of free-mindedness, it transforms into a place where the breeder can appropriate and reside according to his own willingness of thoughts and actions. For example, Christiania at Copenhagen, which started off as a squatter settlement on an old military barrack land of 80 acres by a group of free thinkers, the free town still thrives to remain unchanged even today after 40 years, dominated by none. Similarly, Gängeviertel at Hamburg’s is a cluster of old monumental buildings which was slated for demolition in the early 20th century, in an attempt to save the old structures, a group comprising of artists, activists from different fields held hands together resisting the annihilation by squatting the houses with an aim to promote art and culture. It was received by a lot of citizens and stands as a testimony of

collaboration as an artistic historical part of Hamburg. Berlin squatting was widespread in West German regions such as Kreuzberg, but with the mass exodus that followed re-unification, a flood-gate was opened for the appropriation of vast areas of unoccupied buildings in the eastern part of Germany which resulted in the arousal of squatted settlements. Looking only into the spatiality of these projects, it is observed in detail to understand the pros and cons of this sort of urban planning.



Glimpses of Christiania. Top- Aerial view; Below- Public space; Right – few residences of christians



Christiania can be considered as one of the earliest large scale intervention by and for the primary stakeholders in the network. It was created as a community for alternate way of living which is certainly reflected upon the spatial planning of the entire town. They comprise of different typologies of buildings which are carefully crafted according to its user, thus resulting in a varied mixture of architectural styles, which is absolutely exciting and each house can be considered a piece of 'art'. The article 'Around Christiania' includes testimonials from scholars in the fields of criminology, economics, sociology, architecture, urban planning, psychology, psychiatry, theology, and medicine and in different ways, they all regarded Christiania as an opportunity to explore possible alternatives to the capitalist economy and/or the social institutions and urban planning of the Danish welfare

state.²² As is evident in the government report, it was such a perception of what Christiania fundamentally was about that led the government to give the Freetown the status of an official social experiment. When Christiania is discussed as an issue of planning there is an emphasis on the social dimensions of urban planning. The planning of the town did not follow a rigid pattern, observed closely there is a sense of orderliness in the chaotic appropriation of space by the squatters. Even though unplanned and informal, the designing of common facilities and public spaces, designating self-waste management systems, networking the community, zoning the programs etc, were in accordance to the exact need of its residents and thus every dynamic added, led to not only the effective workability of space but also in concreting the social connection of the town on a holistic level.

*The town is not an ideal, but an important relational agent in an urban field of forces. Agitated and atypical, it helps in understanding not only the working principles of Urban commonality, but also the urban implications of the new, emerging commons, which rooted in a strong, social engagement produces new urban spaces, housing communities and public spheres, spaces which are not grounded in private ownership but dependent on localized common interests*²³

When it comes to the case of squatting and appropriation of decayed buildings in Germany, the first wave of this movement started way back in the 1970's in the West Berlin district of Kreuzberg and later after the reunification the second wave moved towards the east into abandoned tenement blocks. During the 1990's over 130 buildings were occupied in various districts of East Berlin, though the aggressive clearing in many aspects did put an end to this movement, the transformation of the scene led to a multitude of new autonomous geographies. Squatting and other occupation based practices formed only one important part of a more complex historical geography of resistance in West Germany that came to reimagining the urban as *a space of refuge, gathering and subversion*.²⁴ In other words this can be called as an example of autonomous urbanism where theoretical ideas about politics and place were transformed into methodologies for assembling 'times and spaces for alternative living'.²⁵ If squatting transfers and embeds the material possibilities of contestatory experimentation and practical political change in new ways of performing architecture, it also offers an interesting approach in the production of *autonomous geographies- 'those spaces where people desire to constitute non-capitalist, egalitarian and unified forms of political, social and economic organization through a*

²² *Space for urban alternatives?.* [Hedemora]: Gidlunds Förlag, 2011.

²³ Jorgensen, Anna and Richard Keenan. *Urban wildscapes*. London: Routledge, 2012.

²⁴ Geronimo., and Bart van der Steen. *City Is Ours: Squatting and Autonomous Movements in Europe From the 1970s to the Present*. PM Press, 2014.

²⁵ Vasudevan, Alexander. *Metropolitan Preoccupations*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

combination of conflict and creation'. The manipulation of the built environment plays a crucial role, though 'architecture' was never simply the container or the context for the creation of 'existential territories'. The squatters interpreted the active materiality of the building as axiomatic- from its basic form to the socio-materials that went into its making- as a necessary condition for experimenting with 'new forms of collective living'

In the case of K77, between the years 1989-90, over seventy houses were occupied in the districts of Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg. They were dominated by East German youths who had come out of various alternative subcultures that had sprung up in the German Democratic Republic in the late 1980's. They adopted an innovative form of site specific practice which as one former squatter mentioned, served as a catalyst for the occupation of abandoned buildings. They occupied an empty apartment in Friedrichstain and turned the spaces into a temporary gallery spaces, housing an Art exhibition. A second one was held in various rooms of a gallery in Kreuzberg. Further happenings ensued until 1992 when a number of activists occupied one of the oldest buildings. Drawing explicit inspiration from the work of the German artist Joseph Beuys, the group which took over Kastanienallee 77 deliberately recast the act of squatting as a form of continuous performance or installation art. K77 became a social sculpture, a location for 'non speculative, self-defined, communal life, work and culture'. There was no plan or set of rules governing the squat, every space was allowed to experiment with no bounds and the possibilities were endless. In the course of time a number of varied performances, exhibitions and installations were created. For many, these were possibilities that transformed the building into a *free space* that demanded creative experimentation.

It was only with the change of weather conditions, the realities of living in a building that did not have a roof, proper windows and electricity, set in. Experimentalism quickly shaded into pragmatism. However, K77 is described as an architecture of self and co-determination that questions the right to the design and use of space. It remains an architectural laboratory for user participation and self-organization. The project highlights the role of the built-form in creating new modes of dwelling that are dependent upon the unpredictable evolution of spaces.

Every two years, the inhabitants sort out who wants to live where and in which constellation, so that the usage and interpretation of available spaces is constantly renewed. In the process-oriented planning and building stage, a broad variety of forms of participation and self-organization came about: the new spaces were largely laid-out through flexible and self-built wall boards. Wall partitions were accordingly fitted with omissions. Light openings, room connections or breaks in the wall were designed so that they can be closed and re-opened at any time. Overall, design decisions were left to individuals- Mathias Heyden, former resident of K77.

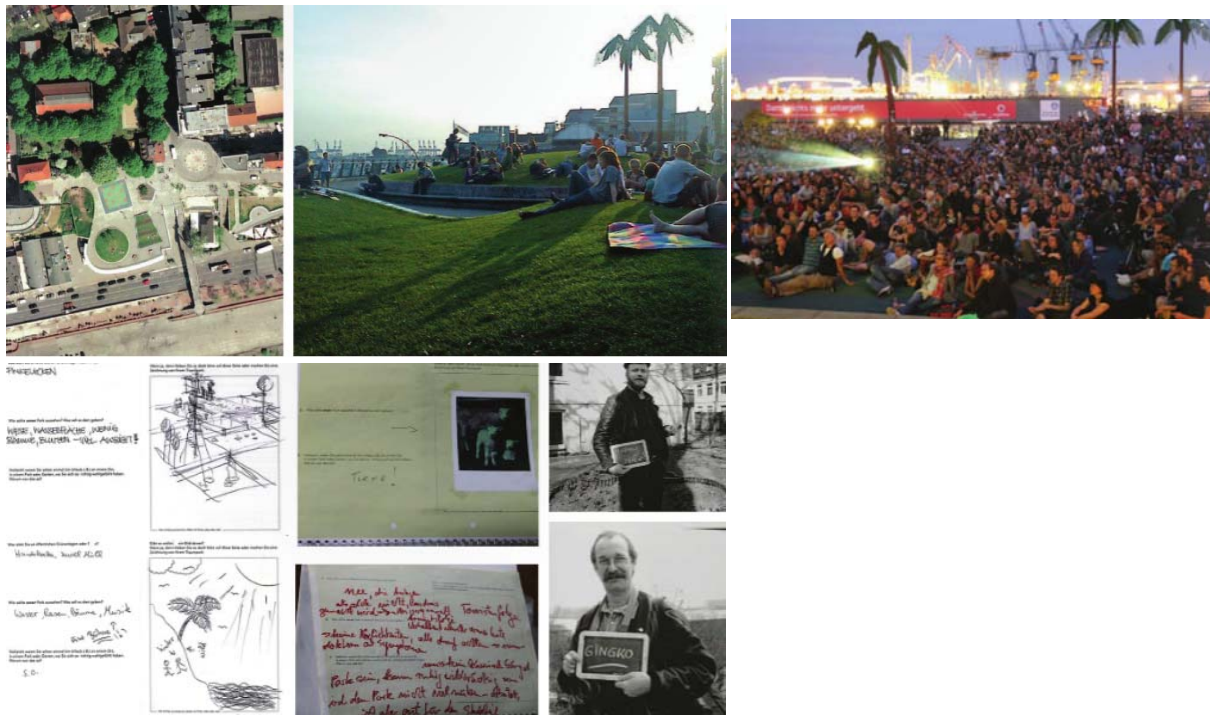


K77 can therefore be seen as the spatial manifestation of a wider understanding of self-empowered space. It also carries with it a form of 'architectural activism' that offers a vital spot of purchase on new strategies for participatory architecture, housing autonomy, community design. For Heyden, the emancipative social sculpture, the tactics and possibilities of an embodied space along with practical understanding of the built environment in K77, opens up new possibilities of designing potential spaces in future. But there is a huge difference in the way squatting happened in the 1990's to what is happening at present. The modern squatting is distinctly unique in every layer; take the political, social and economic. Looking into the characteristics of another German example at Hamburg, Gängeviertel (2009- present), it is evident that the squatters have a clear focus and the strategies they adopt to make the temporary initiative a permanent one are much more reliable and feasible.

In a relatively short period of time this squatter settlement has achieved a cultural vitality and authenticity even the best squad of Architects, urban planners and developers would have difficulty designing.

Emergent urbanisms: Temporary users are usually pragmatists- they have a project they are interested in realizing; they need space at low cost in order to do so; and hence are look for the path of least resistance. When there is opposition from the authorities for permits, it is not an outcome of programmatic resistance but a tacit attempt to avoid running into difficulties. Spaces or projects planned through grassroots organizations have a lot in common with squatter settlements. Yet differ, in the way squatters preemptively occupy a space while grassroots with greater organizational capacities. It puts across the necessity for increased transparency in urban planning processes and how citizens might be able to proactively make decisions and involve themselves in the making of their cities which could result in well-thought intriguing conclusions. There are many examples in which squatters set the initial spark, but it was ultimately grassroots efforts that mobilized the rest of the stakeholders to carry a long-term vision forward. Grassroots organizations or community led planning commissions are formed after a consensus between all the members of the network, hence culminates in a methodical sorting of issues. The decisions taken regarding every aspect of the functioning of the project falls under scrutiny by an organization and has the approval of the entire community. This feature makes this kind of citizen led movements more comprehensible and sustainable on a longer-term.

