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Editorial

Refereed articles

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SPOOL is a journal initiative in the field of 'architecture and the built environment'. It puts a strong emphasis on four key topics: Science of Architecture; Landscape Metropolis; Energy Innovation and Cyber-physical Architecture. These four topics refer to existing and upcoming research programmes/interests in Europe and beyond, and ensure a steady stream of potential copy. Treating these topics as threads within one journal allows SPOOL to focus on the interrelationship between the fields, something that is often lost in specialised journals. SPOOL welcomes within this framework original papers and associated open data on research that deal with interventions in architecture and the built environment by means of design, engineering and/or planning.

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This issue wouldn't have been possible without the organisers of the **x–LArch 2018 Park Politics** - International conference, a collaboration between ILA and Az W, Austrian museum of architecture. The conference brought together internationally renowned speakers and contributors from the realms of research and practice for three days of discussions and the exchange of ideas.
Scientific Commitee Lilli Licka, Roland Tusch, Ulrike Krippner and Eva Schwab.
Scientific Advisor Thaisa Way.

Cover images
Front: Cover image of the **x–LArch 2018 Park Politics** - International conference
Back: Parc des Buttes-Chaumont, Paris

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EDITORIAL

Park Politics

In June 2018, professionals and scholars, from various fields dealing with public open spaces, put politics up for discussion. In the conference series "x–LArch" at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, BOKU/Vienna, issues are raised that are relevant for the profession of landscape architecture and have a direct impact on our environment, be it urban or rural. In the 2018 conference entitled 'Park Politics', practitioners and academics were invited to present findings and projects in order to gain a range of perspectives from which to consider and discuss the topic of politics behind the built environment (www.x-larch.at).

Urban Landscapes are Political Spaces

"Urban public spaces are a site of constant negotiation and struggle, concerning not only their material design, but also and foremost their access, regulation and symbolic meanings. Urban public spaces are political all the way down", German geographer Bernd Belina stated in the opening session of the Conference x–LArch 2018 – Park Politics. Urban landscapes mirror the dynamic histories of planning approaches, design concepts, and, through these, world views. Every design and programme reflects the period of political, technological, and social conditions within which it was conceived, while simultaneously reflecting later societal transformations. The changes reveal an ongoing and dynamic process of professional questioning and criticism, based as much on experiences of success and failure as on the ebb and flow of ideas and ideals. These ideals are never neutral, but framed by relations, practices, and interactions embedded in structures of power. The processes of shaping, managing, and using urban landscapes must therefore be understood to have a direct relationship with the political, economic, and cultural conditions of society, in which the built environment both signifies and influences power positions, social orders, and hierarchy. Most of our work relates to public parks, spaces that we design for the public, and with the public, which places our work at the core of society. Doreen Massey (2005) has argued that space "poses the political question of how we are going to live together".

As landscape architects and scholars, we design open spaces and often discuss the aesthetics or poetics of park design, examine design processes, and look at how space and programme have evolved over time. Designed spaces are visible; they are physically present. So, there is always something real to talk about, to embrace or reject, that might be blurring or even hiding the societal intent behind it.

Ideas and concepts of how society would work best are not only the content of political manifestos but are also – if more subtly – expressed in specific aesthetic approaches that shape our environments as constitutive models. Although these are often framed as technological necessities and neutral aesthetic developments, ex-post investigations have enabled us to identify the true nature of such models, their ideological backgrounds, their implementation in political institutions, and not least their effects on the design and programme of urban open spaces (Blanchon-Caillot, B. et al., 2012; Baur, & Ruedi, 2005; Egoz, Jørgensen & Ruggeri 2018).

This evident nexus is partly blurred by the global development of urbanisation, on the one hand, and the constantly growing influence of so-called market forces on the other. These global developments have sneaked in through the back door and are presented as a given. In an era of post-politics, envisioned and criticised by a number of radical thinkers, not least Chantal Mouffe and Slavoj Žižek, it is described as a starting point for post-democratic governmental structures. We see these predictions being realised now, step by step, with many of the relevant decisions taken behind the scenes. Unpacking and surfacing the political frameworks underlying the design and programme of contemporary and historical urban landscapes contributes to discourses on the - obvious and more covert - negotiation processes between diverse actors who shape our collective environment. Since we are, with David Graeber (2015), convinced that there has never been an "Inevitable Tide of History" we want to understand how the rules and regulations for our society are made, as expressed in urban public spaces. We don't accept that rules and regulations become given facts that we have to incorporate or follow, without them even being questioned. We take issue with the apolitical understanding of planning and design, linked either to technical and objective expertise or to artistic licence. As such, we see urban open spaces as being not only the domain of planning and design professionals, but both a medium and an outcome of an amalgam of influences, be they economic, cultural, social, or political. Therefore, we recognise the investigation of the built environment and why it looks as it does as an intrinsically multi-disciplinary undertaking. Thus, we argue that this discourse must take place among and between the diverse players engaged in the politics of urban landscapes, to include designers, planners, politicians, and community advocates.

Ideas, Ideals, Rules, Regulations

We take public urban parks as an example of urban landscapes in which - over time - ideas and ideals of how we should live together have manifested particularly well in changing design styles, programmes, and regulations for use, as well as in financing models. Public parks have been provided by firstly opening royal amenities to the public, and later by financing through public private partnerships – namely in the United States – and by public authorities as a result of politics inclined to paternalistic ideas of social welfare and health, as both Alan Tate and Karsten Jørgensen exemplify in their papers. However, apart from the question of how to finance parks, they also work in the opposite direction - creating money. Tate shows that some parks have a direct economic impact in two different ways: The 1934 re-design of New York's Bryant Park was launched to commission out-of-work architects. Creating work at that time also was the intention behind the Amsterdamse Bos in the same year, Tate states. The other quite opposing economic effect of parks is the rise of revenue for property owners, with the Manhattan Highline being one of the most recent explosive examples. Wicked problems also occur when it comes to financing maintenance, with underfunding leading to a downward spiral of neglect. Here, concepts of private contributions are also at hand, especially in the US and to a much smaller extent in Europe. Those represent, as Tate puts it, "a recurrent pattern of politicians outsourcing the funding of nominally public facilities and, very likely, decreasing their democratic qualities." (Tate, 2018) In reverse, badly maintained public parks can be an argument in municipal elections. There is another dimension to these different concepts, which directly implies different designs for the parks. While first, formerly royal, public parks are formed by pastoral ideas, rising (social) modernist programmes have led to a more functional, pragmatic design. In any case, park politics are part of larger urban development ideals, as shown in the 1920s and 30s in Norway's capital city of Oslo by Karsten Jørgensen. Seeing parks in a spatially larger context also means taking a rigorous look at their impacts on the urban environment as well as on social agendas. Here, so-called green gentrification has to be discussed. This economic effect of rising property prices and rents as a consequence of the implementation of parks that upgrade the urban environment leads to the displacement of the low-income population, as Naama Meishar elaborates very clearly in her paper on Jaffa, Tel Aviv. She accuses the

profession of landscape architecture of rarely taking into consideration the mutual dependency between ecological projects and socio-political, in contrast to other fields like geography and urban studies, who "recognized a recurring phenomenon of supposedly apolitical, beneficial urban environmental improvement which is accomplished at the cost of displacing long-time local residents." Meishar argues that in landscape architecture, both in terms of research and practice, there is a limited understanding of and interest in social dynamics and social change. Things natural and things social are two sides of the one coin. A close look and a thorough design discourse analysis of the implementation process of Jaffa Slope Park reveals that not only are there economic and thus social impacts of placing the park at this site but that it is used to disguise the political intention to push Palestinians out of this area. The decision to follow a housing policy of displacement, and to embellish the site with a park, is part of an overall ideological and political strategy. Designing our living environment and putting it into reality is a process of successive decisions. If taken at all as a deliberate and discrete decision, and not merely as the result of a general mindset, it stays behind the scenes.

Decisions concerned one of the major questions we posed at the conference: how are these decisions taken, who is involved in the decision making, what is the actors' agenda, and how is it translated into models and legal programmes, and finally the built product of a park or an urban landscape? In Western Europe, development plans, guidelines, and planning missions show a strong intention to guide public behaviour and to allow and further some actions by encouraging activities of public bodies, e.g. when it comes to enlivening streetscapes. How these activities are dealt with is part of a bureaucratic structure in the city, brought about through administrative decisions. Professionals in public administrations not only follow the political order from above but are also driven by their personal priorities. Their task is to decide and allow or deny on a legal basis, in a precise way that is objective and comprehensible for everyone. Even if the basic questions leading to those decisions are kept as simple as possible, they can't be taken other than on the grounds of a clear political position. To Jürgen Furchtlehner and Georg Bautz, when elaborating upon a guideline to decide upon activities and interventions in public spaces together with Vienna's department of architecture, it became clear that decisions on design cannot be taken without relating them to both social and functional arguments, thus comprising the whole complexity of urban practice. We design spaces and we use them. The way we use open spaces is also shaped by cultural codes that are determined by laws and controlled by officials and those in power. Design could be made quite powerful by spatially allowing for certain uses or impeding activities or even access especially when spatial scarcity is at hand. However, numerous rules dictate our daily professional practice. Not only from a professional designers' point of view, life is well regulated. In addition, people who use open public spaces are strongly subject to regulations and laws of how to behave and what to omit. This implies the communication of a clear stance on what kind of society is aimed at, on top of artistic, spatial, and aesthetic criteria.

Individuals and diverse communities are often addressed as constituents of society when parks are conceived, developed, maintained, or restored. In order to enhance people's identification and to further stewardship of their recreational environment, their direct involvement in planning or even construction and maintenance is part of planning and building processes. Wolfram Höfer and Beth Ravit have been negotiating with a wider public in a participation process for an environmental master plan for the Bergen County parks in New Jersey, outside New York City. A number of issues within the long-term planning processes are connected not only to ideological backgrounds but to pragmatic realities such as election cycles of politicians or property tax rates which influence peoples' readiness to agree with government spending. The hesitation by politicians to make binding decisions supports the importance of community engagement. However, a common challenge is to get people engaged not only with their closest living environment but even for processes on a larger scale, both in space and in time. Furthermore, an accurate design process is needed to reach all social groups equally and to resolve conflicts between diverting interests and redirect them into collective efforts, as Höfer and Ravit state, even though they do not, along with de la Peña, consider conflict a dirty word.

While conflicts in such participatory processes are at a very concrete and often personal level, the aftermath of highly political and military conflicts produce a vague terrain. Verena Butt takes a close look at post-military landscapes in Germany and reveals the remembered and forgotten narratives of these 'fascinating' sites where nature has taken over and hides most of the historic traces. Abandoned large-scale landscapes became extremely rich in terms of biodiversity, leading up to natural heritage status and the conclusion of the "military being perfect environmentalists". This seems to be more present than the fact that they constitute a strong political heritage carrying traces of an extremely changeful period of power relations and conflicts. Research by historians reveals the meaning of material relicts, while ecologists, with the help of instruments for preservation, strive to protect newly developed habitats. Political sites are apt as places of political education and remembrance if a discussion about the societal meaning of a past full of conflict and its traces is led in public. Through design research, Butt exemplified how both political and ecological aspects can be developed further into future landscapes "perceivable both as sites of fascinating nature and of historic depth".

To conclude, research is necessary looking in both directions - back as well as into future processes and developments - to fully understand the agenda of park politics; on the one hand, analyses of landscapes, their traces, and changing past reveal effectual political forces. On the other hand, we can discover the underlying plan by exploring the designs, and their making, and put it up for discussion. Once they are decoded and laid open, agendas can be influenced. This is crucial to support and secure spatial justice and to enable open spaces for an open society.

Lilli Licka, Roland Tusch and Ulrike Krippner

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Revealing the Heritage of Post-Military Landscapes

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Abstract

In Germany, the fall of the Iron Curtain led to the extensive withdrawal of allied troops stationed there, as well as the reduction in number of the German armed forces. This process was accompanied by the repurposing of formerly restricted military terrain in both urban contexts and the countryside. Post-military landscapes are full of traces of former usage and comprise a heritage that ranges from their earlier civilian history to their militarisation, from past to recent conflicts. This paper focuses on the remembered and forgotten narratives of these fascinating sites and relates them to current management policies for the development of former military sites. Two examples show how landscape design can contribute to preserving or even revealing the forgotten political dimensions of post-military landscapes.

Keywords

landscape, post-military landscapes, Germany

Background

Preparing for the wars of the 20th century gave rise to the enormous militarisation of Germany's towns and countryside. This was accompanied by the transformation of civilian landscapes into restricted military zones. During the subsequent Cold War, the allied and Russian forces and the two German armies used and sometimes even enlarged these establishments. Surrounded by civilian life, military landscapes have been used to prepare for war all over the world. However, following the political upheavals towards the end of 1989 and in early 1990 and the subsequent fall of the Iron Curtain, the majority of the stationed forces gradually left Germany, while the German troops were also reduced. This process caused an overall reduction in numbers of soldiers stationed in Germany from 1.4 million in 1989 to 0.5 million in 1995 (Kalmann, 1997, p. 10). The process of military conversion has continued until today. The German Army's current stationing concept, published in 2011, defines a further reduction in troop numbers, and the foreign armies also continue their withdrawal (Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung (BMVBS) (ed.), 2013, p. 4), especially the British Rhine Army.

With the continuous scaling down of the armies, more than 4000 sites in Germany with a total surface area of about 3280 km^2 lost their function between 1990 and 1995 (Bonn International Centre for Conversion, 1996, p. 179). The release of further military areas, covering approx. 370 km^2, by 2020 has been prognosticated (Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung (BMVBS) (ed.), 2013, p. 4). Besides numerous barracks and built areas, many large-scale landscapes have also remained abandoned and present a challenge to planners defining their future use. This article focuses on these sites, including airports, training areas, test facilities, and ammunition depots.