Some projects however are examples that tend to be better known deviated from this paradigm. In these cases users and political activists fight for contested spaces and spaces for contested activities. What is at issue in cases like these is no longer primarily a pragmatic search for untapped potentials, but a conflict of interest between different actors and their different social ideas. The conflict is carried out in the public sphere, so that the shaping of public opinion plays an important role. An example is Park Fiction at Hamburg, a bottom-up movement which is more of a reaction against the municipality more than an urban development process as such. Since 1995 it has organized collective products of desire for a park in St. Pauli, Hamburg, Germany's red light district. The physical location of the park is scenic, with breath taking views looking over the harbor and the city government has been eager to sell the site to private real-estate developers. The development of the Master plan by a private shareholder working alongside the city municipality was abruptly stopped from execution by a network of community members organized by Park Fiction.



Rather than simply protesting the plan of the municipality which will eventually result in the gentrification of the area, the grassroots organization structured a parallel planning process, forming platforms for exchange of ideas among people from many different cultural fields which included; musicians, lecturers, a cook, café-owners, a psychologist, squatters, artists and interventionist resident. This “constituent practice” was accompanied by a series of lectures, discussions and screening and by other activities which built the anticipation of creating the desired park. Located in one of the poorest residential areas in Germany, Park Fiction is an internationally-discussed art project that

approached the planning process like a game.²⁶ Instead of a closed waterfront development, the citizen's initiative presented a counter proposal. They called for a creation of an open space. At the invitation of the Ministry of Culture they entered plans for Park fiction in a competition for art in the public space and received the nod to continue planning. The goal of the planners was to learn to observe and name one's own needs, to encourage the residents to articulate their subjective thoughts and feelings, and hence to promote a different approach to city planning. The motif of wishes emerged as the central argument. This approach to design is at odds with the current approach. According to this alternative vision, the planning process should not be guided by the bureaucratic ordinances of planning authorities, architects or managers of an "enterprise: city", but by everyday practices and the wishes of the city's residents, as an alternative to neoliberal planning fantasies, as a place of encounter, play, debate and recreation. 1500 people participated in the collective process of wish production with words, drawings and models.

The difficulty arises precisely from the separation of analysis of the crisis and that of the social change or in other words, the distinction between the urban system on the one hand and social movements on the other. Collective action is usually seen as a reaction to a crisis created by an economically determined structural logic. Alternatively, random individual decisions are supposed to affect public policies according to some abstract rationality aimed at optimizing profit or power.

*Either- way, people and the state, economy and society, cities and citizens are considered as separate entities; one may dominate the other, or both may behave independently, but the logic of the analysis never allows them to interact in a meaningful structure. As a result, we are left with urban systems separated from personal experiences; with structures without actors and actors without structures; with cities without citizens and citizens without cities.*²⁷

Inference:

- Highly contextual and appropriated according to needs. The innate knowledge of the protagonists who belong to the least bottom of the spectrum coming up with such ingenious methodologies of space-making is an aspect which is to be studied in detail in order to find the basic needs, necessities and dreams of the users.
- Even though there is a lack of professional planning, the innovative alternatives that arise out of the informality prove to be boundless. The planning is predominantly oriented towards

²⁶ Schafer, Christoph. "The City Is Unwritten". *In the field*, 2016. Available: <http://www.inthefield.info/unwritten.pdf>.

²⁷ Frisch, Michael H. and Manuel Castells. "The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16.2 (1985): 329.

creating a social connect through the spaces among user-groups rather than treating it as a mere building envelope. Hence, the ideas are crafted with care and later transformed into designing of spaces. There is a strong sense of intuition ruling over the designs more than logistics; however it is this feature which marks these projects as widely acclaimed successful ones.

- In most of the spatial planning techniques adopted by the primary stakeholders, there is a liberty to create their own space, a sense of individualism which in one way is the exclusivity of this process and in another way proves to deviate from the whole point of co-creation.
- These interventions achieve the spatial-dynamism because of the inherent character of flexibility lying in the temporariness. The constant re-imaging and re-creation of spaces according to the changing needs is possible due to the open, collaborative approach towards planning of temporary spaces, therefore if a situation occurs for a project to turn into a more permanent initiative, there might be a conflict of thoughts between the “free thinkers” in the designing process. The projects are more experimental in nature.

6.1.2 Collective collaboration

Large idle areas in the periphery of a city – for example, old industrial facilities and abandoned buildings of the urban infrastructure for electricity, gas, and water- offer enormous potential for temporary use. This is especially the case if it takes years or even decades to develop such an area into commercial building sites. However, the problems that must be solved when activating an idle area generally exceed the capacity of individual users. In many cases, therefore intermediate agents step in, sometimes with the city’s support, to facilitate alternative forms of urban development. These intermediate agents come from diverse fields Architects, Urban planners, activists, environmentalists, designers, Non-governmental organizations etc., the spectrum of techniques employed by them ranges from simple construction measures to the improvement of site access to leases and permits all the way to ideas competitions and the founding of associations. With measures like these they create a framework for action that opens up possibilities for diverse actors. Being as an intermediate between the city council and citizens, the process they adopt is more organized and clear because of the involvement of expertise from various fields. Some examples which illustrate this approach are;

- The Campo de Sebadá which is an empty space in the city-center of Madrid, where a collection of designers started to organize various cultural events on the site. At present, it is gradually transforming into an empowerment of the local community where the aim to re-use the land by exciting the surrounding neighborhood was achieved eventually through simplistic informal methods.
- Rotterdam’s Luchtsingel is a pedestrian bridge which runs near the central station and is a project which was not commissioned by the government. Even though there was a need for the bridge, the voice of the people never reached the municipality; hence the architects came

forward with an innovative idea to build the bridge without the help of the top-down players. They not only designed the bridge, but came up with a ground-breaking model to finance the construction costs through Crowd funding.

In all the examples, if observed closely, the intent of the project and the ultimate motto is different; sometimes social, sometimes cultural, sometimes about finance or public infrastructure, but the spirit remains the same of how diverse actors come together with one common goal, taking part in the betterment of their city. Sometimes, these intermediate stakeholders, even though appointed by the municipality, go out of their way to solve the needs of the user group. The important factor to be noted in all the projects where they play the role of the protagonist is the innovative strategies they frame to solve complicated urban issues. One such example is the re-development of one of the neighborhoods in Amsterdam- Kolenkitbuurt. The entire area, once known for its crimes and illegal activities is now a prosperous, healthy neighborhood because of the sensible- temporary interventions executed on site by a design collective.

Kolenkibuurt was built by the end of World War-II as a part of a major urban expansion plan, following the garden city principles formulated by the eminent urban planner Ebenezer Howard. The neighborhood had a rigid monotony to it by a repetitive pattern of four-storey tenement blocks. The demographics of this area were about 7,000 and most of the occupants were large immigrant families and the small box like houses were under the social-rent sector.

The neighborhood was at the pathetic state of neglect for it wasn't originally given a name, just a number, so the residents began calling it Kolenkit. After facing 50 years of bad reputation, in 2004, the neighborhood was officially proclaimed as the least popular with all the essential factors of livability in the negative. In 2010, the Ministry of housing realizing the alarming need to save the neighborhood floated a tender and invited organization to come up with ideas in order to save the community from slipping into danger. The intent was to choose the best idea and award an opportunity to the winner, to execute the plan on an operational budget within a stipulated amount of time. The agreement was such that if the experiment turns out to be a success, the project would wholly be under the monitoring of the winner.²⁸ Thus in this situation, the municipality opted for a bottom-up development instead of going for a traditional top-down process because the basic fault

²⁸ Knoester, Bob, Francesca Miazzo, and Mark Minkjan. "How art and chickens revived Amsterdam's most unloved district". *the Guardian*, 2014. Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/may/19/how-art-chickens-revived-amsterdam-kolenkitbuurt-cascoland>.

with the neighborhood was the lack of livability, appropriateness, heightened insecurity and a disconnected social context.

Cascoland who are an international network of architects, artists and designers came up with the best idea, earning them a funded pilot phase between 2010-11. Mobilization and participation were central in the process. They surveyed almost all the residents about their ideas for the improvement of the area. Apart from the problems mentioned above, the resident felt they needed places for common gathering hence, Cascoland started their interventions on the site right from creating an intimate public space for the community members to discuss their future goals for the neighborhood. The incredible idea behind the gradual interventions was to bring together the residents and empower them to envision a feasible working strategy. Cascoland understood that the first step is to blur the boundaries between the people of the community and to build a connecting bridge between the users who belong to different backgrounds. Hence, they started organizing a number of activities, pop-up restaurants, spontaneous events which followed the installation of mobile hen houses and urban-gardens on vacant plots as wanted by the community. By executing these minute projects, it led to gaining the respect of the community members who started to involve more in transforming the neighborhood for good.



The social character of the interventions is meant to connect existing demands with existing structures. The project strives to empower local residents and help them voice their demands to the municipality. By empowering the local residents, the initiators do not only realize bottom-up development, but also make a change in the way city making is looked at, as the residents will be able to take over their role and organize themselves. Formal institutions fund the projects, but the initiatives originate having the resident's needs and desires as the primary objective, which makes Cascoland Kolenkit a thriving demand oriented project. The better the communities are served, the stronger the community gets, which ultimately makes Cascoland more resilient. Despite the fact that they are

commissioned and funded by top-down institutions, the empowerment of residents and the intermediary character of Cascoland makes it an inspiring project for bottom-up initiatives. The contract being extended for another 5 years, this enables Cascoland to initiate more projects and empower more developments in which local communities play the central role in the building process.²⁹

This case-study demonstrates that intermediate actors can play a pivotal role in bringing back life into a dead community applying pioneering strategies, which could be as simple as building a bridge between the two ends of the spectrum yet maintaining a balance between the three contexts- physical, social and economic. The latter seems to be another important reason why the designing of spaces in the projects headed by these actors prove to be long standing even-though started as a temporary initiative. It is primarily because of the programmatic synergies but also finding ways to establish the balance between contexts. The designing of spaces is present but the implementation of them is a much more complicated issue especially when dealing with temporary urban lands.

An example is the centrally located Parliament building – Palast der republic, a 60,000 square meters property of the federal republic of Germany which was planned for demolition because of a certain hazardous danger in the construction of the building within three years of completion. Various cultural actors, composers, artists, choreographers and others expressed interest in the decayed building as a place to realize temporary projects. There was opposition to this from the state stating it too expensive and complicated, in this situation, the research group urban catalyst approached the actors and offered to perform a feasibility study in order to solve the existing problems with a common concept for a large number of uses, thereby creating a balance of sorts between the physical and social context. After a series of negotiations with the federation which seemed to be never ending process, urban catalysts, laid out a three year plan and decided to go public along with a number of activists involved in socio-cultural youth work and artists in order to put pressure on the Federation. They organized a three-day exhibition, events and press conference. They made an offer to the owner according to which the initiative formed for this purpose would organize a three-year cultural temporary use of the Palast, making all the technical arrangements and securing all the necessary financing. Here, they created a balance between the economic and physical context. The public response was beyond all expectations. The opening was attended by several thousand visitors.

The idea of the temporary use opened up an entirely different perspective to a building which belonged to the government and without any support from the top-down players. It started right in by addressing the use and the program of events; it brought contemporary cultural production to the site for the first time; it allowed a broad spectrum of actors to participate actively and it could be im-

²⁹ "Cascoland Kolenkitbuurt". *Cities the Magazine*, 2012. Available: http://citysthemagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/E_Cascoland_Kolenkitbuurt_EN.pdf.

plemented quickly. This led to a consolidation of the cooperative network. Together the initiators created an association which established an authoritative form for negotiating with third parties, making public appearances and raising the necessary funds. Considering the substantial investment costs involved, these conditions made it effectively impossible to rent or lease the building. The palest was supposed to be an innovated “open source” project, inclusive and nonhierarchical. At the end, the project could not be taken forward in spite of untangling all the knots only because the property was publicly owned and the city-council did not adhere to any resolution, the intermediate agents brought to light. Even though it was the higher institutional players that played the crucial role in deciding the fate of the project, the efforts taken by the research group as an urban collective, the genuine attempt, intense planning in appeasing the different contexts shows the true potential of what an intermediate stake-holder can do to a process.

The capacity of these intermediate stakeholders to create a synergy is never-ending mainly due to the expanded knowledge of resources in the field; they effortlessly link the complicated matrix of stakeholders and make sure there are no loopholes due to the factor of time and change of scenarios. They take complete control over the project playing the role of a mediator. They prove to be powerful in taking forward the process of bottom-up urbanisms by first collaborating with the user-groups, structuring a strong back up and later devise strategies to rope in the top-down players in the process by looking at the entire issue from their point of view.



An example is the re-furbishing of the Het Schieblock complex at Rotterdam for temporary purposes. The project progressed similar to Van der Republik where the architects ZUS took over the dead, retail complex of 10 floors and started to experiment with the spaces, their motto to preserve the building. They intended to create cross-programming of spaces since the locality surrounding the vacant structure always turned into a dead space in the evenings. Thus ZUS actively worked to change the scenario of not only face-lifting the building but improve the state of the entire community surrounding it. They created “the center for urban culture” and their main motive was to invite general public into the space. Thus their first strategic intervention was the creation of a passageway which cuts through the series of structures and directly links one to the central station. This creation of an internalized pedestrian street created more visibility and drew attention of many actors towards the project. Following this, more public spaces were created in the building which included pop-up

restaurants, beer-garden and cafés.³⁰ They used these new-age, fresh and innovative techniques to excite the public in order to use the spaces, which finally resulted in the recognition of the project by the municipality and winning their support.

Inference:

- The intermediate stakeholders play a major role in any bottom-up initiative with respect to the spatial quality of the project to an extent that can alter the over-all outcome of the process.
- Intermediate actors assume different roles when playing the protagonist- when appointed by the top-down players they become fluidic to thoroughly understand the user-needs by deploying contextual strategies and as the initiator of an intervention, they tend to look more into logics and feasible methodologies to give an equal priority to all the actors in the process. Therefore resulting in taking forward the bottom-up urbanisms in a highly convincing manner.
- “Collaboration” is a concept which the inter-mediate actors handle with concrete planning. They promote participatory planning by using different methods.
- Being, the mediator- they look at different perspectives to the same issue. The basic idea they try to focus on while designing a space or assisting the users design is looking at the pros and cons of it. Because of the experience they hold in the field of design and development, they find out loopholes in the system and attempt fixing it with their knowledge and resources which results in a rich culmination of practical ideas.

6.1.3 Incoherent dialectic

The deciding stakeholders when involving in the process of bottom-up developments prepares to remain open-minded to a wide variety of refreshing-new ideas with an additional amount of increased tolerance. In majority of the cases, the top-down actors who involve in this process does not intervene in the spatial configuration of the project since they employ professionals from the respective field to handle while they take up the role of careful monitoring. In very few cases, the deciding stakeholders give complete freedom to the primary actors to design the project because they can be no room for risks or failures. Hence if at all there is an increased involvement of the top-down players in a project, it is clearly with a motto of making them into a long-term permanent one. Thus predominantly in the examples of bottom-up urbanisms where top-down players take up the role of

³⁰ Glick, David. "Bottom-Up Urbanism: A Survey of Temporary Use in Europe". *Issuu*, 2014. Available: https://issuu.com/david.t.glick/docs/bottom-up_urbanism_dglick/1.

a protagonist, there is a decrease in flexibility of the spaces, openness in planning and results more of a combination between top-down and bottom-up approach.

The airport in Berlin- Tempelhof which was once the grand terminal constructed by Hitler is at present a sprawling urban park which is flooded by Berliners every other day. Irrespective of the unpleasant history and typology of the building, there is an extended list of adaptive re-use happening at Berlin. The metropolis continues to re-invent itself and provides a wide scope for tapping the potential of temporary culture. In 1996, the airport Berlin-Tempelhof stopped functioning in agreement with the federal government and the state of Brandenburg. The property is owned by the State of Berlin and embodied by the Senate Department for Urban Development and Environment of the country. After closed for about 14 years, the government decided to open up the field for public partially for temporary uses. A competition was held to decide the design process and the future of the land for which members of the public were invited to participate in the discussion and give suggestions. The intent of the city government was to initiate an open collaborative process of planning alongside the actors from the overall network. The transformation of the area and its amalgamation with the rest of the city was the main intent of the process. This inter-connection was planned to achieve not only through spatial dimensions by creating adjoining urban parks, but also to link the various social milieus to the districts of Nord-Neukölln, Kreuzberg and Tempelhof-Schöneberg. Thus, the deciding stakeholders opened up the airport to the public as a strategic move to draw creative professionals to the recently developed urban areas surrounding the airport.

In addition to formal master planning, there was some free space allotted in the plan for appropriation of land by the public. Hence, the members of the neighboring community of Neukölln established a small group of community gardens. It appears that they were created as a result of a spontaneously ignited process with no pre-requisite ideas or formal system except for a banner made of a bed-spread. Tempelhof Airport was opened to the public only a few years ago, but already the wilderness is taking over the space. The park has some of the rare birds and insects inhabiting the land. It is a place of escape for Berliners, where they can find vast open land and sky, in the densely packed city serving to be an urban lung. It is one of the first and an open-ended experiment which has been opted by the government of Berlin.³¹ This could turn into a major transformation of looking at bottom-up planning practices to not only the Germans; it could turn out to be an evolutionary change of dealing with temporary-spaces all over the world.

³¹Trincia, Beau. "Berlin-Tempelhof: A Former Airport Becomes a Blank Slate for Urban Outdoor Life". *Newpublicdomain.com*, 2011. Available: <http://www.newpublicdomain.com/2011/06/berlin-tempelhof-former-airport-becomes.html>.

Even though there are only a handful of examples of this type of open-ended processes which are primarily led by the top-down players, it proves to be a promising outlook towards bottom-up urbanisms by them. Even though restricted, the whole idea of letting the users appropriate the space is the way forward towards accepting the bottom-up planning strategies as a potential method for city-making. Compared to the Germans, Dutch authorities show more tolerance towards temporary urbanisms. They encourage participatory planning processes to a great extent and consider their citizens as the principle elements of the society.

An example is the planning of Almere which is a town in the Netherlands. De Wierden is one of the oldest residential areas of Almere. It was built way back in the 1970's and hence the area faces decay and requires retrofitting additional spatial needs for the growing population. Hence, for this the municipality has decided to opt for bottom-up planning approach and has assigned DUS architects to mediate between the many different actors in the spectrum. The expected date of completion for this long term project is 2022. The main actor roped into this process of retrofitting involves the residents of De wierden, DUS architects and the urban designer of Municipal planning department of Almere. The scheme for the re-development consists of a combination of bottom-up and top down methodologies, ranging from landscape to social and architectural design. The project evolves in numerous phases by means of zoning, programming and re-designing.

The liberty given to the users in the design process is one of a kind in the history of planning in Amsterdam with the deciding stakeholders as protagonists. An example to this collaborative planning is such that the Do-it-yourself upgrades that residents might like to add or create, such as an additional room or alteration in zoning, from residential to commercial use or aesthetic improvements.

In the first phase, residents of De Wierden were invited to participate in the development of a "style Book". The final outcome was a set of guidelines, conducted in close collaboration with the inhabitants of De Wierden, the municipality and housing corporations. It offers urban and architectural rules and guidelines on how the 1700 residences and their surroundings can be improved and gives guidance to all the residents involved with De Wierden. The aim is to stir up improvement from within the neighborhood at all scales with special attention to the prevailing qualities and the image of the neighborhood. In the following phases, the architects are planning to initiate new ways of participation and open-source thinking through social media platforms. Currently a 'process model',

based on the resource and knowledge of the planning process in de Wierden, is developed into an online platform that can guide the modification of other parts of Almere as well.³²

The retrofitting of De wierden in Almere is a revolutionary project when it comes to bottom-up urbanisms however the results of these processes can be visibly seen only by 2022. The level of tolerance towards bottom-up developments by the Dutch authorities is an admirable characteristic, although it is unlikely to find the same scale of acceptance elsewhere.

Inference:

- Even though, there is a significant shift in the way the top-down players are looking at bottom-up urban developments, predominantly irrespective of the efforts to merge the top down and bottom up approaches, the projects majorly lacks the flexibility and spatial appropriateness which are the expected outcomes.
- The top-down players attempt to collaborate and encourage participatory planning, however only few ideas of the public is heard and in most of the cases because of the lack of intermediate stakeholders in the process, the voices and desires of the users are not considered as potential cue points for the improving the design.
- There is always a stigma attached to bottom-up developments led by top-down players, that being the idea of short-term investments for a temporary period of time . They only look into ways of taking forward the initiative as a permanent one; hence the “temporariness” of the project decreases with time.
- The projects do not take a fine balance between the diverse stakeholders when it is led by the top-down players since they form the basis of the decision authority. They have an upper hand and hence the project turns out to have a hierarchical organizational structure and a sense of formality included in the decision making processes. This completely contradicts the whole idea of free-thinking breeder grounds, the spaces lack dynamism and they turn out to be two-dimensional.