The majority of them is characterised by two specific aspects. First, most of them are extremely rich in terms of biodiversity. The lack of major traffic infrastructure, the exclusion of intensive agriculture and the military practice itself, which includes destructive activities such as tank driving and deliberate vegetation management, has led to the creation and preservation of habitats for rare species. Thanks to this and the sometimes even idyllic appearance, especially of training areas (Fig. 1), a perception is widespread nowadays of the military being perfect environmentalists. Such outstanding ecological qualities are also the focus of current political programmes. Many areas are central elements of the federal initiative "National Nature Heritage", which hands over these sites for nature preservation. Former and even partially active, large-scale military landscapes are now preserved as nature reserves and biosphere reserves, Natura 2000 areas or, since the withdrawal, even form National Parks.

FIGURE 1 Extensive grasslands of the still active military training grounds in Bergen, Lower Saxony. (Photograph by V. Butt).

Second, but surprisingly far less noticed, military landscapes constitute a political heritage. They are permeated with relics and narratives of the landscape's civilian past, its militarisation, and a century of conflict. When defining future civilian uses, inevitably decisions about the management of these remnants and thus their related memories are made—reason enough to take a closer look at the landscapes' history.

From civilian to military land

The introduction of new technologies at the turn of the 19th century has not only influenced industry hugely, but also warfare and weapon technology. To enable the military forces to test new findings and prepare for war, land was needed that served solely military purposes.

To achieve this, former civilian areas had to be depopulated. For example, for the construction of the Kurmark training area, about 80km southeast of Berlin, 17 villages with almost 4400 inhabitants were required to leave the area of the planned military grounds from 1943 onwards (Angolini, 2004, p. 12). Many witnesses and documents of that time report that if inhabitants did not leave their homes voluntarily, they were forcibly resettled and expropriated. This procedure did not end after the Second World War. The occupying troops also requisitioned civilian land, both in the East and the West. After the depopulation, the former civilian settlements became backdrops and settings for urban warfare or were purposefully destroyed. Apart from rare exceptions, only ruins have remained.

FIGURE 2 Former inhabitants visit the partially destroyed village of Gruorn, located in the Schwäbische Alb in southwest Germany. Today, only the foundations of the houses are left, while the church and schoolhouse have been reconstructed. (Photograph © Komitee zur Erhaltung der Kirche in Gruorn e.V.).

But until today, the landscape as a whole and the ruins of the settlements are key anchors for joint memories, and the dramatic experiences shared by the former village communities has given rise to a vivid culture of remembrance. Providing the sites are accessible, the resettled inhabitants and even their descendants visit the ruins of their former homes (Fig. 2); they also write books about the sites' and communities' histories, erect monuments, and even reconstruct destroyed churches or school-buildings through voluntary work.

These joint activities keep the memories alive, and, likewise, the narratives lend meaning to the site. The communities' activities and the visible traces permit places of memory to emerge, in the sense of the French historian Pierre Nora's "lieux de mémoire" (Nora, 1990, pp. 7–27), and let these memories become tangible for future generations.

The landscape's militarisation required not only space, but also a large workforce, which, owing to the circumstances under which the work was carried out during a certain period of history, is a crucial aspect of this landscape. A peak of militarisation happened during preparations for the Second World War, when forced workers, concentration camp inmates and prisoners of war where forced by the NS regime to construct military infrastructure. One example is the U-Boot Bunker Valentin in Bremen-Farge in northern Germany, where more than 1100 prisoners died of malnutrition, disease, and arbitrary executions (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Bremen, 2015). An extraordinary number of victims is reported in the case of the labour camp Lieberose, where between 6,000 and 10,000 people were imprisoned to construct the Kurmark training area (Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lieberose und Land, n.d.). In the years 1943–1945, more than half of the prisoners died subjected to the motto "Extermination through labour" (Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lieberose und Land, n.d; Angolini, 2004, p. 2). The prisoners constructed the labour camps, barracks, military installations of the training area, and roads that are still partially in use today (Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lieberose und Land, n.d.; Angolini, 2004, pp. 14–15).

FIGURE 3 Many military sites are related to atrocities. Today, a visitor centre and outdoor exhibition seeks to explain the relics of the U-Boot Bunker Valentin in Bremen-Farge and the suffering experienced here.(Image by Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Bremen / Photograph by Henry Fried).

This aspect of history is a central element of the national culture of remembrance. In many cases, also in Bremen-Farge and in Lieberose, various stakeholders aim to document the atrocities and provide an opportunity to honour the memory of the victims. State and church organisations as well as different interest groups are involved in this process. In past decades, memorials have been raised, documentation centres opened, and outdoor exhibitions have been realised (Fig. 3). Nevertheless, even after more than 70 years, these aspects have certainly not yet been investigated in depth for all sites. Much more research and documentation are still needed to achieve adequate management of the sometimes inconspicuous relics. The two topics above have been addressed for two reasons: first, to point out hidden aspects of a landscape's history and, second, to provide examples of the significance of preserving traces of the past and to relate the sites to their history. This is, as the next section will show, not always the case for other layers of military landscapes.

The untold narratives of the military dimension

Many sites in Germany were established before the First World War, used and then extended during preparations for the Second World War and later taken over by the allied or Russian armies. Each of the forces used the areas for their own national and international interests. The resulting landscapes can be seen as the infrastructure and necessary elements of national and international defence structures. Ammunition has to be stored in secure places, the air force needs bases from which to supply forces in war regions and armies need space and realistic conditions to train skills for different kinds of conflict. The landscapes have been shaped according to these needs.

Nevertheless, when discussing this aspect of history, general and almost ethical questions arise. Are military sites solely necessary infrastructure or are they not always related to politics, conflicts, and suffering? This dimension is scarcely addressed.

Earthen walls or embankments, concrete structures, rusty tanks, bunkers, barracks, testing facilities, and whole airfields remain as witnesses of such use. The traces are ephemeral, hardly understandable without explanation and far removed from widespread notions of something that is worth conserving. Military relics seem to have few advocates calling for a more conscious management or, should the sites be considered political heritage, would actually spend money on their maintenance. As a result, NS sites that require investigation as places of historical interest are falling derelict, and especially the more recent history from 1945–1990 seems to receive little attention. A current research project states that, in contrast to, for example, the UK or Denmark, where relics of the Cold War are seen as part of the national culture of memory and are partially protected monuments, there is a lack of sensitivity with regard to this era in Germany (Mählert, 2016). In many cases, the remnants are simply erased from memory by demolishing them, while others are taken over by succession. This indecisiveness and the ignorance of a disturbing past can turn dangerous. According to Aleida Assmann, known for her research and publications on the culture of remembrance, an unwanted effect may unfold if memories are lacking completely, where ghostly places emerge, peopled by the imagination or haunted by suppressed memories (Assmann, 1999, 21).

Revealing a heritage of conflict

The interpretation and management of a site's military dimension is a challenging task, which cannot be answered in a general way. Each site, and sometimes even each historical phase, requires individual solutions. This leads to the question of how landscape design can approach these sites or even support the establishment of a culture of remembrance.

To answer this question, interviews, talks, and literature review have been employed to explore the theoretical background and obtain deeper insights into the landscapes' identities. Student design studios in the field of landscape architecture were set up and realised projects investigated. For this article, two examples have been chosen that focus on the management of the military past. They will show how conflicting heritage interpretations can be negotiated and forgotten narratives of the military past can be revealed.

The importance of preventing, in the words of Assmann, "ghostly places" (1999, p. 21) from emerging becomes evident at the former army research centre south of Berlin: the "Heeresversuchsstelle Kummersdorf-Gut/ Sperenberg airfield". After land had been bought and partially expropriated, from 1874–1877 a shooting ground and later test facilities for railways were installed in the forests of Kummersdorf (Pöhlmann, Bauermeister, Sommerer, 2014, pp. 12–17). Remnants of these are still visible today. The site's military history continued during WWII, when research and tests, for example on guns, battle tanks, intermediate-range missiles and nuclear bombs, were carried out (Pöhlmann, et al., 2014, pp. 24–31). These technological findings were closely related to atrocities committed on forced workers in the arms production and had a devastating impact, as the weapons were used for bombarding European capitals in World War II (Pöhlmann et al., pp. 27–28). The barracks and the military airport that were later built on the same site by the Soviet Army have been abandoned since 1994.

FIGURE 4 Ruins of a test facility in Kummersdorf. (Photograph © Denkmalamt Teltow-Fläming).

Today, although the site is a protected monument and partially a flora-fauna habitat and nature reserve, the approximately 4000 objects of military origin (Aumann, 2015, p. 120) are becoming derelict (Fig. 4), and ecological succession is transforming the open heathland. Not only is there a lack of heritage management, very little research has as yet been found, for example, on the role and extent of forced labour on this site during WWII.

Even today access is strictly limited to a few guided tours; fences and walls surround the area. When exploring this abandoned place with guides and talking to people from the neighbourhood, it seems to be unwanted, reminding people of a history no one wants to remember. The Sperenberg airfield was even discussed as a location for Berlin's new airport, and plans were made to build wind turbines in such a way that ignored the area's significance. But a local initiative is striving to install a museum, and conservationists are trying to foster research, documentation and management, while facing a lack of financial resources. These problems and contradictory ideas were the starting point for a landscape architecture design studio at Leibniz Universität Hannover which searched for future strategies for this site. Besides asking how to approach its complex history and ecology, another challenging question was how to preserve a site of more than 20 km^2, which would involve an enormous amount of work.

Student Nicole Schüler found the starting point for a possible answer in a small group of local volunteers who were already engaged in the site's preservation (Schüler, 2016, p. 227). She used this existing structure as an anchor for her concept based on "voluntourism" (pp. 227–257). The basic idea of voluntourism is the combination of holiday activities with active engagement. To ensure a professional process, Schüler created an organisational system with a professional management board that leads the activities of different voluntourist groups. A spatial masterplan that relates to the aims of habitat management, monument preservation, reconstruction and recreation, combined with an underlying time-scale (Fig. 5), constitutes the backbone of all activities.

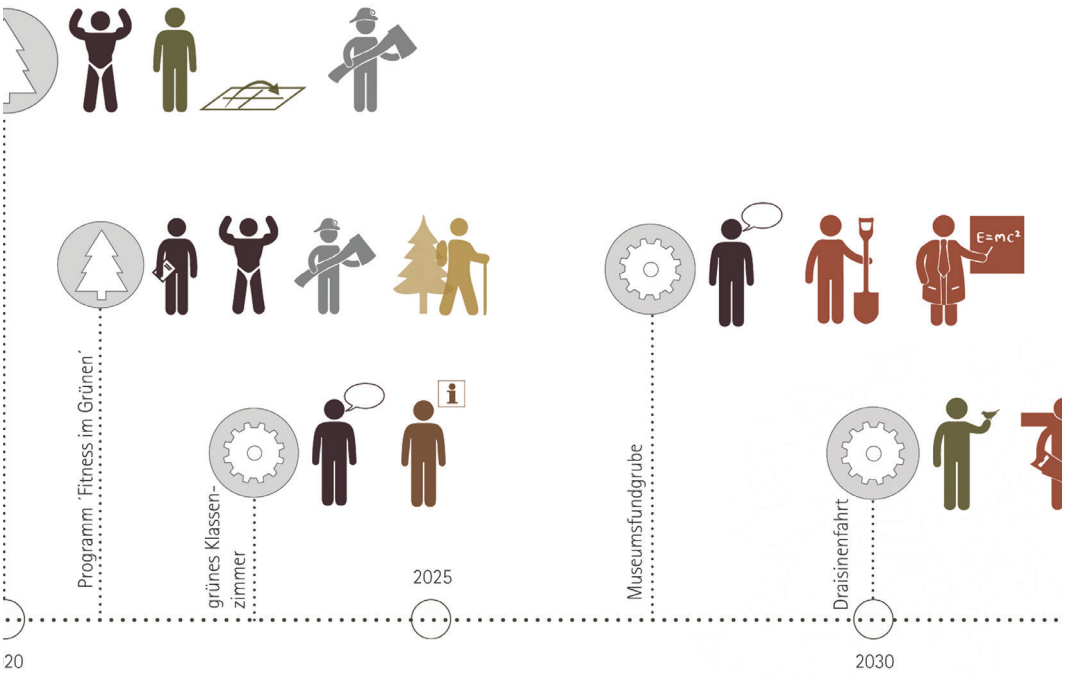

FIGURE 5 Voluntourist activities follow a time-scale to realise the masterplan. (Schüler, 2016).

FIGURE 6 One important aim of the concept is to increase the site's legibility. The student proposes to fell trees (left) to reconstruct parts of the 12km-long shooting ranges (right) that were installed to test the flight characteristics and impact of the tested ammunition. (Schüler, 2016).

A wide range of interested volunteers, such as ecologists, preservationists and historians, ensures high diversity among the voluntourists. The proposed activities include measures such as felling trees to reveal the overgrown former shooting ranges (Schüler, 2016). This supports two aims: the regeneration of open heathland structures and the partial reconstruction of a spatially impressive military heritage (Fig. 6). Parallel to this, historians are researching the site's past, and relics are being conserved or reconstructed. Other groups offer or join guided tours and events for tourists, students and pupils. Neighbours are also one of the target groups. With their vivid memories of the more recent history they are encouraged to offer guided tours and share their views (Schüler, 2016).

This example shows how a heritage of conflict can be brought back into public awareness. The importance of integrating a wide range of people with different perspectives when defining a site's future is also promoted by the geographers Tunbridge and Ashworth, who coined the word "dissonant heritage" (1996). One of their statements is that each individual and each different group, have their own interpretations of the past and also different expectations of what is defined as "heritage". One strategy of dealing with this is to create a broader heritage that can integrate this diversity (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). In the student's proposal for Kummersdorf-Gut/Sperenberg, volunteers of different ages and backgrounds, with various memories and interpretations, meet and discuss the diverse aspects of the past and the question of which relics are particularly worth conserving and why. Professionals and volunteers can work on a joint heritage – one that can accommodate different interpretations. By means of such efforts, memories are handed down, while at the same time the place can be filled with new memories of current generations.