6.2 Time

The factor of time plays a crucial role in order to realize a short-term bottom-up initiative on a long-term. When zooming into time and analyzed in detail, there are several parallels running in different threads which decides the fate of project on many different ways. The time period taken for the

³² "DUS Architects Amsterdam - Hembrug". *Dusarchitects.com*, 2016. Available: <http://www.dusarchitects.com/projects.php?categorieid=urbanstrategies>.

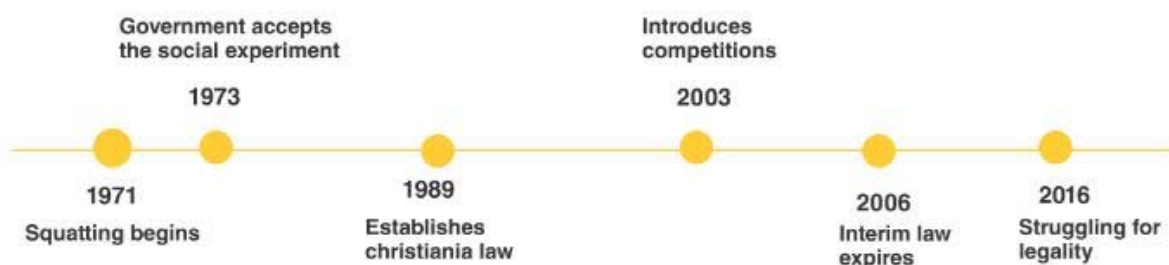
inception, development and culminating outcome has a direct link to the dynamic change of actors. With every change of actor, there tends to start another loop which in-turn leads to another. It becomes a cycle of inter-related activities. The factor of “time” results in the conception of what is called the “domino effect” however it is difficult to predict the result of the process since it changes with the context of every single project. For a better understanding of the character of time-period with respect to projects led by a certain protagonist is examined in depth to figure out the domino effect.

- Space-time framework
- Factors affecting the time taken for project development
- What are the changes faced during the process of the project due to the factor of time?
- Does the authority of decision-makers play a crucial role in the time taken for the project?
- If collaborative planning requires more time, how can this issue be solved?

6.2.1 Mapping the infinite

The factors affecting the parameter ‘time’ when it comes to processes led by primary stakeholders is an extended list. There are several reasons as to why these developments never escalate into the zone of permanence, first and foremost being their attitude towards living an alternate community life-style, which is by far not widely accepted by the owners or the government, hence this leads to protests gaining the attention of a huge group of supporters and this way, the problem never ceases to come to an agreement and tends to prolong for a longer period of time. Thus there is always a fear of dissolution and instability attached to the project.

An example is Christiania, in 1971 after gathering much appreciation from similar thinkers around the world for its openness was approved as a temporary social experiment by the Danish Government in 1972. It was started by a mere group of squatters and since then even though Christiania has gone through various changes past 40 years, with a population of 900 inhabitants.



Every few years however, the government begins a new campaign to alter, normalize, legalize, and even close this unique society which has come to symbolize the liberal idealism that not only inhabitants but cherished by people all over the world. There are strong reasons as to why the settlement still falls under the category of 'temporary' even after 40 years of inception. There has been an involvement of a multitude of actors helping in the process to bridge the gap between the two ends of the spectrum, the Danish government and the Christianites respectively.³³ But the problem here lies with the fact that the needs and wants of both the ends do not match nor come to a proper consensus. They stand firm with their point of views and resulting in the unstable future for Christiania in the long-run. In other cases, the reason for the delay in the progress of initiatives started predominantly by the grassroots or citizen collectives tend to be marked by bureaucratic delays: arguments between government offices, health and safety caveats, electoral calculations and construction mishaps.

An example is the process of realization of Park fiction in Hamburg. There were neighborhood conferences at which all the wishes were presented, their transformation into reality was discussed and the plans were adopted. Before the park was actually built, however a tug-of-war ensued between the authorities and the residents that lasted for years, exacerbated by the fact that the boundary between two different districts runs right through the park, which greatly increased the number of responsible agencies and committees involved. The inconclusive discussions at the meeting wore the park activists down and were largely responsible for the breakup of the core planning group. Many of the initially daring plans were ground down by the machinery of implementation.³⁴ The fact that the park was realized at all is due to the dedication of a small group of people and a part of the arts community. Park Fiction was in a position to set international renown against the delaying tactics of the local authorities. The participatory planning approach proved impossible to sustain during the construction of the park. The length of the time alone that it took to complete it dampened the original dynamism. The children who in 1997 were still planning their own tree house have since grownup and are no longer interested in tree houses. While Park fiction has finally achieved its status of permanence, there is another new-age squatter settlement protesting against the government, willing to bend down their ideologies for the mere sustenance of the community.

³³ Jorgensen, Anna and Richard Keenan. *Urban wildscapes*. London: Routledge, 2012.

³⁴ Schafer, Christoph. "The City Is Unwritten". *In the field*, 2016. Available: <http://www.inthefield.info/unwritten.pdf>.

A Dutch developer's plans to demolish nearly a full city block of historic buildings in the center of Hamburg and develop high end offices and condominiums were stalled due to the 2008 global financial crisis. Recognizing their window of opportunity, a coalition of over 200 artists occupied the vacant buildings. Over several years they have transformed the complex into one of the most vibrant hubs of cultural activity in Hamburg. The Gängeviertel stands in stark contrast as an oasis of activity. The dynamic mix of uses within these twelve buildings proves it enough to create the sense of a bustling community. The experimental character of heterotopias by 'infusing' place and urban space with meaning that is changeable and contestable; the Gängeviertel reveals a heterogeneous character that points towards the coexistence of different perceptions of place.³⁵ The reason why the Municipality of Hamburg finds it problematic to involve in any sort of brutal clearing up of Gängeviertel is because of their strong ideal, which is to protect the historical authenticity of the only remaining part of the old town in the city center and using this space to promote art and culture. The consequence is such that there is an increasing flow of free thinkers from all over the world into this part of the town, creating a festival like atmosphere every week. Looking at the outcome, the 200 artists along with the municipality are gearing up to a proper planning of the entire part of the town. Thus, in other words, modern squatting on a broad-spectrum has clear ideals of carving out the reality from temporariness even though it takes considerable amount of time.



³⁵ Helten, Michael. "Heterotopia and cultural activism – the case of Hamburg's Gängeviertel". *DIE ERDE – Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin* 146.2-3 (2015): 165-174. Available: <http://www.die-erde.org/index.php/die-erde/article/view/227>.

While planning of such off-hiving spatial formations may seem an anomaly, they also address the very motive and meaning of spatial knowledge. Based upon logic of relational agency, the commons force us to develop thinking capable of dealing not only with territorial definitions, partitions and borders, but also with the workings of an open situation of resourcefulness. This requires new forms of learning and knowing; new forms of communication and new stages of negotiations. If the imaginary of 'the market' once made it possible to acquire a coherent understanding of a modern and transient commercial urbanity, it is today the idea of 'the common' that will enable one to understand the world as a paradoxical and shifting, yet shared concern.

Inference:

- It takes a long period of time for formalizing the informal due to the very reasons why they seem to attract interested members into the community.
- The bottom-up urbanists predominantly have strong ideals and desires during the temporary phase of the project but once it gets to the point of project expansion, there is a change in the entire system.
- This shift or change causes a loophole in the functioning of the project which ultimately leads to the failure of the initiative or is the reason why the project remains in an unbalanced state.
- Time takes up the role of do or die in the bottom-up developmental processes led by the primary stakeholders, for only with the progress of time, the status of the initiative is known. However there can be nothing much that can be done by these people to alter the time process belonging to the least bottom of the spectrum.

6.2.2 Outlined strategies

The difference between the primary and intermediate stakeholders is evidently seen in the manner they handle the projects with respect to time. The matrix of actors involved in planning split themselves into sub-categories and multi-task to effectively perform and come up with alternate strategies as when the failure of one occurs. This opens up new possibilities and is widely accepted by all the members in the network, which eventually leads to the implementation of temporary initiatives into a permanent one. They come up with innovative, workable solutions to solve the financial issues which prove to be one of the crucial reasons causing a potential delay in the realization of the project.

An example is the Het schieblock at Rotterdam. It is an office complex which continued to remain empty in a prominent location at the city centre. This was during the early 2000's and that was ex-

actly when the crisis for affordable office spaces arose. ZUS was a recently established architectural studio then and hence decided to start an initiative to re-furbish the building through temporary uses. High vacancy rates in office and a lingering economic crisis lead to delays in urban developments. The firm started using the building for small-scale temporary activities, during the process ZUS discovered through these transformations the unimaginable potentials adaptive re-use could offer to the complex. However, during the announcement of the city development plan in 2007 which suggested the slating of Schieblock, a dramatic plot to go against the decision of the government set it. ZUS voiced their opinion of how there is this untapped potential which is left to decay whereas there seems to be a steady increase in the construction of high-rise office complex all over the city. They published vital articles rallying against the city's master plan to demolish and joined hands together with small-scaled firms to launch their own initiative to revitalize the area without demolishing the existing structures. Being the protagonist, ZUS successfully attracted many innovative artists and creative professionals in Rotterdam to relocate to the Schieblock. Two years after the process of bringing in professional of creative fields to work together for one single motto, a remarkable turnaround began to happen. The city announced their position remained unchanged, triggering ZUS to attempt yet another, more ambitious scale of interventions. In 2010 they negotiated a five year test period with the owner, allowing them to experiment with the surrounding sites as a "laboratory for Urban development".

Another example on the same lines as Het schieblock is the Arena in Berlin. Hardly any other place in Berlin has undergone as dramatic a transformation from an originally peripheral area into a cultural magnet since the end of the GDR as the grounds of the Arena near the strip of land left vacant by the fall of the Berlin wall in the borough of Treptow. The site's charisma reaches far beyond its borders. The adjoining neighborhood has mutated into a creative industry hot spot in recent years. Fashion schools, record labels, clubs, design studios etc are part of a powerful development dynamic initiated in large part by the Arena.