Another example of managing the military traces can be found near Brüggen in Northrhine-Westfalia, close to the Dutch border. At first, the area was partially used as an airfield for gliders, during WWII as a fuel depot, then by the British Army for detonating unexploded bombs. After 1948, the British Army started to fence off the whole area (NRW-Stiftung, n.d.) to install the "3 Base Ammunition Depot", better known as the "ammunition depot Brüggen-Bracht", which was the largest of its kind in Western Europe during the Cold War. This location provided support for the conflicts in Kuwait and the activities of the UN Protection Force in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (Germes-Dohmen, 2006, p. 120). 25,000–50,000 tons of ammunition were stored (Germes-Dohmen, 2006, p. 96) in open-air and indoor stores behind 6- to 8m-high protective embankments (Fig. 7). Before the army withdrew in 1996, they dismantled and sold the metal building structures; others were dismantled during the subsequent conversion process (P. Kolshorn, interview, September 19, 2018). Today, only a few of the approximately 200 buildings remain (NRW-Stiftung, n.d.). Even parts of the internal 15km-long railway track system were deconstructed by the British Army (NRW-Stiftung, n.d.).

FIGURE 7 Aerial view of the former ammunition depot in Brüggen-Bracht, 1997: A rectangular pattern of embankments surrounds open and indoor stores. (Aerial photograph © LAND NRW (2018) – Licence: dl-de/by-2-0 (www.govdata.de/dl-de/by-2-0)).

During its military use, the site was maintained intensively. To prevent fires, the army kept the vegetation short on the embankments, around the buildings and paths (NRW-Stiftung, n.d., (a)). This management and the poor, sandy soils created habitats similar to the former sheep pastures. While still being used militarily, the ecological value of this site was recognised and researched (P. Kolshorn, interview, September 19, 2018). This was the motivation to transform more than two-thirds of the site into a nature reserve, now owned by a foundation and managed by professional ecologists. The local population welcomed this decision and can now find recreation in the region's largest nature reserve (P. Kolshorn, interview, September 19, 2018) The landscape maintenance is carried out with the help of Konik ponies, Galloway cattle, fallow deer and approximately 600 sheep and goats (P. Kolshorn, interview, September 19, 2018; NRW-Stiftung, n.d., (a)).

Although the British army removed many objects, they left plenty of relics, such as a 10km-long grid of roads, loading terminals, parts of the rails and the buildings' concrete foundation slabs (P. Kolshorn, interview, September 19, 2018). On the initiative of the foundation that owns the land and supports both nature and culture, many of these site-specific relics remained to point to links with the Cold War and the site's history (P. Kolshorn, interview, September 19, 2018).

The number of roads was reduced to protect ecologically sensitive zones, while a 100m-long boardwalk on the crest of an embankment affords visitors wide views. The site is public, but the fence from military times has been kept, primarily to keep the animals on the terrain (P. Kolshorn, interview, September 19, 2018). But the strongest and most impressive relics are the several kilometres of embankments, which are simultaneously a unique habitat and a relic of the Cold War (Fig. 8).

Although the driving idea was not design-based, the interventions create intriguing effects.
The embankments as topographical landscape elements have been gutted of the buildings that once served as the "filling" but have thereby become even stronger and stage the site's history. They form the area's backbone, providing a strong, rhythmic structure and enabling an impressive spatial experience (Fig. 8). This effect is even enriched by the little "irritations" along the way, when road markings lead into the forest or rail tracks disappear into grassland (Fig. 9).

FIGURE 8 Former ammunition storage in Brüggen-Bracht. Almost all buildings were removed, but the protective embankments of Europe's once largest ammunition depot still structure the site. (Photograph by V. Butt).

FIGURE 9 Relics of former infrastructural elements at Brüggen-Bracht. Road markings lead into the forest (Photograph by V. Butt),

FIGURE 10 Rail tracks disappear into the grassland (Photograph by M. Blaas). Such fragments arouse the visitors' curiosity.

Conclusions

This article asked which narratives are hidden in the post-military landscapes and looked more closely at several of them, exploring each site's history from the initial depopulation, atrocities committed during their militarisation and their passage through several political eras. The first thing that appears obvious is that certain aspects of history such as the resettlements and the forced labour are not always researched and considered enough yet. But each in their own way, they are parts of a culture of remembrance. The described examples of a vivid culture of remembrance show the enormous potential of the related sites, which can be designed in ways that allow history to be communicated to future generations.

This potential should be extended to Germany's complex military relics and narratives, which tend to be forgotten. A public discussion about the societal meaning of a past full of conflict and its traces is needed. Each site's history differs, and not all sites have equally high potential to be developed as a place of political education and remembrance. But if an area has the capacity to make important moments of history understandable or if the site's meaning is considered as being of historical importance, the arduous path towards active heritage management should be taken. The idea of voluntourism in the example of Kummersdorf-Gut/Sperenberg is an approach towards revealing different views of a heritage site and negotiating them within a jointly defined heritage.

The current focus is on ecological issues alone, with concepts that integrate both political and ecological aspects scarcely being commissioned. A shift away from distinguishing between "natural heritage" and "political heritage" towards integrative approaches is needed and should be fostered by political and administrative stakeholders as well as by funding programmes. The example of the ammunition depot, in particular, shows how both aspects can be linked and that the conservation of political traces and scars can even be motivated by ecological aspects.

Planners and landscape architects can play a key role in creating future landscapes that are perceivable as sites both of fascinating nature and of historical depth.

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Tough Choice – Easy Decision

How to Handle Installations in Public Urban Space

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Abstract

In cities of increasing density, public space is under pressure from both commercial and non-commercial interests. Private installations in public space, such as kiosks, pavement cafes, advertising, and parklets, influence its usability and appearance. Based on the assumption that such installations can also alter and define the inclusiveness and accessibility of public space, the authors argue that the process of granting permission for and regulating the design and positioning of such installations is not only an administrative decision but one that is connected with planning strategies and political considerations. This article presents the theoretical background and the ensuing guidelines for a consultancy study for the administration of the city of Vienna. Showcasing a variety of case studies, we discuss the impact of installations on the surrounding public space and develop criteria for their regulation and authorisation in three thematic layers, covering the social, spatial, and design aspects of a submission. The innovative social layer formulates a premise and raises the question: Does the general public benefit from this installation? With this in mind, the authors transform political agendas, policies, and strategic planning goals into a pragmatic toolset, aiming to support the fair and balanced use of public space. The results of the study have already been integrated into a new set of guidelines entitled 'Thematic Concept: Public Space', which is part of Vienna's Urban Development Plan 'STEP2025'. The guidelines are to be actively applied by the city administration in the future assessment of usage requests for commercial and non-commercial installations in public space.

Keywords

landscape architecture; commercial use; non-commercial use; installations; public space; regulation; policy; guidelines

FIGURE 1 Parklet in Vienna. An example of the engagement of residents to appropriate their neighbourhoods. These forms of private, non-commercial installations are politically supported and promoted. Parklets have to be open and accessible to everyone in order to be granted. The initiators are responsible for their installation and maintenance. Most are situated in parking lanes or sidewalk extensions, furnished with seating options and plantings.

Introduction

As Vienna is one of the most rapidly growing cities in Europe (Stadt Wien, 2018), more and more actors claim to use its limited space. Belonging to everyone and apparently available, public space becomes the object of diverse desires in the compact and dense city. Protection and good management of the available space are therefore essential. It is not least a political decision, how publicly usable the space of a city really is and how it is allowed to be dedicated to private interests – be they commercial or non-commercial.

When private individuals or companies make use of public space through a physical object as an installation they have to apply for permission by the city administration to place it. One of the departments involved is the one responsible for architecture and urban design, which judges whether the installation is suitable for the urban open space or decreases its quality.

This paper presents the theoretical background of a consultancy study on installations in public space in Vienna. Within the study, the authors formulated easy-to-use checklists for the assessment of four types of installations which cover commercial ones like pavement cafés, kiosks, and outdoor media structures (advertising) as well as non-commercial ones like parklets. The study was carried out from 2016 to 2017 by the Institute of Landscape Architecture at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences for the Municipality of Vienna. It was commissioned by the Municipal Department for Architecture and Urban Design, Vienna.

All installations as described in this text are physical objects placed in public space for a limited time. As structural objects, they are relevant to the city's physical appearance as well as to the usability of public space. The authors identified those effects and developed criteria according to which the different installations can be assessed, evaluated, and approved or rejected in a simple way. The resulting checklists will be available to both applicants and the municipal departments and are to be applied by the municipality in the future.

The installations covered in the study – kiosks, parklets, adverts, and pavement cafés - can be seen as indicators for the political position of how to ensure an inclusive public space. All of them have a clear impact on public space and are literally using common ground. It is therefore necessary to avoid fragmentation or disruption of public space. Further, it is crucial to determine how sufficient space free of consumption can be maintained and how commercialisation tendencies can be reduced. To administer this policy of representing the interests of the general public, the city must translate the political intentions into understandable instruments, in this case checklists.

Before giving an insight into the elaborated criteria and the formulation of these checklists, the following chapters cover the usability of public space in a theoretical discourse and consecutively depict the political position in relation to the inclusiveness of public space in Vienna. The checklists are consequently a result of a formulated political position of what public space should be brought together with planning and urban design principles.

FIGURE 2 Pavement café in Vienna. Pavement cafés in Vienna can be either placed alongside the pavement or can use the parking space in front of the restaurant. Transparent but clear borders, as well as discreet colours, make this installation appropriate to its urban surroundings.

Public space is under pressure

Public space, as referred to in this paper, includes all community-owned areas such as streets and squares, parks, forecourts, and passages. All permanent and temporary interventions that take place in it must be aimed towards the benefit to the community, building upon the definition by Häberlin et al. (Häberlin & Furchtlehner in Hauck, 2017, p. 172). Even if, in principle, public spaces are accessible to everyone, this accessibility and usability has to be secured through political and administrative measures. The installations subject to this study are placed in public space that is community owned and managed by the municipality. This means the municipality is responsible for their assessment and can decide upon permission and private use of public space.

We further share the definition of a number of authors that public space is to be considered as the space of representation and expression of a society; it is then in its use and symbolism a relational space that is produced and reproduced within social processes. Public space is an ongoing process in transformation by individuals and groups who appropriate and use it (Löw, 2001, pp. 155ff; Municipal Department 18, 2006).

Public ownership is a basis for public space as is its character as a collective infrastructure of social encounter and interaction. It may be doubted, as sociologist Andrej Holm puts forward, that it is truly accessible to everyone without restriction (Holm, 2016, pp. 2–3). Processes of exclusion have always been omnipresent as sociologist Walter Siebel supports: "Different cities in different epochs differ mainly in who is kept out of which spaces in which way" (Siebel, 2003, p. 252). Nevertheless, public space, as envisioned by Vienna's current politicians, can be defined with social scientist Jan Wehrheim (2011, pp. 173-174) as being generally socially and structurally accessible with real presence of different social and cultural groups; as space owned by the city and therefore at the public's disposal; and as a space that offers a range of optional activities (Gehl & Svarre, 2013, p.16) some of which might be supported by installations. When aiming at a just city, public space has to support spatial justice in a compact and mixed urban fabric: people of different socio-economic status should be able to benefit equally from their cities in physical, economic, environmental, political, and social terms.

This public space "of unconditional, non-discriminatory and unrestricted access" (Holm, 2016, p. 2) is in demand most in places where it is rare. Commercial uses put more and more pressure on public space (Ritt, 2016, pp. 8ff). They are generally articulated, designed and promoted by their operators, who are often supported by a strong economic lobby. Increasing commercialisation, where the paying user is welcome, can bar or suppress other public activities (Zukin in Vroom, 2006, p. 260). For non-commercial use and weaker user groups, the city administration must take over advocacy, as a lobby for public space in order to keep an inclusive, democratic, social space for all citizens (Bork et al., 2015, p. 25; Häberlin & Furchtlehner in Hauck, 2017, pp. 172ff), a real "publicly usable space", as Peter Marcuse puts it (Marcuse, 2003). Additionally, liveliness through enabling a variety of activities in public space is a key asset for the quality of life in the city (Gehl, 2010, pp. 12f, 61ff). Provided that third parties are not endangered or burdened and their use does not cause any damage to the public space itself, there is no such thing as too much non-commercial use, as some authors claim. In contrast, too much commercial use occurs when important public functions like mobility, ecology, and safety are endangered (Bork, Klingler, & Zech, 2015, pp. 39–40).

The (re)design of public spaces can follow a maxim of 'ideal use' in terms of functionality, hierarchy, heterogeneity, separation, or exclusion. Politics and subsequently planning can influence the extent to which a place is designed to be inviting or exclusionary, whether it enables or impedes certain forms of appropriation. It contains current social preferences and rules as well as individual ideas of the planner and a professional understanding of "good public space" (Häberlin & Furchtlehner in Hauck, 2017, p. 176). Installations placed in public space become part of this composition. Their position, form, materiality, and colour form part of the overall image of the space. These visual aspects have been dealt with in former permission processes, whereas the overall impact was less regarded.

When dealing with all these different installations and their assessment, a number of aspects needed to be considered: As we argue, all installations can be a means to further activities in otherwise anonymous public spaces, specifically the streets. They can complement the city's functional program, promote identification with the environment (feel good, feel responsible), improve communication and social exchange, and allow appropriation. As physical objects – often agglomerations of objects – placed in urban space, they can not only evoke activity, but possibly alter the image, ambiance, and character of space – in a positive or a negative way. They can also be obstacles, occupy and clutter valuable space, intercept important view lines or cause distraction (Mehta, 2013, pp. 133ff; Häberlin & Furchtlehner in Hauck, 2017, pp. 172ff; Kreutzer, 1995; Bork et al., 2015, pp. 40, 44).

FIGURE 3 Kiosk in Vienna. Kiosks are 'typical' installations in urban public space. They complement the functional programme of a city but also use common ground for private, commercial interests. It is the municipalties' role to control privatisation tendencies and safeguard a sufficient amount of publicly usable space, as well as make decisions on the placement of such installations from an urban design perspective.

Vienna's public space - How to strike a balance?

As in most cities, in Vienna a large share of the public space is streets of which around two thirds "are used for the flow of motorised traffic and parking" (Municipal Department 18, 2015, p. 10; ILA, 2015).

In the past, most public space was primarily defined and designed as a traffic area. Zoning, crossings, proportions, and rules are based on a traffic-systemic approach stemming from a modernistic, techno-centric view. The requirements of motorised transport often still determine the distribution and use of public space. This dilemma is also reflected in the legal foundations. Road traffic regulations only insufficiently legitimate required uses such as stay, play, and seating. All non-traffic uses in Viennese streets are considered 'special uses'. They require a license or a private law agreement from the city (Pichler, 2016, p. 88). In Vienna, the legal basis for this is the Gebrauchsabgabengesetz [utility tax law] (GAG, 2016). It defines for which purposes and at what costs public space may be used. Such purposes may be pavement cafés, kiosks, or others.

Being aware of the above, Vienna's green party deputy mayor, head of urban development department, and therefore contractor of the study at hand, has initiated a political programme to enhance individual as well as communal use and appropriation of public space. Vienna, as one of 8 European Human Rights Cities (whose policies refer explicitly to international human right standards and programmes) announced in the government agreement that within the framework "priorities are being taken, especially in the areas of inclusion, distributive justice and social security" (Stadt Wien, 2015, p. 100; Human Rights Cities, 2018).

To secure spatial justice, corresponding necessities have been formulated by decision makers, administration, and planning professionals in order to meet the different demands to balance appropriation interests and mitigate conflicts of use. Official studies and publications by the city administration include the following commitments which relate to the concept, design, use, and exploitation of public space (Municipal Department 18, 2008; Municipal Department 18, 2014):

– Contact and encounters are important components of life and play a role in mitigating the problems of increasingly small flats, an increasing singular society, and loneliness (Municipal Department 18, 2006, p. 4).

– To increase liveliness and usability of public space, by day and by night, the mix of uses, diversity of activities, and new forms of use (such as public viewings) have to be secured (Municipal Department 18, 2014, pp. 21, 48).

– In an affordable city, consumption must not limit participation. The balance between commercial and non-commercial uses is highly important. (Municipal Department 18, 2014, p. 122; Bork et al., 2015; Wiener Charta, 2016).

– The fullest possible participation of all people should be ensured and secured in the future (Municipal Department 19, 2010). A fair balance of available space is sought.

– Provision of public space is to be secured in qualitative and quantitative respect. Public space can be necessary to compensate not only for built densification but also for people who can't afford a garden or a holiday outside the city. (Municipal Department 17, 2014, pp. 192 ff.)

– In order to enhance liveliness and appropriation, informal bottom-up initiatives for alternative uses of public space should be enhanced and facilitated (Municipal Department 25, 2016; Municipal Department 18, 2018).

In the documents, an emphasis is placed on groups that are stigmatised or marginalised. Furthermore, non-profit activities should have enough space in the city. In the latest version of Vienna's Urban Development Plan STEP2025 (Municipal Department 18, 2014), which was developed collaboratively by several municipality departments, is, for the first time, complemented by a "Thematic Concept: Public Space" which was resolved by the Vienna Municipal Council in 2018. The mobility of children and adolescents should be main topics for future development as well as the general attractivity of public space. Specific indicators are defined in the concept (Municipal Department 18, 2018, pp. 19-20) which should serve to measure an improvement of the quality of public space in the coming years. These include the number of participation procedures which should enhance the public interest in open spaces. In addition, the number of private-law contracts with the road administration department for informal, non-commercial street use by private actors should increase. Satisfaction with the living environment should thus increase all around. Above all, people who particularly depend on public space should find a place here, as the share of the population which most relies on usable public space in their living environment – like the very young and the elderly – is growing (Municipal Department 18, 2018).

"I invite all Viennese to participate in the design of the streets and squares of their city, to work for 'their' freedom. Thus, the public space becomes a living, cosmopolitan open space, a fixed component of the quality of life in this city (Municipal Department 18, 2018, p. 6)." (Maria Vassilakou – Deputy Mayor and City Councilor for Urban Development, Transport, Climate Protection, Energy Planning and Public Participation)

As stated in the Government Agreement of the Municipal Government, and further formulated in city planning documents, the entire urban area has to be adequately supplied with accessible high-quality public space without mandatory consumption as well as pushing back different commercial interests: "a balance between commercial and non-commercial use is the prerequisite for all people to be able to use public space on an equal footing (Magistratsabteilung 18, 2018, p. 25)." However, these documents basically have the character of recommendation without binding legal status. There is an interplay between political position and practice-oriented implementation on an administrative level. The specific, legitimised city policy agenda is: more accessible public space for all without mandatory consumption and less compulsory consumption (Municipal Department 18, 2014, Stadt Wien, 2015). Therefore, an important aspect of managing open spaces is the regulation of existing and future installations, which have a notable impact on the usability, accessibility, and aesthetic quality of public space. Promoting the diversity and fair balance of uses and ensuring design quality on the one hand, while avoiding overregulation on the other hand should

be one of the municipalities' goals that have also been considered during the elaboration of the checklists for the installations.

The actors who create, manage, maintain, and use these installations differ strongly. Whereas communal (cultural and social) interests such as the availability and functionality of open space are the priority for the city administration, companies and entrepreneurs are predominantly interested in high customer frequency in representative, lively public spaces that increase the value of businesses and property. They benefit greatly from high-quality open space. This would require a city administration with one voice on the view on public space – but in reality, public space is a challenging cross-sectional matter. An international comparison elaborated within the study has shown a noteworthy difference between the city of Zürich, Switzerland and Vienna. While, in Zürich, every public space-related matter is consolidated in the civil engineering department, these issues are dispersed into a large number of departments that are in charge of public space within Vienna's city administration, some of them being general and conceptual, while others are in charge of construction and maintenance. Sidewalks, equipment, lighting, planting, or permits are responsibilities of different departments with their own administrative necessities which form their view on public space.

When compared to the prices of business rents, and to the potential revenues, it is also far too inexpensive to use public space for commercial reasons, as is also the case in an international context. Current pricing is all out of proportion concerning location qualities, visitor frequencies, and turnover that is achieved. For pavement cafés, the highest possible fee is € 20 / m² per month (GAG, 2016). Sufficient financial compensation, which should in turn be spent to increase qualities of public space, can be a way to justify commercial installations, especially when dealing with commercial outdoor media installations that have hardly any benefit for the public, financial compensation seems to be the only solution.

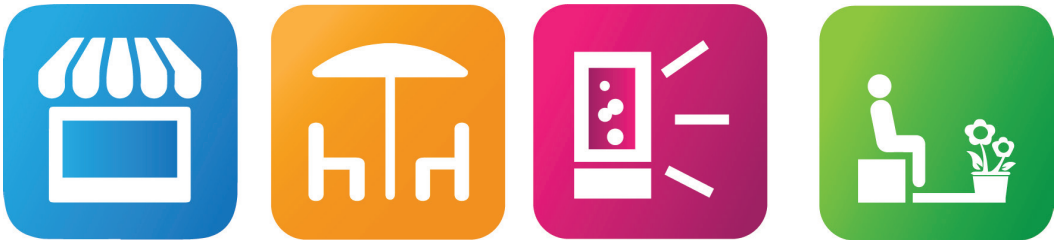

FIGURE 4 Installations examined in the study. The elaborated checklists are available for four different types of installations in public space: kiosks, pavement cafés, outdoor media, and non-commercial private installations like parklets.

'Installations' in the public space of Vienna

All installations, as described in this paper, are physical objects situated in public space for a certain time. These can be commercial – kiosks, booths, or sidewalk cafés, and all kinds of outdoor media installations – or non-commercial, such as informal benches, groups of plant containers or 'parklets', constructed and placed by citizens of the neighbourhood. It was the city administration's intention to prepare a study on how to regulate these installations anew, under the premise of allowing maximum informal appropriation and avoiding a negative functional and aesthetic impact on the city. At present, installations basically have to fulfil requirements regarding their size and form in Vienna. Whereas cities like Basel, Switzerland or Dresden, Germany actively formulate specific zones, locations, and pricing for (commercial) installations, Vienna's administration responds to individual requests on a case-by-case basis.

To support a basis for permission or rejection that is transparent and as simple as possible, the Institute of Landscape Architecture suggested the delivery of an easy-to-handle checklist for the Municipal Department of Architecture and Urban Design who have to decide upon permission on the general placement and design of these objects (traffic related technical issues are treated separately by another department, even though it might make sense to combine it in future). Even though the department's core responsibility centres on the visual, architectural, and spatial impact of such installations, they were fully embedded into the general political, societal, and planning aspects described above. The checklists were based on a case study survey. Each type of installation was analysed to develop criteria for their assessment. A specific number of each type was selected, recorded and analysed in terms of their spatial impact. In an iterative process, crucial questions were identified for each type of installation based on the results of the cases. The research group clarified the objectives for each type of installation based on literature, a comparative research of international best practice as well as in inter- and trans-disciplinary workshops with city administration staff and political stakeholders. The following installations were examined in the study:

PARKLETS

FIGURE 5 Parklet. Parklets can be seen as micro open spaces and complementation for rare usable public space in dense urban surroundings. However, these forms of private interventions must not lead to a new form of subtle privatisation of common ground. Thus, parklets have to be publicly usable and open to everyone without any fee or compulsory consumption.

Parklets or similar non-commercial installations are temporary sidewalk extensions – micro-parks and green sitting areas, most often installed as platforms in parking lanes during summer months. They are open to the public and provide space and amenities for people using the street without mandatory consumption and – per definition – without a profit-oriented background. Around 50, mostly temporary, parklets contribute to a more vibrant walking and sitting environment in Vienna at the moment. They are privately built by residents, collectives, or shop owners. Other smaller informal installations like chairs, benches, or planters in front of buildings have been also considered in the study. There is no fee being paid to use public space for all such individual, non-commercial uses. Still, permission is needed for all of them in Vienna and they have to fulfil technical standards like a maximum length of 10m (Municipal Department 28 – Straßenverwaltung und Straßenbau Wien, 2015). A municipal service called "Grätzloase" (Grätzloase, 2018) supports interested parties, even financially. Within the study, 10 case studies were observed in detail.

KIOSKS

FIGURE 6 Parklet. Parklets can be seen as micro open spaces and complementation for rare usable public space in dense urban surroundings. However, these forms of private interventions must not lead to a new form of subtle privatisation of common ground. Thus, parklets have to be publicly usable and open to everyone without any fee or compulsory consumption.

A kiosk (or "Würstelstand" in Vienna) is a street food outlet situated in public space, where hot dogs, sausages, beverages, and snacks are sold. Other stalls offer doner kebab, flowers, souvenirs, and, in some cases, newspapers. All in all, there are approximately 500 such kiosks installed in the city. To operate a kiosk, permission from different municipal departments is needed. A maximum size of the shelter has to be respected (Municipal Department 19, 2013). This means a base area of 12 m² and a height of more than 2.80 m may not be exceeded. A fee has to be paid to the city depending on the size and location of the shelter. A maximum fee of € 34 / m² is charged (GAG, 2016). The case study consisted of 80 kiosks in Vienna.

PAVEMENT CAFÉS

FIGURE 7 Pavement cafés can be placed on sidewalk (extensions).

FIGURE 8 Pavement cafés can also be placed using the parking lane in front of the restaurant.

FIGURE 9 Pavement cafés can stimulate public space but can also restrict and repel other uses. Land grabbing is one of the most evident issues that needs to be considered in order to sufficiently safeguard usable public space without compulsory consumption.

Pavement cafés are called "Schanigärten" in Vienna, meaning tables and chairs placed on the pavement or in a parking space in front of restaurants, coffee houses and taverns. Unlike in private beer gardens,

guests at one of the 2600 Schanigärten in Vienna sit on public property. Each restaurant can apply to get permission to open such a sidewalk café for a specific time, usually during summer months. Recently, it has also been possible to apply for winter as well. If permission is given, the restaurant has to erect the installation on their own and remove it afterwards, following technical requirements (Municipal Department 19, 2013 b). The use of sidewalk cafés is for guests of the restaurant only. A small fee has to be paid to the city, between € 2 / m² and € 20 / m² per month (GAG, 2016). Fifty pavement cafés were observed in detail for the study.

OUTDOOR MEDIA/ADVERTISING

FIGURE 10 City Light advertisement. The placement of outdoor media installations can cause fragmentation and limitation of public space alongside the sidewalk.

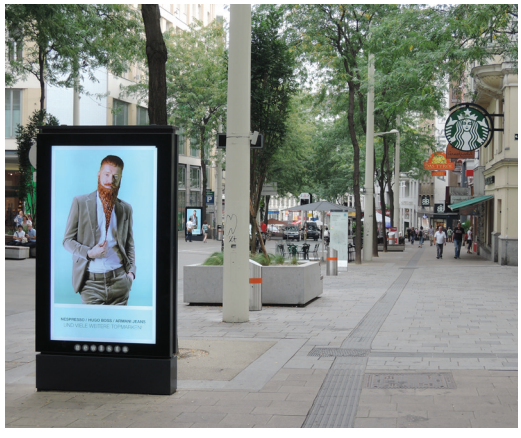

FIGURE 11 E-Screens. Screens visually dominating the streetscape, blocking sight axis, and fragmenting the space. They do not benefit the usability of public space, nor the general public.

FIGURE 12 Advertising column as obstacle. The advertising column placed on the pavement hinders movement and view.

FIGURE 13 Agglomeration of different installations. Kiosks can form unattractive agglomerations of installations – together with advertisements and many more objects filling public space due to a bad spatial arrangement. Altering appearance, limiting passages, changing front and back sides of urban landscape or blocking views. Either enough publicly available space surrounds the scene, or agglomerations have to be forbidden.