In 1993, in the economically underdeveloped area of Teptow, which was still perceived as quite remote by the cultural scene of Berlin of the early 1990's, the maintenance and storage facility of the Municipal transport services was shut down. While the hall continued to be used as a bus depot, the neighboring administration building was taken over as living and work space by actors, artists and students. In just a short time an intensive array of uses developed at the idle site. In 1995 the actor Falk Walter, together with a number of colleagues, founded Art Kombinat as a non-profit association with the goal of establishing long-term cultural activities on the grounds and in the hall itself. The first period of the use was limited to portions of the hall and also had to come to an arrangement with other alternative users of the site. Only a few hundred square meters were rented as rehearsal and performance space. In the beginning, the sustained development of the project was

threatened by the uncertain circumstances of the use. Lack of clarity on the ownership of the area encouraged rapid cultural appropriation of the site, but the “pioneers” had to be prepared that at any moment their activity could be ended at short notice.³⁶

The gradual establishment of specific uses is an alternative development strategy has also substantially advanced the infrastructure of the borough. The arena has helped to enhance the entire surrounding area, both in economic as well as in terms of imageability. This organic and gradual development process has made it possible to link together all of the projects at the site, a phenomenon that was not planned but is the long-term action of the varied activities. This mix of uses is what makes the area’s financing concept work. It smoothes out fluctuations and enables the initiators to use the hall for this and thus preserve the element of flexibility and ability to further experiment. The Arena has developed from an alternative project into a cultural operation for the masses.

Inference:

- It is evident from the case studies that every move the intermediate stakeholders take towards establishing a project within a stipulated amount of time period, is well thought, targeted, calculated and then achieved.
- They prove to be real urban pioneers in playing the perfect role of a catalyst in the developmental processes. The knowledge and experience in the field proves to be a real game changer in altering the course of the project.
- Even-though the time period taken in order to achieve the goal is gradual and slow-paced, there is a clear intent behind every single move of theirs, which helps in dissolving the boundaries between the various actors in the chain.
- The partial success behind the projects led by inter-mediate actors with respect to the factor of time can be attributed to mainly the intense research which goes into drafting the present and future visions of a particular project, thereby planning the requisite needs for attaining it. They study the needs of the different stakeholders in the web and play their role accordingly in addition to holding onto their own needs.

6.2.3 Manipulators of time

The range of possible applications for exploitative strategies is diverse. Such strategies can be of interest both city-wide, in district and neighborhood development efforts, as well as for individual properties. Provided they reach a certain critical mass, the cultural milieus generated by temporary uses

³⁶ Oswalt, Philipp, Klaus Overmeyer, and Philipp Misselwitz. *Urban catalyst*. Berlin: Dom Pub, 2013.

are attractive for the image and location marketing of the city as a whole. Cities like Amsterdam and Berlin increasingly rely on their creative potential more and more according to today's knowledge society to increase their visibility and enhance their public profile. Thus, city of Amsterdam publishes its annually updated index of its cultural initiatives and creative small businesses, many of which come from the temporary use milieu. Berlin is too seeking to burnish image tarnishes by debt, unemployment and stagnation. Mayor Klaus Wowereit's remarked that "Berlin is poor but sexy" which has become a slogan in a location marketing effort born of necessity. Temporary uses from the cultural arena in particular serve as image makers to attract commercial investors.³⁷ Thus, the motive behind these processes taken over by deciding stakeholders are direct and the same, to re-image the city and generate income.

A prime example of the beneficial incorporation of temporary uses into neighborhood development projects is the recent history of the area of the Nederlandse Dok en Scheepsbouw Maatschappij (NDSM) in Amsterdam. In Amsterdam the municipal government is the largest property owner in the city. For this reason it not only holds supreme planning authority but also acts as a project developer and investor. When use of the harbor in the northern part of Amsterdam ceased, the city planned the development of a new neighborhood. As an important catalyst for the future city planning measures, cultural initiatives were enlisted for the use of an enormous shipyard building and provided with start-up capital. The goal was to draw the populace to the neighborhood, which was thus far physically and psychologically untapped, to gain awareness for the project among potential investors and renters, and over the medium term to achieve a mixed use of the vast area.

The city of Amsterdam was able to use its considerable room for maneuver to realize its plans. The municipality not only possesses supreme planning authority; it assigns the spaces in the city for long-term use with hereditary leases. Moreover, after local industry had departed, the NDSM hall reverted to the city. The municipality became involved in a series of individual investments- each of which was not economically viable, but in which the measures turned out to be economically advantageous. Thus, temporary uses were established and a ferry service started commuting between the NDSM hall and Amsterdam's main railroad station. The temporary users' experience of the city's powerful position proved to be ambivalent. On the one hand, they owed their very existence as temporary users to that position. At the same time, however their existence formed part of the municipality's pursuit of a larger strategic objective and the city sought to influence the character of temporary use

³⁷ Colomb, Claire. "'DIY urbanism' in Berlin: Dilemmas and conflicts in the mobilization of 'temporary uses' of urban space in local economic development". Ph.D, University of Sheffield, 2015. Available: http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.452222!/file/Colomb.pdf

with a series of binding framework conditions.³⁸ This was precisely not a magnanimous gesture but a neighborhood development project by other means with clear economic objectives. But not every project handled by the top-down players' focus only at the financial gains, there are other projects which are realized purely for exciting the local community or defining an altered use for decayed structures, thereby proving to exist as a visionary thinker for the urban development of the nation.

An example is the Westergasfabriek, a gas production arena which stopped functioning in 1967. By the time the factory closed down, the site was profoundly polluted, making it hard to find an alternate function for the area. During this period, the Municipal energy company of Amsterdam started using the factory for temporary storage purposes and conducted workshops. This created a spark in the city authorities and in 1992 they declared the buildings could be used for creative and cultural activities on a temporary basis.³⁹ There was a rush of creative entrepreneurs and artists to the site. The target groups which they wished to achieve were the professionals who perform as inter-mediate stakeholders rather than general public. The idea behind was to face-lift the site by holding temporary cultural events where the interaction between different actors could happen. This strategy eventually turned out to be success; it became a meeting spot of choice for the artistic and creative residents in Amsterdam. The creative buzz around the site led Westergasfabriek to become a permanently designated cultural zone. This is a widely-acclaimed model for re-development since the top-down players not only co-ordinate with the intermediate actors also in a way tried to collaborate with the general public which resulted in coming up with a project which appeased all the actors on board.

Inference

- The term 'deciding stakeholders' explains their position when it comes to realizing a temporary initiative. They literally are the most powerful manipulators of time for the authority to change, legalize or object a certain issue lies in their control.
- It is a necessary essential that for any bottom-up urbanism to succeed however logical or successful the project be, it finally comes down to the decision of the city authority regarding the sustenance and future of the project.
- This is the prime reason why the projects which evolve out of participatory processes led by the city government get established in no time, irrespective of converting the ideas of the public in the design stage or not. Thus, this results in the creation of long term projects but

³⁸ Zimmermann, Dries. *Planning the unplanned. Framing the Institutionalization of the NDSM-werf*. University of Amsterdam, 2014.

³⁹ Westergasfabriek. (n.d.). Retrieved March, 2016, from <http://www.westergasfabriek.nl/>

lacks the vitality and appropriation of the public which leads to an eventual failure. This is where there needs to be a balance between the bottom-up and top-down approaches.

6.3 Function

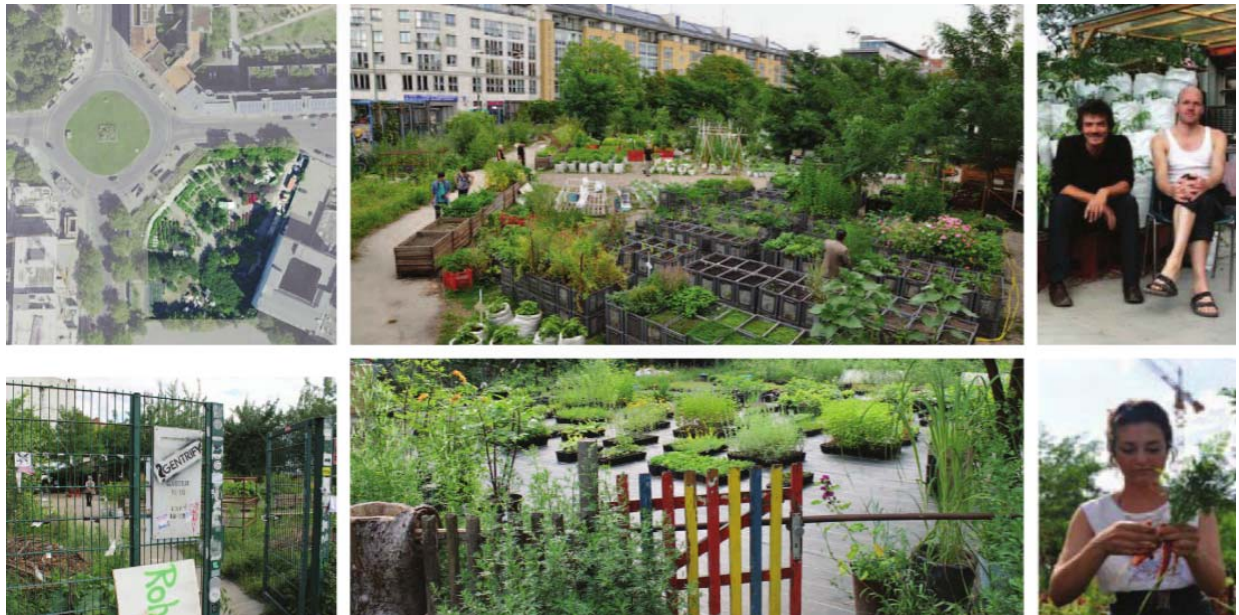
- What are the issues which arise seemingly important during the functioning of the project?
- How does the characteristic of openness and consensus decision making work together?
- How are the levels of empowerment dealt without affecting the workability of the entire system?
- Does the idea of 'free-town' and 'ownership' converge at some point during the process of formalization of the unplanned?
- How important are the prospects of 'funding' and 'legality' for better functioning of these communities?
- How well-thought are the concepts of sustainability and ecological balance in these type of projects which start as informal settlements?

6.3.1 Potential of the informal

The departure from traditional working structures is reflected in the working biographies of today's temporary users. In many cases their activities alternate between project-related work, unpaid involvement, unemployment or illicit temporary and part-time employment, while these different types of work are frequently combined. Depending, these players are either a constituent of the new under-classes or of the avant-garde. Knowledge society's innovations tend to develop outside the classic economic apparatus and are frequently based on the principle of traveling light: free not only from the architecture of large businesses and institutions, but also from their inflexibility and from the obligation of large-scale investments. The heroes of the present epoch are the garbage do-it-yourselfers. With solid know-how, with ideas and their power of imagination yet with few means they succeed in developing the innovations of new age. The lack of institutionalization or financial means is not an obstacle, but more a precondition for success.

An example is the Prinzessinnengarten at Berlin. The site of a former grocery store produces food again as a community garden, initiated by two members from the neighborhood. Beyond initial appearance, the Prinzessinnengarten is much more than an urban farm. It constitutes a café, library, a restaurant and regularly hosts performances and lectures. It defies ready-made categories demonstrating there's still potential for completely new typologies to be invented and its perhaps by leaving a degree of open-mindedness that some of the most novel programmatic combinations might be achieved through this model of accumulated Do-it-yourself contributions from over two hundred volunteers, that the space has evolved from a relatively modest urban farm into a vibrant mixed-use

destination and fosters social interaction.⁴⁰ The Prinzessinnengarten is an unusual urban garden in its aesthetics and atmosphere, and its existence as a public space, its unconventionality is expressed in the diversity of activities and projects that have passed through or continue to take place there, many of which are not the traditional elements of an urban community garden. The Prinzessinnengarten becomes enacted through different practices as both a garden and an open space, reminiscent of what tentatively calls a fractional object “that was more than one and less than many”.⁴¹ The owner of the garden suggests that objects and things in the world relate to others through “inclusion, contradiction, and sometime cooperation” but they “never collapse into singularity”. These metaphors are useful for the multi-dimensional project of alternative urban gardening.



Rising property values in the area have fueled pressures to re-develop the site. Every year when the lease is up for renewal the Prinzessinnengarten founders face the threat of eviction. To counteract their impending fate, they have begun to take proactive measures by launching a grassroots campaign that has received over 500 crowd funded contributions and 30,000 signatures on a petition to pre-

⁴⁰ Wandler, Jane. "Experimental Urbanism: grassroots alternatives as spaces of learning and innovation in the city". *The University of Manchester Library*, 2014. Online. Internet. 24 Sep. 2016. . Available: <https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/uk-ac-man-scw:240805>.

⁴¹ Amin, Ash. "public space: Collective culture and urban public space". *Publicspace.org*, 2006. Available: <http://www.publicspace.org/es/texto-biblioteca/eng/b003-collective-culture-and-urban-public-space>.

serve the garden. This wave of support is a testament to the social value that even a small community space with a modest investment of financial capital, but a great deal of social capital can foster. Its experimental nature also works on another level. As well as providing space for individual projects and the tactile learning that comes with them, it is “a laboratory for socially and ecologically sustainable forms of urban development”. This links to the garden's existence within the wider urban landscape, and the ongoing debates around Berlin's real-estate and urban development policy. As a city in the process of rapid renewal, there is an increasing controversy around existing real estate property, as much of it is being sold off to private investors. The plot at the Moritzplatz has been slated for sale when the garden took its temporary lease, effectively at the mercy of potential investment interests. The alternative to profit-driven development presented by the Prinzessinnengarten therefore became a symbol of these debates as well as an experiment in addressing them, as one of the users explains: *This garden was not created as an architectural, urban planning, city development project. But because we are doing a garden in the city, on a brown field site that is owned by the city, there is an unintentional political role. Because it shows that our normal dealings with public and urban spaces could look differently.* The garden as such, whether it is mobile or not, makes this statement. The result of this is an active involvement of the garden in urban forums, policy advisory groups and academic discussions.⁴² One of the emerging aims of this attempt is to push for greater citizen participation in the decision-making process regarding the future of the site. On the basis of a signature campaign, the garden's contract has now been extended for five years, but ultimately, the idea is not built on a fixed endpoint but to set up a more participative decision-making process.

For claim strategies, influencing public opinion is the key. The goal is to deprive existing town planning of its legitimating and gain an ideal majority for an alternative use and development scenario. The means for achieving this are not the first and foremost protest, criticism and negation, but the positive, constructive pursuit of one's own alternative idea and its gradual realization. This realization takes place on two levels, which usually go hand in hand first in the sense of wish production, that is, the awakening of the idea of a different, more desirable development in the minds of the public, and second in the practical implementation of that idea from the very beginning. However small, symbolic and temporary these single steps may be, they are nonetheless still capable of sparking a social dynamic in which more and more actors participate, so that the project keeps evolving. Although the city administration continues to insist on developing the land, Park Fiction took its next steps in a parallel planning process- the initiators continues to plan the park without a commission from the city, without waiting for the authorities and other planning entities to come along.

⁴² Stähler, Patrick. "Geschäftsmodellinnovationen oder sein Geschäft radikal neudenken". *Kompodium Geschäftsmodell-Innovation* (2014): 109-136.

St.Pauli is exposed to a massive process of gentrification. The demands of investors and the restaurant trade are growing, not least in connection with the overall conversion of the waterfront district into the “string of pearls” of Hamburg. Thus, with the Riverside hotel, a large scale project, part of the neighborhood’s restructuring and displacement process, was erected in the immediate vicinity. Yet the residents gained substantial experience during the conflicts surrounding Hafenstrasse in the 1980’s and the park in 1990’s. With the citizen’s initiative NoBNQ, they are defending themselves against the subtle mechanisms of disinvestment, high vacancy rates, decay, redevelopment and rent increases and demand not only participation, but freedom for self-determined design and action in urban planning. Associated with the city-wide protest and action network “Recht auf Stadt” (Right to the city), previous experience, success and personal continuity not only constitute symbolic capital; rather, specific forms of knowledge and practices are brought into the city-wide debates and conflicts.

Similarly when taking up the case of Christiania, the controversy prevails to be an endless one. Most inhabitants see the problem of Christiania’s survival depending on the “hash issue”. On “Pusher Street,” a narrow street running through the heart of the community, the hash trade flourishes. Hash is sold and smoked in Christiania, often in direct non-cooperation of government protocol. Hash has been the only drug accepted at Christiania since its ban on hard-drugs since 1979. This seems to be a major concern of the city-authorities which prevents them from giving the status of legality to Christiania. Apart from the Hash problems, there are other reasons as to why there has always been a struggle when it comes to accepting Christiania as a legal free-town by the government. There is a strong misconception by the citizens living at Copenhagen who argues that Christiania gets a “free ride” from the city-authority while they have to adhere to rules and conditions.

According to Dorthe Sallerup of the Ministry of Defense, although the people of Christiania do not pay rent per say, they pay for both real property taxes and personal taxes. Since 1994, the people of Christiania have paid for all the following services: water, electricity, sewer, the removal of refuse, chimney cleaning and fire-fighting dues among others. After 1996, the system was changed so that individuals pay for their use of electricity, water and heating. Each adult (persons over 18 years of age) living in Christiania also pays 1,500.00 kroner per month to the “Common Fund” of Christiania. The Common Fund covers a variety of expenses the community incurs, including building maintenance and VAT (Value Added Tax) of some of the smaller private businesses in Christiania. The other larger businesses pay the VAT directly to the customs authority. Christiania also generates a lot of revenue for the Danish economy. The amount of tourist revenue that Christiania produces benefits the entire economic sector. An estimated 500,000 people visit Christiania every year.

Many foreigners who visit Denmark come because they want to experience this unique community.⁴³

Politicians not only want to tackle the “hash problem” in Christiania, they also aim to alter Christiania to an extent that threatens to destroy its unique character and culture. As early as 1995, the government developed a new policy plan to “normalize” the area. According to the book “Review on Christiania”, Normalization is a four point initiative:

- To establish the same Infrastructure as the rest of the city,
- To require the citizens of Christiania to buy their Houses from the Ministry of Defense,
- To renovate the buildings in Christiania
- To stop the trafficking of Hash. According to this report, the government wants to create a new dynamic Christiania that all people in Copenhagen can enjoy and use.

However, many people question their motives for attempting to “normalize” Christiania, which contradicts the whole concept and ideology lying beneath the community.

Inference:

- The fundamental issue with respect to the functioning of projects by the primary stakeholders in most of the cases is the lack of a clear motto. They start as temporary initiatives and as time progresses, there comes a point where there needs to be shift in the process towards a more permanent one, but it is here where the lack of expertise take a toll.
- The primary stakeholders struggle in taking consensus decisions because of multitude of opinions, this leads to an unclear state of workability.
- The struggle is real when the contradictory ideas of “free town” and “ownership” are asked to co-exist with one another due to the change of actors with time.
- Even-though there are loads of possibilities to be learnt from the functioning of these projects, when it comes to the workability of the project on a long term, it proves to be difficult to maintain the same principles of informality. Nevertheless, they stand out from the rest and preserve their experimental stature which pulls the attention of creative thinkers from all over the world.

⁴³ Gibson, Trish and Ida Hjort. "Controversial Christiania: Deciding the Fate of the Free Town by Trish Gibson, Ida Hjort | Humanity in Action". *Humanity In Action*,. Available: <http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/280-controversial-christiania-deciding-the-fate-of-the-free-town>.

6.3.2 Bridging the void

Related to self-coaching is coaching by sympathetic agents, that is, by artists and architects who are initially outsiders with respect to the temporary use. They don't stand in a classic contractor-client relationship but come to the project in question out of their own sense of engagement. They make their knowledge, networks, labor time and sometimes their resources available free of charge. The difference between agents and the core group is precisely what makes those coming from outside able to play a role. Their function is to develop long-term strategies and overcome the limiting character of an approach that moves forward only by small steps. In addition to the types of communications, media related support and entrepreneurial training that have predominated thus far, future coaching measures might include legal advising on the process of legalization, technical advising on the specific constructional problems facing temporary users and practical help through the loaning of resources. At the most fundamental level, coaching seeks to help actors achieve their optimal level of self-expression and self-development and helps them to eliminate obstacles and make use of idle-resources.

For the city as a whole, the goal of helping temporary uses is to strengthen and draw maximum benefit from their positive effects, whether in order to stabilize and develop social environments in threatened neighborhoods, as a new form of economic development in the era of the knowledge society and culture industry or as a means of promoting public life and urban culture. At the same time, respects the desires and goals of the temporary users themselves; it does not attempt to subordinate those goals to other processes and by doing so deprive them of their own inherent qualities.

On September, 1990 the Palast der Republik (Palace of the Republic) was closed for fourteen years after its opening because of danger from asbestos. During the six-year process of asbestos removal, the inside of the building was gutted down to its basic static elements- a gigantic steel skeleton with floor slabs made of precast concrete components came to light. The demolition of the building had already been decided in 1993 and it met with resistance from only a small group of employees and a handful of intellectuals. Later a town-planning competition was held to decide the state of the building, the winning entry envisaged the removal of the palace and the re-construction of the cubic form of the Schloss which was the Berlin city palace that had previously stood on the site. Other than that, the proposal of re-construction had no ideas regarding the possible content of the new structure, whether in terms of its use or with regard to whom the building sponsor should be. The answers to these questions varied throughout the following twelve years- the only constant was the desire for the Schloss façade. But the hope that another Berlin mega project would now be built on the fast track never quite got off the ground. On the one hand the asbestos problem made it impossible to proceed with the immediate demolition of the Palast; on the other there were signs that a hangover was setting in after years of a euphoric constructions boom. The combined cost of 670 million euros for

the building and re-construction of the Schloss façade was more and more difficult to justify in the context of an economic crisis. At first when the cultural actors joined together to realize the project as a temporary project, the proposals were put forward as isolated ideas which went unheeded. The planning decision seemed clear and final, the prospect of using the ruin too costly and complex, and the resistance on the part of the state bureaucracy too insurmountable.⁴⁴

Even though the intermediate actors continually make an attempt to bridge the void between various issues and actors, there always is the factor of uncertainty sticking along with majority of the projects, this is primarily due to the fact that even though they hold a strong position in the web of actors, the position they hold is extremely unstable since they behave as mediating agents and once there is a deviation in the process they tend to quit and hand over the project to another agent completely new who takes time to set into the previous methodology. But there are also strong reasons as to why a bottom-up urbanism led by intermediate stakeholders work better, for example the ingenious concept behind the the Luchtsingel bridge at Rotterdam.