Outdoor media is advertising that addresses consumers while they are in public space. A plethora of more than 25,000 billboards, digital screens, city light posters, and columns can be found in Vienna's streetscape. They are placed and exploited by a small number of national and international companies, who are responsible for their installation, maintenance and – if permission is not extended – for their removal. The percentage of the turnover that goes to the city has not been made publicly transparent. It is widely assumed that it is a minor share. In the study, 300 advertising structures were examined. Generally speaking, all the interventions serve a purpose for their owner – not all of them for the public. Outdoor media installations are generally different. They do not make public space more attractive and they do not bring any direct benefit, their function is basically "one way communication" for commercial reasons only.

Spatial and design criteria of the department's existing practice were rediscussed following the results of the case study analysis and include the following:

- The placement must not hinder any important axes or block any specific views / vistas
- A minimum width of 2.0 to 2.5 metres has to be kept alongside the pavement
- Complete fencing and enclosing, as well as land grabbing effects (privatisation of public space through spatial enclosure), has to be avoided; borders have to be clear kept
- Consumption of valuable micro open spaces for commercial installations must be forbidden
- Limiting the usability of adjacent paths or passages, limiting of usability of the direct surroundings, and a decrease of the usability of public space without compulsory consumption may not occur due to the placement of any installation
- Installation must not cause spatial fragmentation, cluttering of space or be an obstacle in public space
- Sufficient consumption-free public space in the direct surroundings has to be kept free of any installation. No public seating or furnishing must be blocked.
- Agglomerations of installations are to be avoided
- Proportion and placement has to be linked to the adjacent building or property of the initiators, a spatial connection ('spatial anchor') of the installation is needed (e.g. sidewalk café in front of restaurant, parklet in front of initiator's shop or property)
- A visual dominance of the installation in contrast to its surroundings must be avoided
- The masking of historical façades or ensembles has to be avoided
- In the case of parklets and other private, non-commercial initiatives, accessibility must be guaranteed for free for everyone without compulsory consumption.

The authors decided not to work with generalised street or public space categories to allow or reject specific installations, but to develop general parameters that are valid over the whole city and that have to be fulfilled everywhere. Through this equal treatment, the creation of areas of respect and areas of neglect should be avoided. The placement of the object within the context of its immediate surroundings gets major attention. Every intervention creates and changes its own contextual public space, which cannot be

classified and depends on the object (Carmona, 2010). This object should be evaluated in terms of its spatial context as a crucial element, as well as in terms of urban design. It must meet the same standards as any other designed element. That means the checklists still have to be applied case by case.

Checklists – From agenda to instrument

The resulting checklists are to be used by the city administration resulting in the permission or rejection of the installation. This decision has to be clear for the administration, as well as for the applicant. The aim was to keep the questions as easy as possible and the answers clear cut.

The challenge to reduce complex problems down to simple yes/no questions was met in an iterative process. The authors implement three hierarchic thematic 'filter layers' as a basic structure. The layers result from criteria identified within the case studies as well as from literature on the usability of public space, and workshops with different responsible administrative departments of Vienna.

These layers – social, spatial, design – allow for the incorporation of crucial aspects beyond the design of the object itself.

Each layer comprises specific questions, which are formulated differently for each type of installation. If all questions can be answered with yes, the assessment is approved, otherwise it is rejected and the installation has to be reworked. The implementation of the first layer covering social aspects of those installations is a new approach that was not previously covered in any municipal checklist.

The new checklists make it easier for municipal clerks to assess applications for installations in public space for existing situations as well as for new applications.

They make decisions comprehensible, transparent, and reproducible for both sides (city and applicant). Moreover, the tool should be valid citywide and offer a basis for future local detailing and should be flexible enough for later adaption and expansion.

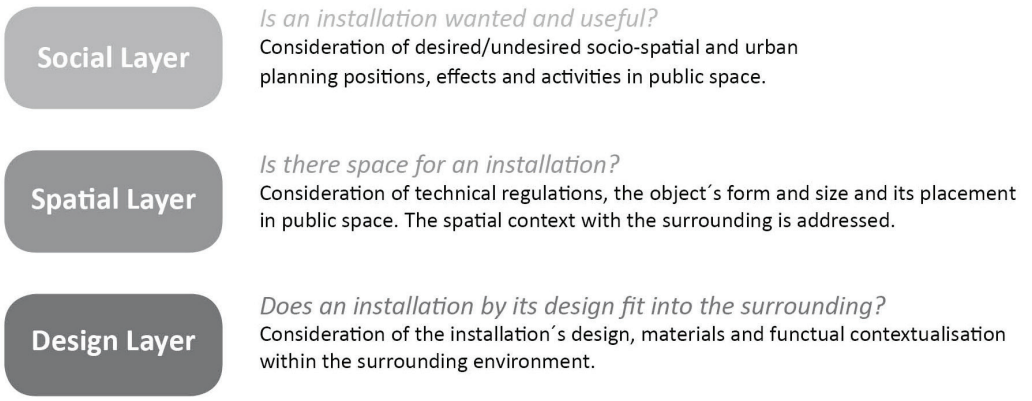

FIGURE 14 Thematic structure of the study. Three thematic layers are a basic structure for the checklists. Each layer consists of different questions. Identified criteria were merged with political and planning, as well as design, objectives.

Preamble:
This checklist covers non-commercial instalations such as parklets and furnishings of the open space without obligation to consume. The installation must comply with higher-level planning concepts and guidelines as well as with all technical specifications.
Mobile and temporary micro-installations (planting containers, chairs, ...) do not have to be assessed from an urban design perspective.
No advertising is allowed on the object (a sponsor badge may be attached up to 20x40 cm in size).

Explanations and references to individual questions can be found in the attachment.

Version: **Non-Commercial Installations**

Social Filter

„Is an installation wanted here? Does the general public benefit from this feature?“

		YES	NO
n1	Is the intervention accessible to the public and usable without consumption?	○	○

Spatial Filter

„Is this the right place for an installation?“

n2	Is there a spatial connection to the installation?	○	○
n3	Does the quality of the cityscape remain unimpaired by the choice of location?	○	○
n4	Is the usability of public space maintained or improved?	○	○

Design Filter

„Does the installation fit into the surrounding public space?“

n5	*Are structural boundaries kept to a minimum?*	○	○
n6	*Is the form of the installation integrated into the surrounding urban space?*	○	○

FIGURE 15 Sample page from the checklist. The page from the checklist for non-commercial installations, like parklets, covers questions from all three thematic layers. The checklist also provides an explanation to make it easier for the person in charge to use it as objectively and transparently as possible.

FIGURE 16 A pavement café not fulfilling the criteria of the checklist: The used materials look provisory and are aesthetically inappropropriate in their surroundings. The minimum passage width of the pavement is insufficient, with the installation is limiting the avaiable space

FIGURE 17 Pavement café. Materials and colours are fitting to the surroundinge, the placement in front of the restaurant is clear and does not hinder other functions of the surrounding public space. Consumption-free seating elements are available in the direct surroundings.

Social Layer

It is innovative that the reasoning for the installation is taken into account as well as its social and visual impact. Installations were primarily approved due to technical criteria in Vienna. Questions in this filter layer include, for example: Are higher-level strategies and spatial and political concepts considered? Is the installation accessible and usable for everyone? Does the installation generate any benefit for the public space?

These questions aim to transport an attitude, a political agenda, which thereby is made public. This layer ensures that the general public benefits from different installations – a question that promotes informal, privately initiated installations such as parklets (as they should be publicly accessible by definition), and limits installations without additional value for the public. Taking outdoor advertising as an example, it would only have a benefit for the public if sufficient money is being paid by the operator to the city/ community (and used for increasing overall quality of public space) or if the advertising brings any other benefit, such as shelters for public transport or free city bikes.

Spatial Layer

In this layer, questions about the spatial integration in a wider context are asked. The spatial and visual impact of the location (site) and the position of the installation in the urban structure are assessed to prevent a reduction in the quality and quantity to stay or move in the surroundings. Standalone installations must not hinder movement or build visual barriers; agglomerations of facilities must be avoided. These questions also aim to create balance between commercial and non-commercial offers and help manage space consumption. Technical specifications and regulations (minimum passage widths, etc.) have to be considered, as well as mandatory functional links to the surroundings as 'spatial anchors': sidewalk cafés are only allowed in front of the actual restaurant without reaching too far into the surrounding space and not hindering other uses; advertising should be linked to a function like a bus shelter.

Questions in the checklist for this layer include, for example: Is there sufficient space for the installation? Is the usability and spatial quality of the surrounding public space maintained or enhanced? Is the installation linked to a functional/spatial anchor close by? Are any vistas blocked?

Design Layer

This layer covers question about the object's aesthetic properties with regard to design quality, choice of material, colour scheme, proportionality, visual rest and restlessness, as well as the use of third party advertisements on kiosks and sidewalk cafés (such as advertisments for beer or beverages).

Sample questions in the checklist include: Are structural boundaries kept to a minimum? Is the form of the installation integrated into the surrounding urban space and are the used materials creating any visual/ aesthetic break in the surroundings?

Conclusion: Regulation as catalyst for appropriation

The underlying study unravels the sensitive role a city has to undertake when dealing with different installations in public space such as kiosks, pavement cafés, parklets, or outdoor media. The corresponding checklists for the assessment of these installations are thought of as instruments that bridge politics, policies, praxis, and reality. The wording, design, and accessibility of this tool are actively helping to spread the planning culture of the city. Whereas the installations should contribute to a diverse, lively, and flexible urban space, they can also be obstacles that lead to visual and spatial fragmentation of scarce public space. Consequently, they have to meet the most diverse requirements and provide the necessary infrastructure and usability for all users equally on fair terms. When elaborating the checklists, the research group agreed on principles such as avoiding overregulation and promoting diversity on the one hand, and ensuring design quality and a fair balance of uses, and safeguarding of remaining space on the other hand.

In order to ensure an inclusive public space, the city must translate its political intentions into instruments that represent the interests of the general public through regulation. The presented checklists are such an instrument. They are consequently a result of a political intention (a formulated political position of what public space should be) brought together with planning and urban design principles. It is a process of how the public character of urban open space can be stimulated and guaranteed by municipal instruments. The authors further show how the evaluation of installations in public space can go beyond mere design to reflect both the political and the planning agendas. The political planning intentions of the city and an ideal image of 'public space' are merged within this process. As a result, both non-commercial as well as commercial installations have to fulfil requirements regarding their size, form, and placement in public space but also regarding their benefit to public space respectively to the general public.

Including a 'social layer' in the evaluation process aims to foster installations that benefit the general public, thus acting as a facilitator for bottom-up and appropriation processes, while at the same time acting as a restrictive top-down player regarding commercial intentions. Questions regarding the communal benefit of standalone advertising installations will rarely be answered positively. Already, advertisers are anticipating the discussion and the need to justify their abundant exploitaition of public space – and are coming up with new strategies. They try to build their own functional and societal anchors as claimed in the study in the form of screen-mounted defibrillators and bike repair instruments integrated into advertising columns. This makes clear that there is no way around a general political attitude which has to be expressed and executed and that the checklists need constant adaptation.

A citywide implementation of the checklists as a guiding instrument has not yet happened. However, a discussion process has been started across different municipal administrative departments and political representatives about the value and usability of public space in Vienna.

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Reimagining (Sub-) Urban Parks

The Challenges of Negotiating Conflicting Interests in a Park System Master Planning Process

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Abstract

The demand for green spaces in highly urbanised, metropolitan cities is well documented. However, adjacent to, or surrounding these densely populated urban centres are extensive areas of newer suburbs, where land use and public space demands differ from those found in large urban cities. Depending on the age of a suburb, and its associated societal changes, the demands made upon suburban green space are changing. However, little research has focused on ageing suburban park systems, which today may be managed by multiple administrative entities. Developing a master plan for the seventy-year-old network of Bergen County parks, located in north-eastern New Jersey approximately 30 km outside of New York City, is a case study that illustrates this environmental planning challenge. Competing user interests can be traced to conflicting demands and expectations for open space amenities, highlighting the difficulty of providing an equal voice to all park user populations. A primary goal of this user-driven public process was to foster mutual respect and understanding between relevant groups, creating the possibility that these groups will become stewards of the county park system over the long term under subsequently elected administrations. Having these public champions will be critical to successfully implementing and sustaining the proposed parks master plan concept. The following discussion describes a community engagement process which surfaced and negotiated user conflicts linked to New Jersey's specific administrative and political environment.

Keywords

suburban parks, park politics, participatory planning, community outreach, environmental planning, park use

FIGURE 1 Diverse users, high demand for open space.

Bergen County Political Context

Challenges for environmental master planning include the characteristics of administrative systems and local politics in the United States, more specifically in New Jersey. The state's population was formed by numerous immigration waves that created a highly diverse population (Fig. 1), which self-segregates along economic and ethnic lines in 565 independent municipalities. These municipalities are responsible for schools, local police, fire departments, and state mandated social services. Municipal governments generate funding for these responsibilities through local property taxes. Because New Jersey has the highest property tax rates in the US, residents are highly sceptical of demands to increase government spending (Salmore, 2013, p. 301).

New Jersey is a Home Rule state, meaning that each of the 70 Bergen County municipalities have legal authority to make land use planning decisions for their community, which creates challenges for a county-wide master planning effort (Hoefer, 2013, p. 80). This political situation demands a sensitive and multi-layered community outreach approach to coordinate county-wide planning and develop public trust in the process.

The state also has relatively short terms of elected office, ranging from two to four years. This means that political control of local government can potentially change every two years, sometimes leading to turnover of elected officials and changing alliances between the county and various municipalities and/or interest groups, thus interrupting successful collaborative efforts. The short election cycles can pose an additional level of complexity because there is about an eighteen-month window after November elections before some elected officials are again caught up in the politics of the campaign trail.