The Luchtsingel is a part of the Het Schiebblock process explained in the chapter 6.2.2. It is a pedestrian bridge that crosses over a six lane highway, connects to the elevated railway and attempts to provide greater visibility to the retail and cultural destinations near the neighborhood of Angniesbuurt where there is disconnect between the the neighborhood and the rest of the city. The project handled by ZUS architects knew that in-order to realize a project of this scale, there is a need of the monetary value from developers or investors or the city authorities. There was no interest shown by

⁴⁴ Oswalt, Philipp, Klaus Overmeyer, and Philipp Misselwitz. *Urban catalyst*. Berlin: Dom Pub, 2013.

an investor and hence they depended on the city authority for the funding. Stating irrelevant reasons, the city authority kept delaying the culmination of the project. That is when the ZUS architects decided to go public with the financing of the building the bridge. They devised an innovative strategic model which gained laurels from majority of the public. Through an online crowd-funding campaign, they connected to thousands of citizens in Rotterdam who were more than willing to contribute to improve the urban-scenario of their city. The contributions ranged from 125 to 1250 Euros. The material used for the construction of the bridge being Wood, ZUS decided to create a sense of appropriateness to this revolutionary approach by offering the etch the name of the contributor on the wooden planks. The initiative gathered massive support from the public and eventually the city-authority agreed to the process. The Rotterdam International Architecture Biennial also showcased the project as a “test site”, bringing better visibility that has helped them secure \$5.2 million dollar grant from the city to continue their place making experiments. Popular public support however is not sufficient to preserve the Schieblock as a place of artistic and cultural production. Once the five year lease is up, there is no guarantee neither ZUS nor the other occupants will remain permanent, nor that the “mark” made will necessarily transform into future uses.⁴⁵

The task performed by the architects is an interim process to make this portion of the city more inviting to warrant subsidization or alternative modes of investment that sustain the energy these small-scale coalitions create. It allows the top-down hierarchies to temporarily shut down which opens up opportunities for the bottom-up urbanists to boldly come forward with new ideas. To quell these fears: ZUS founders Elma van Boxel and Kristian Koreman make a compelling case that an incremental approach can actually be quite sensible. They claim: *“testing is a preventative measure against utopian failure”*. *It is in fact less risky than deriving grand proposals purely from market driver predictions, wagered upon an increasingly uncertain economic future*. They advocate instead, for a more adaptive approach that trades in master “plans” for “scripts”- to build upon existing potentials as a “base” for future development. Due to the long time lag required to finance and construct large-scale development projects they argue to look at alternate ways instead of waiting 20 years to build a city.

Inference

- Without a doubt, the intermediate stakeholders are the ones who take a stance between the extremities and hence prove to be the better protagonist leader out of the three when it comes to the functionality of the project.

⁴⁵ Glick, David. "Bottom-Up Urbanism: A Survey of Temporary Use in Europe". *Issuu*, 2014. Available: https://issuu.com/david.t.glick/docs/bottom-up_urbanism_dglick/1.

- The reason being simple, they fore think and fore plan dealing with an issue before it arises and this allows them to take the upper hand in the functioning of the process.
- The knowledge, the expertise, resources and mind to handle the critical problems in the most efficient way possible comes effortless to them which help in the better workability of a project

6.3.3 Institutionalized participation

Although temporary uses largely go against the classical control and organizational practices of government entities, for a number of reasons they have now become an attractive urban development option for policymakers and administrators. Facing increasingly tight budgets, city administrations hope that by cooperating with pioneers from civil society they will be able to stabilize socially weak neighborhoods, reactivate vacant sites and create new public spaces, all without any significant financial expense. Temporary use milieus create new images for entire neighborhoods, images that are usually viewed quite positively by the majority of residents as well as being attractive to investors. From a city planning perspective, this creates new options for developing sites that have long ago defied all classical city planning attempts to work with them. In addition, city and location development become possible even for sites that have no hope of attracting investments even in medium term. All this has led to a situation in which many cities have not only become more tolerant in their licensing practices but also stimulate and enable temporary uses in other ways.

The NDSM-werf is a breeding place, providing a working space for over 200 artists with a total surface of roughly 85,000 square meters. Over the last decade, the NDSM-werf – a former shipyard at the northern part of Amsterdam – has emerged as a vibrant and lively space, praised for its bottom-up developments, its creativity and authenticity. It has been praised by some as a flagship project of co-operation between bottom-up developments by cultural producers and the local government. The original idea of a bottom-up development strategy however did not stem from the municipality alone.

It prompted in no small measure by an initiative comprised of squatters and people interested in using the industrial buildings along the banks. This affiliation around Eva del clerk and Hessel Dokum formed a working group that along with municipal building societies. The aim of the municipality was to attract potential investors and renters and to allow a vibrant mixture of uses to develop.⁴⁶ In contrast to the monotonous residential and commercial satellites that were typical of the

⁴⁶ Jurriens, Renee. *How the Artists and Creative Entrepreneurs at the Breeding Place on the NDSM Wharf in Amsterdam Handle the Gentrification and Co-optation Processes*. University of Amsterdam, 2014

1990's. However, another side of the story reveals it has also been a site of conflict between the two parties. This side is characterized by the increased formalization of an informal site; it is characterized by a continuous struggle between the cultural producers present at the NDSM-werf and the institutional world. On the one hand, cultural producers feel that they have made the NDSM-werf the place it is today. On the other, the municipality has subsidized the wharf, for which they have in turn demanded a degree of control. The conflict between both parties has only increased over the years. It is therefore an interesting case to scrutinize the institutionalization practices that have taken place.



The developments at the NDSM-werf seem to epitomize the participatory ideal; starting as a bottom-up development initiated by local actors, picked up and facilitated by the local government. This is resonated by the policy of breeding places, of the municipality of Amsterdam, where the cultural producers are expected to take initiative, and the municipality jumps in when facilitating is needed.

Berlin's Media Spree effort is another example of how temporary users are sought after as location factors in the neighborhood and regional management initiatives. In contrast to Amsterdam, however, here the authorities did not invest but merely exploited the initiative for marketing purposes. Soon after it began to become apparent that it would not be possible to realize the large scale development plans in their entirety due to insufficient demand, the authorities sought to conceal the failure by emphasizing the already existing "creative milieu" and to communicate a positive image of the neighborhood. At the same time, within the scope of the Media spree projects, attempts were made to press ahead with the commercial utilization of real-estate together with the property owners, not least through the approval of large scale-reconstruction of the properties; however, this was a strategy

that did not meet the approval of the residents. It is still one of the projects highly debated about and the public have raised revolts against the progress of the project.⁴⁷

The above case-studies show the after-effects of a temporary initiative dealt by the top-down players. Even-though the conception had its deep roots as bottom-up urbanisms, eventually when the city-authority takes control over the situation, they not only turn them into permanent projects which results in the loss of the unique character of “temporal flexibility” but also ends up in a chain where they are completely under the authority of the government, thereby losing the freedom and openness most needed for their survival. This results in the citizens shifting away from the settlements and they eventually turn into dead lands or the city-authority turns them into “corporate city”. However there are few projects where there is a perfect balance attained by the top down players co-ordinating with the bottom-up urbanists, thus resulting in a functionally sound collaboration. One such recently developed project is the Vrijburcht in Amsterdam.

Vrijburcht is a multipurpose complex of living and working units with many shared and social amenities for the residents and neighborhood, completed through a process of Collective and Private Patronage (CPO). The project was completed within reasonable financial risks through the involvement of future residents, the city of Amsterdam, De Key housing association, and the Rabobank. There was a balanced stake-holder management in the course of the project which led to the development of innovative co-creative strategies. The background to the project was the invitation from the city of Amsterdam in 2000 to submit plans for ‘collective self-build’ projects on Steigereiland in the new district of IJburg. Vrijburcht was selected largely on the basis of the programme and was definitively allocated a site in 2002. After an initial sketch phase, as the design started to acquire a definite shape, the Vrijburcht Foundation was established. The board of the foundation, made up of project participants, acted as client for architects, advisors and contractors during the construction process. It oversaw the planning process and the financing, and supervised the sale of homes. During the process it succeeded in securing financial support from De Key housing association for half of the homes. De Key contributed to the pre-financing and underwrote the homes not yet sold. De Key housing association is the owner of particular parts of the complex. The participatory processes proved to be highly successful to an extent where the tenants and managers of these amenities were selected by the participants of Vrijburcht. The vision of Vrijburcht is planned in such a manner to take forward this strategy of equal stakeholder management for solving future issues or in creation of additional functionalities.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ "Media Spree Versenken!". *Ms-versenken.org*, 2016. Available: <http://www.ms-versenken.org>.

⁴⁸ *Vrijburcht, Collective and Private Patronage – also for public space. (n.d.). Retrieved from* http://www.vlугp.nl/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/Vrijburcht_VLUGP_hr_A4-EN.pdf

Inference:

- Being on top of the table, the deciding stake holders attempt to create functionally dynamic community is ambitious but in most of the cases, what begins as a combination of the contrasting approaches turn out to be one sided as time progresses.
- This is mainly due to the changing scenarios coupled with potential investors who come forward willing to develop the dynamic space into a superior one, which generates income for the government and eventually they give into the offer which breaks the entirety of functioning of bottom-up urbanisms.
- Top-down players do not accept to a shared ownership which by itself determines the extent of collaboration and openness involved in the project.
- Predominantly, the projects lead to massive gentrification of the area by aristocratic creative professionals and pushes out the weaker segments of the actors who initially appropriated the land for affordable housing ends up homeless. Hence, there is specific concentration of user groups when a top-down player willingly takes over a temporary initiative with a clear target of economic generation.

7. Inference

The past three decades have been chaotic for Europe. It started with the vanishing of communist rule across the continent, which led to an era of neo-liberalism. Cities had the necessity to feed into international capital flows and competed against one another to attract tourists, knowledge-economy workers and international headquarters. Europe was soaked with privatization, resulting in a situation where 70 percent of public amenities, including public spaces, fell into the hands of global corporations. The crisis has crushed the neo-liberal dream. The citizen is not anymore witnessed as a person with responsibilities, but as a consumer that needs to be confined from every form of risk. While privatization seems to be the ultimate answer, the outcome of the process is insidiously eroding the spirit of democracy.⁴⁹

The detailed case studies of apparently spontaneous and unplanned uses revealed certain patterns and mechanisms. Temporary uses do not emerge by chance but are guided by diverse factors and conventions. Temporary users are urban actors that act deliberately and achieve their visions. The intense research has come to the following conclusions:

⁴⁹ "ZUS-Schieblock". *Zus.cc*, 2007. Available:
http://www.zus.cc/work/urban_politics/162_Schieblock.php.

- Citizens become temporary users in order to chase different aspirations
- Specific vacant sites attract specific temporary uses
- Temporary uses flourish with a minimum of investment
- Temporary uses are mostly organized in networks and clusters
- Temporary uses are initiated through a range of agents
- Temporary uses are a laboratory for new cultures and economies

7.1 Research findings

The essence of the European city is a sense of “collectivity” and Europe is used to the fact that the city authorities takes care of public space, public communities, and public housing. But because of changing economic conditions and dominant political ideologies, there is a shift from the Welfare State to self-organization. There is a shift in the kind of urban planning, a new kind of architecture, that is active and per formative, that is taking action in the real city life, driven by civic commitment, and where the architects, urban planners, activists, entrepreneurs, city authorities come together, play the central role and create a framework along with the citizens and authorities to design cities of the future.

The new under-classes prove to be the avant garde; the social background of many temporary users is prototypical for the changing social composition in what were once the industrial nations characterized by Fordism. Temporary users are the pioneers of different uses of space and increasingly unstable, deinstitutionalized ways of life. This development is reflected, for instance, in ever more rapidly changing employment relationships as well as in the abundance of the self-employed, of small-scale business enterprises and of part time employees. Alongside the obsolescence of the ideal of permanent employment, today’s knowledge society demands additional qualifications. Networking culture and the development of a diversified knowledge environment are not only of growing importance for the individual, but for cities as well.

The case of ‘temporariness’ dramatically illustrates that the formalization of a temporary use is an ambivalent process, which does not by means automatically lead to improvement and success but in which the advantages and disadvantages of every step must be carefully weighed. Above all, it vividly demonstrates that formalization fails when it takes place along conventional lines, as in traditional cultural and investment projects. Precisely the process of formalization is beneficial. Thus it is not uncommon for users to reorganize their establishment while allowing the rental contract to remain informal. The converse is also conceivable.

7.2 Towards an user-based urbanism

Based on the parametrical analysis of studying the involvement of the three different categories of stakeholders in temporary bottom-up urbanisms, the following inferences are formulated cross-comparing one another;

- Comparing all the three inferences from the parameter of **Space**, it is apparent that a process which evolves from the least bottom of the spectrum proves to be the most efficient in terms of planning, socio-spatiality aspects, the planning methodologies adopted, the informality which lies in the creation of spaces, their ideologies behind alternative community living, the levels of appropriation and place-making, the sense of spatial-dynamism along with flexible planning strategies are some of the reasons why the intuitively developed spatial knowledge patterned out of the informal gives expansive possibilities for city planners to learn and acquire from.

The exploration of experimental grassroots alternatives begins with an interest in urban change; the utopian hope for a better, more just or sustainable city. It locates this hope not in abstract plans for a distant future, but in the lived reality of actually existing initiatives and interventions in the urban sphere – in the critical utopias of insurgent, grassroots, guerrilla and DIY urbanism. Tracing the experimental dimensions through the practices of different urban alternatives, the discussion contributes to the conceptual work on wild, collective experiments as relational and action-oriented processes of knowledge-making. It also indicates how experimental alternatives come to matter for urban change: as urban learning assemblages that are grounded in knowing-in-practice and as sites of incremental and improvised innovation rather than radical novelty. These possibilities emerge where the productive intersection of alternatives and experiments is fully embraced, in alternative interventions that employ an experimental approach of collective negotiation and public visibility and which therefore become lived grassroots experiments. This has consequences for their wider role in future in the city. Thus bottom-up urbanisms having the primary stakeholders, bottom-up players as protagonists perform better when it comes to the planning and appropriation of spaces.

- Cross-comparing the parameter of **time**, it is certain that the top-down players are essential in order to take forward a temporary initiative as a long term project. The two main factors which determines the longevity of a project is; funding and legality. This is exactly where the bottom-up players head towards a downfall, even though belonging to an informal economy, the temporary users mostly consist of the economically weaker section of the population, who do not even have required finance to manage themselves. Whereas the intermediate

stakeholders only find innovative strategies to congregate funds or developers, but in most cases there are not many investors to fund for the project because of the less or no economic gain out of the resulting process. Hence, this parameter depends on the scale of the initiative primarily, but when it comes to achieving temporal permanence of a long term project within a short period of time, the top-down hierarchies play the crucial role in assisting the dream of the bottom-up players into an augmented reality.

- Analyzing and drawing parallels from the parameter of **function**, it explains that the bottom-up developments led by an intellectual network of intermediate stakeholders perform to show better outcomes. The basic underlying factor for effective functioning of an initiative be it short or long term chiefly depends on the balance of two issues, one- the balance between physical, social and economic contexts, two- the balance between the complicated network of stakeholders. The intermediate stakeholders hold the concepts of rationality and logic close to every project they handle which results in a credible output. In most of the cases, they are present when other stakeholders are being the protagonists, but the difference between them leading a process and them being a part of the process makes a crucial transformation in the way the project unfolds. In cases where they intend to just remain as a part of an entire matrix, they take up the role of mediators, attempting to bridge the void between both the ends of the spectrum and once, the project consummate they move out of the process, hence participating for a limited period of time, but the real problem of any bottom-up development starts after the establishment of the process. Thus, in initiatives where they play the main role, they involve themselves in constant role-playing which results in an efficient management of the entire functioning of the case. They focus on the needs of the preliminary users as well as devising strategies to make the municipality agree to them. This makes them the game-changers in the process, taking up the true role of a catalyst.

7.3 Final hypothesis

There is a deflection in the final hypothesis to what was initially stated after the intense research of analyzing bottom-up urbanisms,

In order to realize a bottom-up initiative in temporary urban spaces on a long term without losing the intrinsic character of ‘temporariness’, the vital determinants include an informally evolved spatial dynamic which is augmented by top-down hierarchical structures along with the active involvement of the inter-mediate stakeholders throughout the course of the process, striking a balance between the two ends of the spectrum by integrating them and holding the strongest link in the complicated chain of diverse actors.

Thus in other words, there needs to be a combination of the top-down and bottom-up approaches connected by the inter-mediate agents for the formalization of the informal.

8. Conclusion

A bottom-up planning process approached by intermediate stakeholder holds clarity and a strong vision which makes it stand distinct from other planning processes. They serve as a connecting bridge between the two ends of the spectrum, the government and the citizens. This in a way is a good approach to start accepting bottom-up planning processes which breaks the rigidity of traditional planning processes and incorporates new techniques through which transparency and participation between the diverse actors becomes a reality to a great extent. Designers, planners and citizen activists can learn from vacant or underutilized sites appropriated by artist collectives and creative entrepreneurs. With the imperative to extract surplus value relaxed, these movements of rupture from the status quo are unique in that they afford an experimental opening for programmatic experimentation, yielding entirely creative, spatial and social relationships. They use the freedom of manoeuvre that goes along with their position to engage in a kind of micro-politics that supports the social and cultural intentions of weaker actors in the city by offering them the opportunity to launch a temporary use and in this way also promotes a better development trajectory for the city as a whole.

In experiments, this practice-based politics offers the potential for wider extension. Experimental alternatives that explicitly operate as places of knowing-in-practice balances, cultivates and integrates the local responses with a public invitation that can help in the formation of new political collectives through notions of material and more-than-human participation. Instead of disentangling politics from everyday performances the intermediate stakeholders engage in the former through the latter, giving room to uncertain relations and providing a forum that makes the process public. They also work in a distinctly holistic way along with diverse actors, as concerns with climate change, resource depletion or energy transition intersect with wider questions of inequality, marginalization and the 'right to the city'. This creates the possibility of a more critical engagement with what has been termed the 'post political' condition of the urban, in which a technocratic consensus around the notion of sustainability tends to smother urban politics.

An array of multi-disciplinary organizations principally consisting of a group of professionals from different fields seems to be on the rise in Europe. To name a few organizations, the spontaneous city from Amsterdam, Urban pioneers and urban catalysts from Berlin, Exyst from Paris, Studio Assemblable from London are all young-startup organizations increasingly focusing on open planning strategies in the bottom-up urbanisms. The projects they take over vary in scales from creating an entire

community to art installations to DIY experiments. The idea behind these organizations comes down to one underlying motto- to make better cities with co-creation and collaboration- a path which leads to an alternate approach of urban planning.

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Abstract: Bottom-up Urbanisms in temporary Urban spaces

Bottom-up Urbanism is an alternate approach of city-making which sprung up by the end of the post-modernist era. It has a long history of unsuccessful attempts, overlooked by the top-down conventional players for various reasons. However, by the end of the 20th century, there was a steady increase in supporters, mainly comprising of young city makers belonging to distinct professions who believed in the ideology of a citizen-led planning approach, a presumable change occurred in considering objectives for formalizing the informal.

“There is no logic that can be superimposed on the city; people make it, and it is to them, not buildings, that we must fit our plans.” — Jane Jacobs

There is a strong connect between the bottom-up approach of planning and temporality. These urbanisms often start as temporary initiatives in ‘waiting lands’ and are short-lived. Analysing in depth, the temporal characteristics of bottom-up urbanisms is an important reason why they turn out to be widely accepted by fellow denizens, since it adheres to the changing demands of the dwellers. Hence in a way can be characterised, “timeless”. The flexibility and openness marks this approach entirely different from the rational process of city making. However, since these initiatives start in temporary vacant spaces, abandoned lands, decayed buildings, with or without the permission of the proprietor, they encounter in-numerous obstacles on the long run. This is a reason why many temporary bottom-up urbanisms are transitory and end before its potential wholly tapped. The initiatives are initiated at different levels, as squatter movements, grass-root initiatives to citizen collective organizations, at times as a reaction against the decision of the government, there are ways through which bottom-up urbanists attempt to establish their desire or voice their opinion. The intent of the research is to explore and analyse in-depth the planning, processing, functioning and the end result of such processes taking into account and cross comparing a catalogue of bottom-up initiatives which had its inception in temporary urban spaces, in the European context, for there lies a great opportunity to read through, synopsise the dweller’s idea and understanding of a self-made space which could be the way-forward for creating such communities in future. The ultimate goal is to hypothesize reasons as to how the initiatives can sustain as long-term visions, still retaining the fluid character of ‘temporality’.

Key words: city making, bottom-up, collaboration, temporary, long term.



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