Suburban Bergen County Residents

Bergen County is in the north-eastern corner of New Jersey, U.S.A. The county is directly connected to the Manhattan Borough of New York City via the George Washington Bridge, which crosses the Hudson River, as well as several commuter rail lines whose terminus is mid-town Manhattan. The County historically served as a 'bedroom community' for New York, but today contains a number of office parks, national business outlets, and many local businesses (Hughes & Seneca, 2015, p. 89). With almost one million residents living in approximately 640 km^2, Bergen County is the most populous county in New Jersey, which is the most densely populated state in the U.S.

Various open space properties within the county, totalling approximately 76 km^2, are managed by multiple government agencies, including municipal, county, state, and federal, each with different land-use priorities and rules. However, for county residents, it is of minor importance which public entity is responsible for a specific open space. The total open space available to residents in each Bergen County municipality was compared to Trust for Public Land's (TPL) 'Parkland per 1,000 Residents by City' from the 2016 City Park Facts Report (TPL, 2016). Determination of whether a municipality is underserved or adequately served is based on municipal density compared to all available public space acreage within the municipality (Fig. 2).

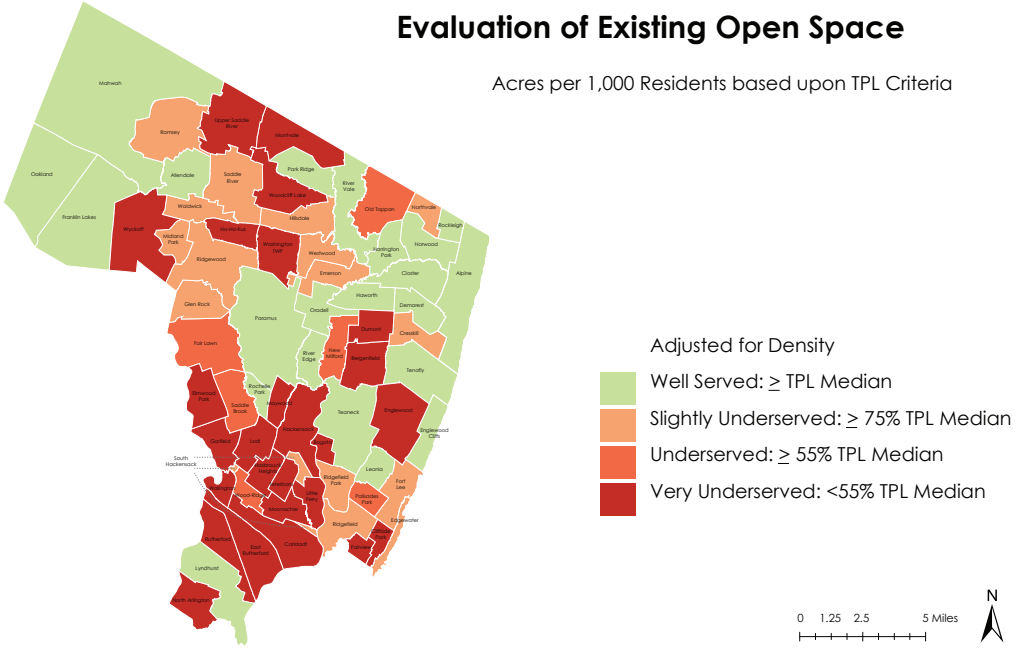

FIGURE 2 Evaluation of existing open space per 1,000 residents based upon Trust for Public Land criteria.

There are currently 20 Bergen County municipalities (out of a total of 70) that have an adequate amount of publicly available open space from a combination of all landowners. There are currently 50 municipalities that are slightly underserved (75% or more of the TPL median) to very underserved (less than 55% of the TPL median). Because of the county's solid economic base, the convenient commute to New York, and continuing high density development, further population growth is projected, which will increase user pressures on public open spaces. The Bergen County Parks Department was very aware of that challenge and selected the Rutgers Center for Urban Environmental Sustainability (CUES) to lead the overall environmental planning effort. Over the past 10 years, CUES developed a strong record of accomplishment in conducting active community engagement projects that integrate a collaborative research and design process[1]. As an academic institution, CUES was further viewed as a neutral entity that could lead a participatory master planning process without conflicting or vested interests in the outcome.

A main component of developing a master plan for the thirty-six county-owned parks, which encompass approximately 3,700 hectares, was to understand both the current physical conditions and park user behaviours. The physical inventory included ground-truthing available GIS data and mapping all existing park amenities, documenting traces of user activities such as desire paths, and the condition of all sports fields. A digital inventory was also completed for each of the seventy county municipalities, which included all public open space properties regardless of ownership in order to determine the total county-wide open space availability. Park user intercept surveys (950 respondents) and an online user survey (2245 respondents) provided data on user motivations (Fig. 3). In an initial round of eight public meetings, inventory findings were presented and public input for the master planning process was solicited. A second round of meetings shared developed visions and concepts with the public prior to plan finalisation. Meeting locations were strategically chosen to reflect the social, economic, and geographic diversity of Bergen County (Fig. 4).

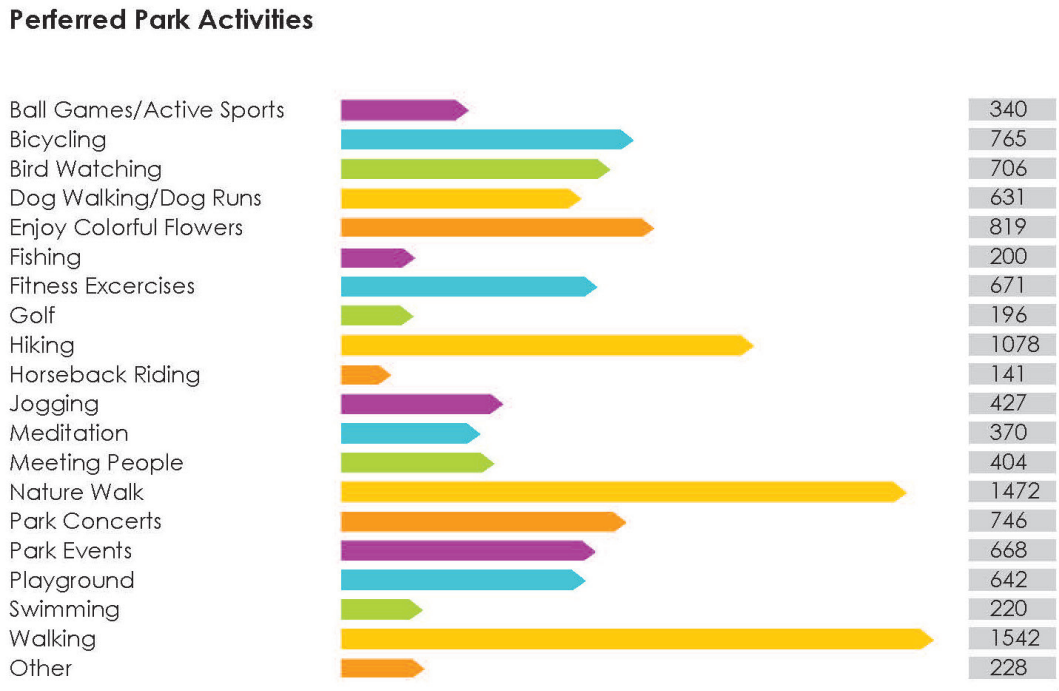

FIGURE 3 User Motivation.

1 The mission of the Center for Urban Environmental Sustainability (CUES) is to make environmental planning, research, and public outreach available through Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey out into the (sub-)urban communities of New Jersey.

These meetings, comments, and survey outcomes brought to the surface diverging views on the role played by public green spaces in the lives of suburban residents, who viewed parklands through two distinct lenses. For some users, parks were passive places for viewing nature, walking, and hiking; in other words, escaping their (sub-)urban environment. For others, parks were places for active recreation or social engagements; in other words, interacting with their (sub-)urban environment and other residents.

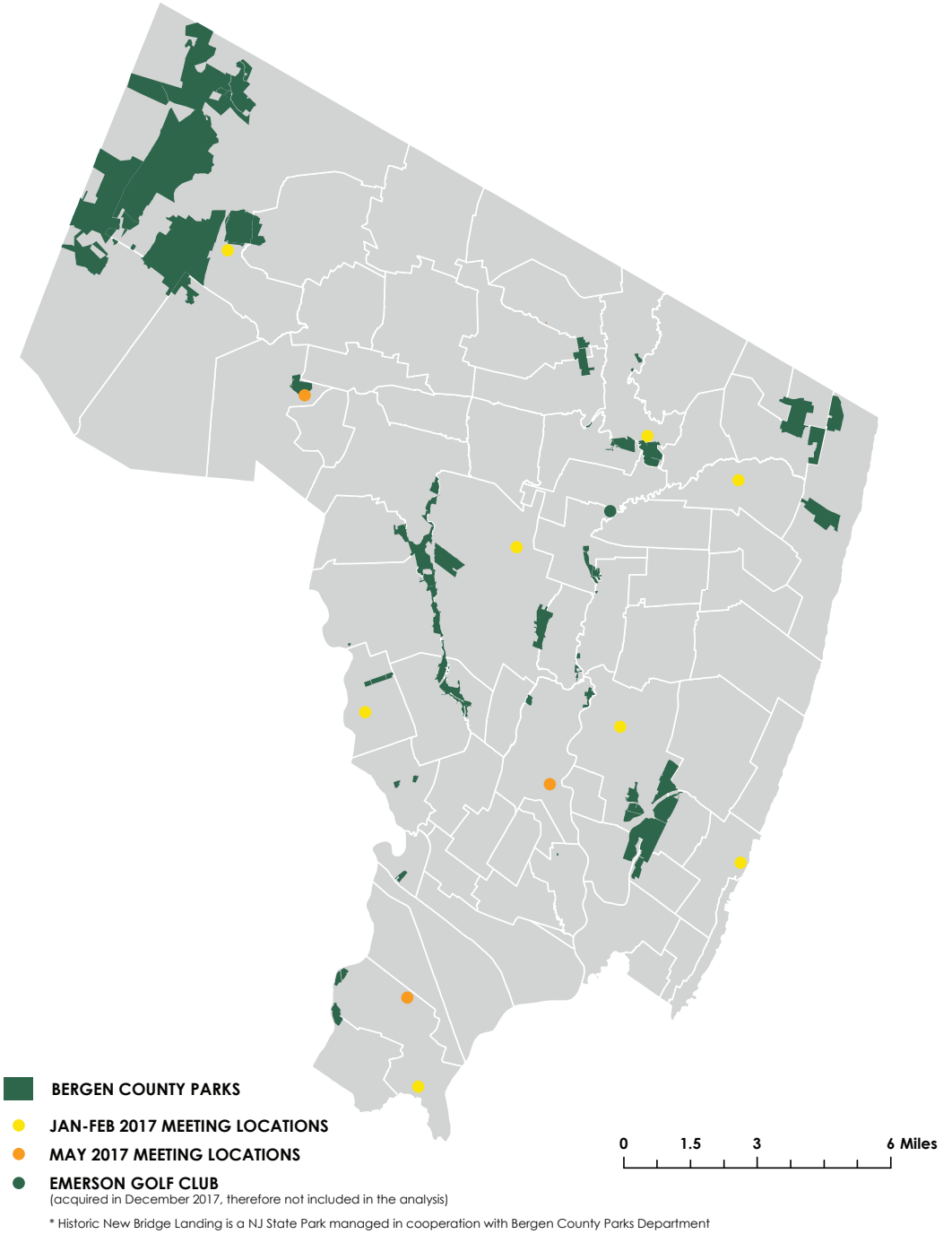

FIGURE 4 Bergen County Map with all county parks and the meeting locations.

These demands reflect two alternative uses of open space: finding peace and stress relief in the enjoyment of beautiful landscapes versus active recreation and participating in social events taking place within open space venues.

Obviously, those two activities may conflict—enjoying secluded nature is not "natural" when there is a festival underway at the same time in the same place. Compounding the issue of conflicting demands by the public was the demand from the parks department administration that new revenue sources be identified, which could support additional park amenities, as well as pay for the escalating maintenance costs associated with an ageing and growing park system. Each of these demands had merit and needed to be reconciled within the final park master plan.

Perspectives on Suburbia and Suburban Parks

Landscapes with clean air and clean water are good and safe places to raise a family (Stilgoe, 1988, p.2), and so nature and landscape are viewed as the healthy juxtaposition to an industrialised city. A home next to presumably virgin nature, or at least a space that allows the aesthetic experience of idealised nature, entails the promise that the untouched land is a land of opportunity. This reference to individual opportunity and freedom is a core component of the aesthetic interpretation of American landscapes (Olwig, 2005, p.316), and residential development in close vicinity to these idealised landscapes is viewed as desirable.

The motivation to find such a place, but remain close enough to the city so that a daily commute was feasible, was a driving force behind the rise of suburbia. The trend of city dwellers moving out into the landscape began in the nineteenth century. The New York City region was among one of the earliest examples of urbanites seeking the good landscape. The landscape itself was not only the backdrop for development; it became an essential component of innovative urban design concepts in the twentieth century.

Radburn, located in Fair Lawn, NJ, home of one of the earliest Bergen County parks, was begun in 1929, and featured two main aspects of suburban development: the landscape and the car. Radburn was the first town of the motor age (Martin, 2001, p.157), built at the same time the landscape evolved from an appreciated environment to a core element of the suburban fabric. The concept of cluster development embedded in the Radburn landscape gained traction in the second half of the twentieth century, advanced by the GI Bill and the American Highway Act. William Whyte (1964) saw this as an opportunity to provide common open space while limiting the size of the individual lot. The resulting large-scale suburban expansion was criticised as faceless 'cookie cutter' development. New Urbanism became the countermovement that propagated the small walkable town where a town centre conveyed the image of a small New England community (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck, 2010, p.62). Historically, Cluster Development and New Urbanism were the predominant characteristics of suburbia in the north-eastern U.S. The concept of landscape is essentially the same for both suburban approaches - an open landscape which embraces the settlement is the desirable place.

This expectation of open, healthy, landscapes was the motivation to move to suburbia in the first place. Ironically, this natural space was the first casualty of suburban sprawl. At the same time, people who cared about the environment felt that the aesthetic and ecologic integrity of natural landscapes must be protected and preserved (Carr, 1998, p.11). In the period of rapid population growth at the end of the twentieth century, land acquisition by public entities was a tool to preserve open space from development.

However, the sequence of historic maps (Fig. 5) illustrates how urban growth has almost eliminated public open space in Bergen County.

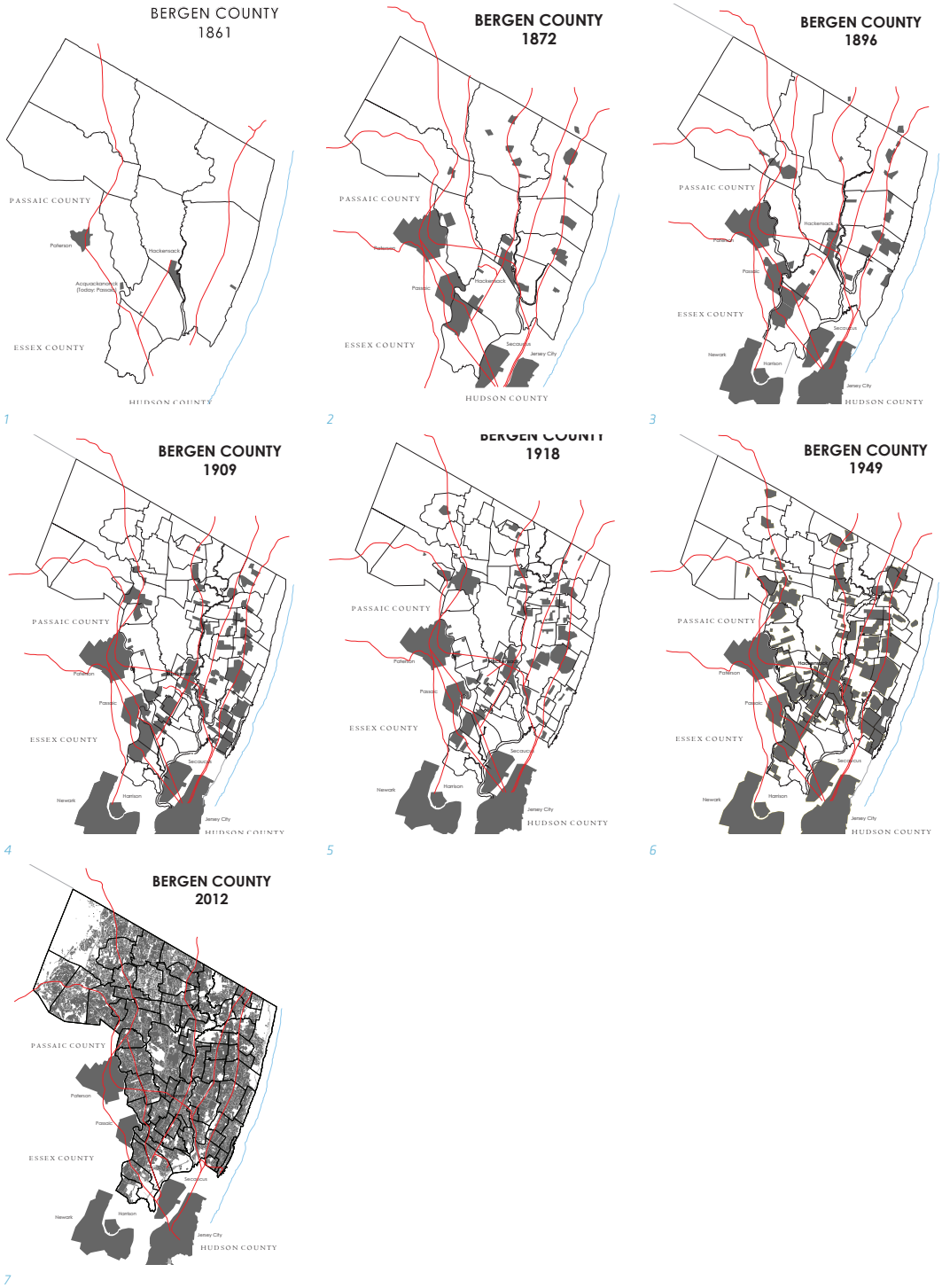

FIGURE 5 Bergen County development (in grey) from 1861-2012. Red indicates railroad lines.

Rapid development and loss of open space were already considered an issue in 1938 when the New Jersey State Planning Board noted that Bergen County "suffered greatly from development... [and] almost completely ignored amenities such as parks" (Bergen County Parks Commission 1947). Although neighbouring New Jersey counties acquired and built parklands, Bergen County did not address its lack of parks until after World War II. In 1946, the county requested the required State of New Jersey legislation needed to create a Parks Commission in order to provide recreational open space for county residents. This forerunner of the Bergen County Parks department was officially established in 1947.
The map of current Bergen County Parks (Fig. 3) illustrates how expansion of urban land uses reduced the open landscape to small fragmented parcels. This development was observed critically by environmental groups that care about nature in general and that are driven to preserve intact landscapes. Although the earliest development of the original county parks mid-century was based on planned acquisition of specific properties, later county parkland acquisitions were driven by a desire to preserve remaining tracts of open space.

Bergen County Suburban Parks Today

In addition to preserving natural landscapes, today's suburban parks and open spaces provide active recreational experiences, as well as places for social interactions (Currie, 2017, p.78), where people of different ages and social and cultural backgrounds meet. This social component of park use is increasingly important in suburban societies that are experiencing ongoing self-segregation enhanced by digital media. People watch their own partisan television channels and communicate with friends they 'like' in digital echo chambers. Bergen County's earlier suburban residents are now ageing, often 'in place', and expect to continue to be able to use the parks they have always visited, and so pickleball is now competing with tennis[2]. Families with young children are also moving to Bergen County, drawn by public amenities like parks, as were the earlier suburban inhabitants. However, these new families are coming from other cultures that favour different sports (cricket) and cultural events (Korean Festival). Public parks provide opportunities to rise above these growing social and cultural divisions. This social role of open spaces is relevant in planning for the future of the Bergen County parks system and raises the question of how to best provide parks that can meet the needs of all users, both those looking for various social experiences and those looking for passive nature experiences. In the same way that the car made suburban development of the 20th century possible, the car provided transportation to reach the suburban parks and their various amenities. The current suburban park design focuses on car-oriented convenience; roads loop throughout the older parks and are visually dominant features. However, suburban lifestyles are changing, and Bergen County residents are searching for ways to get out of their cars via alternative transportation options. The inventory and mapping research identified 90 kilometres of paved roads versus 57 kilometres of walking/cycling pathways within the thirty-six Bergen County parks. Riverside County Park North in Lyndhurst provides a good example of an earlier car-oriented county park design that no longer meets the needs of all park users. The park design approach provides car-oriented access and circulation within the park (Fig. 6). A one-way road loops through the site with car parking at the centre of the park. There are only two pedestrian entrances, although the park is located within a now densely populated residential neighbourhood (Fig. 7). The demand for new access points is obvious from the presence of desire paths where pedestrians are creating their own entrances (Fig. 8). This example illustrates that the current concept of Bergen Country parks does not reflect the changed and rapidly evolving demands of pedestrian and cyclist users that are associated with the increased urbanisation of older suburban communities.

2 Pickleball is a paddle sport enjoyed by active seniors. Combining elements of badminton, tennis, and table tennis, it is played on modified tennis courts

FIGURE 6 Inventory Map Riverside County Park North.

FIGURE 7 Existing park roads misses pedestrian access.

FIGURE 8 Desire path entrance.

As suburban population density continues to increase, development expands and encloses older county parks, often obliterating the distinction between municipal and county-owned properties. This blurring of park ownership/management has an impact on New Jersey's traditional open space management practices that originally treated county parks as venues to provide open space amenities beyond the capability of an individual municipality. Local municipalities own and manage smaller parks that serve a specific town or neighbourhood, and those parks typically have a focus on active recreation, providing ball fields, track and field facilities, and playgrounds. The primary focus of county and state park agencies is management of larger landscapes, often with a focus on passive recreation and landscape preservation, that serve residents from the surrounding region. In the northern mountainous areas of Bergen County, state, municipal, and county open space properties are adjacent. However, land uses, rules, and regulations differ between these multiple property owners, causing confusion amongst park users when they unknowingly enter lands controlled by a different owner.

Although the Bergen County park system began in 1947, a comprehensive master plan outlining guidelines for land management and land acquisition was never formalised. Therefore, the park system developed over seventy years in a haphazard piecemeal manner. Some properties were planned for water management/ flood control (Saddle River and Overpeck Parks) and some acquisitions were to preserve land from urban development (Ramapo Mt., Emerson Golf Course, Darlington Park). The diversity of park properties and users has fuelled differing user demands, which have not been addressed by overall management decisions and activities, but rather by posting extensive visitor rules (Fig. 9, Signage rules), which are flagrantly ignored because there is little or no enforcement. Lack of enforcement is the result of funding cutbacks as park department budgets were curtailed by elected officials. Positive human interactions and experiences can only happen when the park visit is not regulated by overwhelming rules, but instead allows individuals to self-regulate their activities and construct meaningful experiences (Godbey et al., 2005, p.152). On the other hand, a diverse user population may have competing interests and self-regulated actions may cause conflicts that can impinge on a positive park experience for others. Future population growth will lead to a higher demand for public open space, potentially increasing the number of user conflicts. Addressing these multiple user demands, that are changing and at times conflicting, and rationalising potential funding sources were the main challenges in the development of the Bergen County Parks Master Plan.

FIGURE 9 Signage rules .

Participation Process

The current literature on participatory planning and community engagement stresses that it is of great importance to know the community, honour local knowledge, and engage with residents (de la Peña et al., 2017, p.45). This is especially relevant for any planning process that has the goal to empower residents to become well-informed participants, and that goes beyond just seeking approval for predetermined administrative or political decisions. The applied method of community engagement comprises participation techniques outlined by Frederik Steiner (2008, p.274; 2018, p.13) for large scale planning approaches. Elected officials and public administrations initiate the participation process while hired planning professionals (in our case CUES) engage the public through a set of meetings, surveys, and additional workgroups to identify general goals. Throughout the process, collected knowledge about existing conditions and possible solutions is discussed at public meetings to inform the planning process. An inherent deficit of this approach is that only those groups who engage in the process are heard because there is no information gathered about the interests and needs of those who do not actively participate (see below).

Because of the diverse population and evolving expectations for open space in suburbia, the project team anticipated conflicts. We shared the point of view that "democratic designers do not consider conflict a dirty word, but rather a time-honored means to honorable ends" (de la Peña et al., 2017, p.4). Thirty years of ongoing public controversy about the detriments of urban development have produced an active, well-organised, and vocal environmental community with several special interest groups. The CUES team anticipated that these groups could disrupt the parks' master planning process in an effort to promote their particular environmental agenda. To prepare for our role as moderator, the CUES team explored potential contested topics with environmental groups at an early stage. Those informal conversations did not predetermine possible solutions but made the project team aware of topics that could derail the process and assured active members of the environmental community that their topics were considered and their voices heard.

The identification of public meeting venues followed the goal to reflect the social, economic, and geographic diversity of Bergen County. The six existing county planning regions were used as guidelines because these divisions reflect that diversity.

A third component in preparing for community engagement was to 'get the facts right'. The complexity of the project required an interdisciplinary team with ecologists, traffic planners, event managers, and concession experts under the leadership of CUES landscape architects and environmental planners. The inventory of individual parks and the park system analysis (ecological context, demographics, traffic, events, concessions) were presented at the first round of public meetings, before planning conclusions were drawn. Attendees at these meetings were considered valued partners in the planning process and provided local knowledge and perspectives that were of great value to the concept development phase. The expert team developed a preliminary concept in close collaboration with the Bergen County Parks Department and a technical advisory board. The outcome was then presented in a second round of meetings, before the final concept and report were developed.

The participatory approach has proven to be mostly successful at the neighbourhood scale, when members of a community engage in critical discussions and residents can personally relate to a particular park or other improvement project. However, the Bergen County regional park master planning project faced the challenge of meeting the needs of almost one million residents of different social, economic, and ethnic backgrounds. The concept of a master plan for a complex park system contains a level of abstraction that must be broken down into tangible components that can be addressed in large meetings. Our approach was to bring boards with images of all thirty-six parks to each meeting. Attendees were invited to write comments about the individual parks they knew while gaining a visual impression of the variety of the entire Bergen County park system (Fig. 10).

FIGURE 10 Residents were able to make oral comments as well as provide notes with suggestions for individual parks at public meetings.

Those comments about local interests were taken into consideration when the team further evolved the overall park system context. The project team was very impressed by the level of expertise and sophistication that surfaced in the public meetings. Several attendees were members of local non-profit advocacy groups (environmental, historic, civic) which included well-educated, sophisticated, and outspoken individuals, who had frequently participated in previous planning processes (Fig. 11: Groups who self-identified during the public outreach process). Some individuals stated that their experience of community engagement had often been a meaningless exercise to obtain public support for outcomes that had already been decided, resulting in a widely shared public feeling of scepticism in the process. We believe the strong public support we experienced is an indicator that the chosen engagement approach helped to overcome those negative expectations.

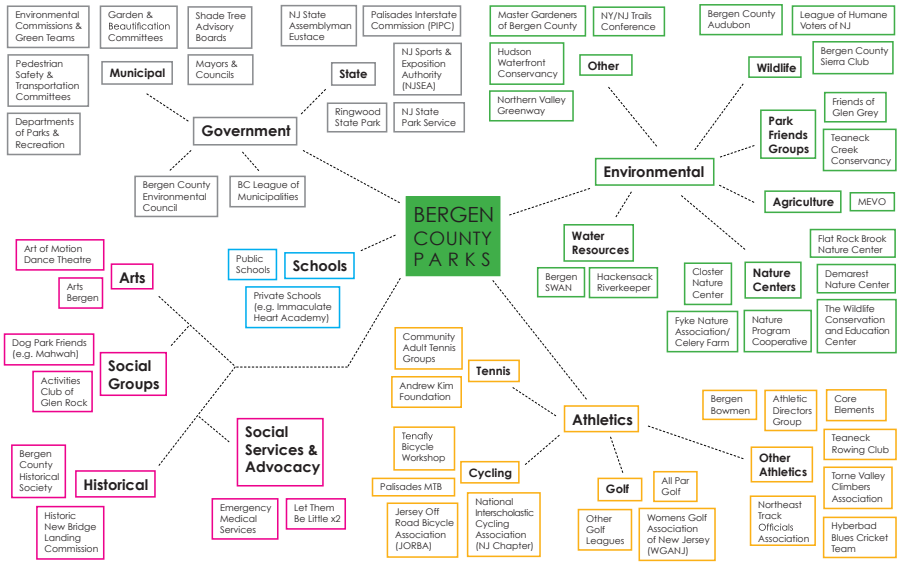

FIGURE 11 Groups who self-identified throughout the planning and participation process.

However, a clear shortcoming was that we did not reach all social groups equally. Data from the online survey showed that approximately half the respondents were in the 45-64 age range (1036), followed by 30% in the 25-44 age bracket (Fig. 12). Almost two-thirds of the households taking the online survey had an annual income of $100,000 or higher (Fig. 13). Young people and low-income groups were clearly underrepresented. In hindsight, it might have been helpful to target neighbourhood groups beyond the environmental community to generate broader participation. Collaborating with schools would have enhanced youth particaption[3]. A new and interesting approach, which was unfortunately beyond our scope of work, is the analysis of social media posts by teenagers and adolescents (Shirtcliff, 2015, p.55). This method opens the door to obtain reliable data on behaviour and space preferences of a segment of our society that is usually underrepresented in surveys and other forms of quantitative data collection. Although we are aware of these shortcomings, the active engagement with stakeholders and open discussions at numerous public meetings helped to increase the team's knowledge of existing open space conditions and public needs. At the same time, awareness was raised of how various groups interpret open space needs differently. Therefore, the final master plan for this (sub-)urban park system developed organically, based first upon user inputs and secondly, upon administrative requirements and conditions expressed by elected decision-makers and park department staff.

3 Timing and budget constraints did not allow CUES to engage schools as we previously did for the Voorhees Environmental Park in South Jersey. Responses from middle school students informed that park design project.

Age Group of Online Survey Respondents

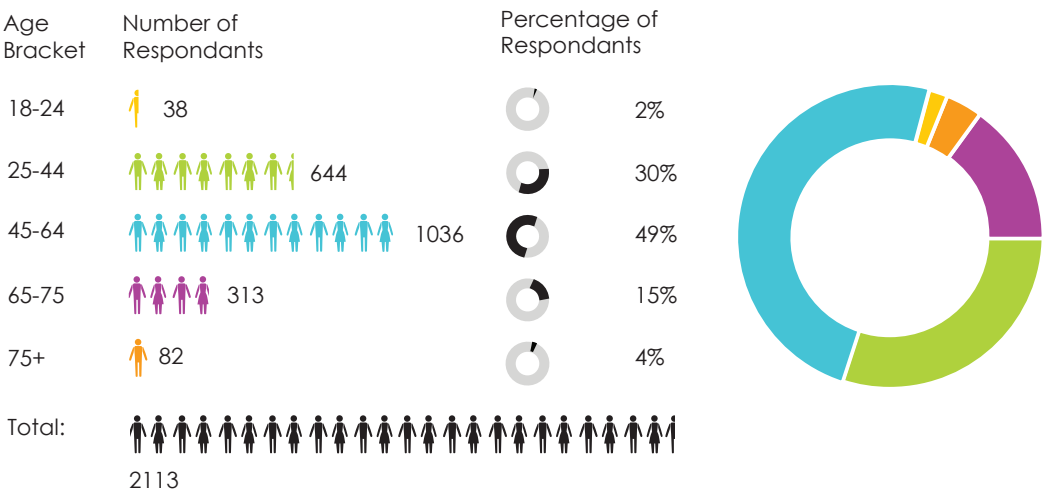

FIGURE 12 Approximately half of respondents were in the 45-64 age bracket, while one-third of respondents were in the 25-44 age bracket.

Annual Household Income of Online Survey Respondents

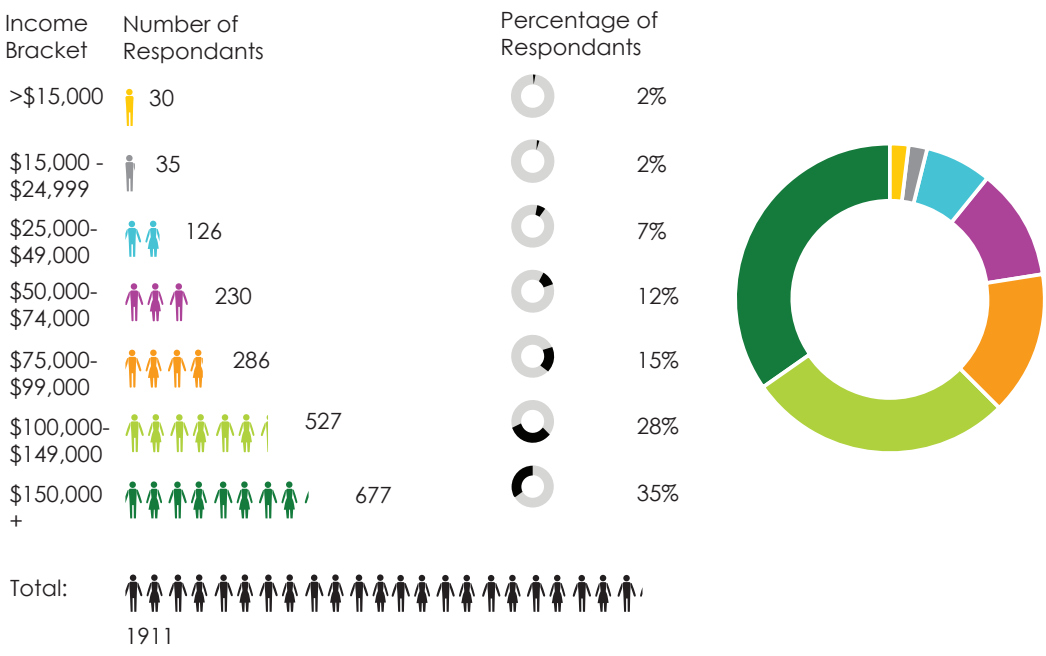

FIGURE 13 Almost two-thirds of the respondents were in households with an annual income of $100,000 or higher.

Master plan concept reflecting conflicting interests

The community outreach and planning process revealed a wide range of reasons for resident visits to parks. Therefore, the overall master plan vision *From the Marshes to the Mountains* (Fig. 14) celebrates the Bergen County parkland geographic diversity through Park Types. The master plan also identifies Emphasis Categories for individual parks that support the diversity of user experiences (Fig. 15).

The dual typology of Park Emphasis and Park Type reflects the distinction between emotions related to perception of place and the functionality of specific properties. All parks are grouped into four Emphasis categories: Nature Park, Social/Cultural Park, Neighbourhood Parks, and Golf Courses[4]. On a second layer, the parks are grouped into four Types based on size, geography, user reach, potential for expansion, and amenities.

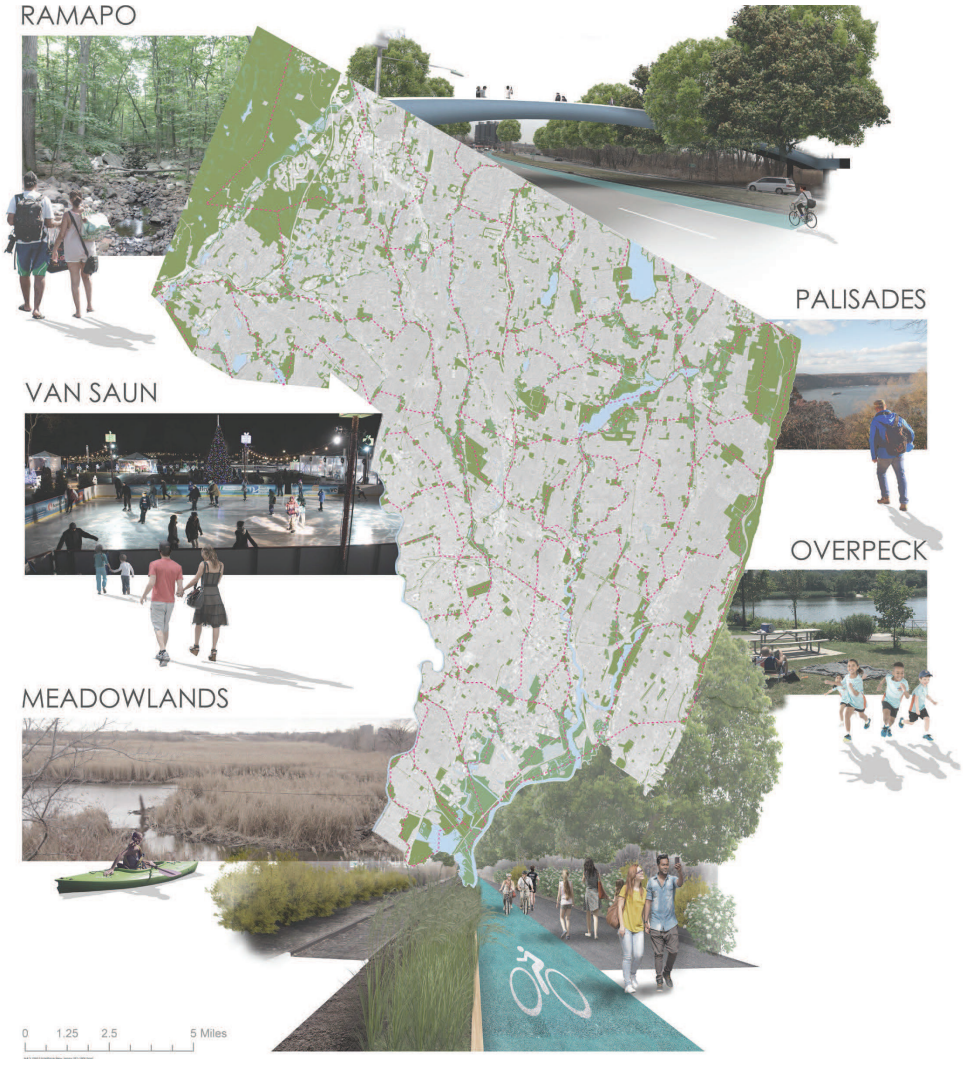

FIGURE 14 Master plan vision: From the Marshes to the Mountains.

4 Public golf courses managed by the county are a very important low-cost alternative to private golf clubs for lower and middle-income residents.

The introduction of multi-modal connections encourages bike and pedestrian access with combined concepts of adaptive re-use of rail lines and bike lanes on appropriate roadways, increasing the connectivity and functionality of the overall system. Additionally, the master plan addresses the need to identify new opportunities to develop open space properties that fit within the proposed master plan framework in order to meet the increasing demands for public open space due to projected population growth.

The large Anchor Parks serve as the backbone of the Bergen County parks system and offer appropriate activities, programming, and events on a regional scale. Long and narrow Linear Parks follow river corridors through multiple municipalities, offering smaller scale amenities. Small local parks supplement municipal open spaces, serving primarily community residents. Golf courses are a standalone feature of the county parks system with very distinct users and management requirements.

Driven by administration budget cutbacks, we found that the county's existing business model is inadequate to support needed ongoing operation and maintenance activities, enforcement of park rules, additional land acquisitions, or enhanced facilities and programming. Therefore, structural changes within the county parks administration and exploration of additional revenue generating activities were recommended.

The final master plan, developed in close collaboration with the Bergen County Parks Department, evolved through several rounds of revisions and integrated all contributions of the interdisciplinary team. The team had originally intended to make very specific recommendations based on the public input. Because elected administrations and leadership of the parks department can change very quickly, we wanted an outline for the future of the park system that included very specific actions for individual parks. This would give residents a guideline so that if improvements to individual parks did not happen they could demand action in accordance with the master plan. The County Executive and Board of Chosen Freeholders were not in favour of this approach, preferring a more general outline of goals and planning principles that would allow them future flexibility and less specific accountability. In fact, at the time of this writing, one of the elected representatives who is in the middle of a re-election campaign is withholding their approval of the final master plan document.

This hesitation by politicians to make binding decisions illustrates the importance of community engagement and the role of stakeholders as stewards of the parks. The public participation process fostered communication between different interest groups with different demographic backgrounds. During public meetings, people learned about others who saw open spaces from a different perspective, but realised that multiple demands on open spaces also demand compromises. The positive and 'neighbourly' atmosphere of the meetings gives hope that new alliances between stakeholders will develop into active support groups for the public parks. Although many residents expressed suspicion of "commercialization" of the parks, the planning process illustrated the need to raise additional revenues without additional taxation. In short, the general public appear to have more courage to embrace the master plan to ensure the future of county parklands than the elected politicians.

The applied research of developing a master plan for the Bergen County park system has shown that creating guidelines for a complex suburban park system is closely tied to the context of evolving societal values. Conflicting user demands turn out to be core challenges for developing a (sub-)urban park master plan that addresses the needs of an increasingly diverse suburban population. Identifying and addressing conflicts through the planning and outreach process contributes to the general discussion of public open space needs for an expanding suburban population. The future of (sub-)urban parks depends on honest, open, and thorough negotiations among diverse user groups. Convincing reluctant politicians, worried about the next election cycle, that residents can and will accept change if they are engaged in the process is an ongoing challenge. A further area of research should be exploring areas where suburban park user demands diverge from those of urban park users as the ageing of suburbs continues.

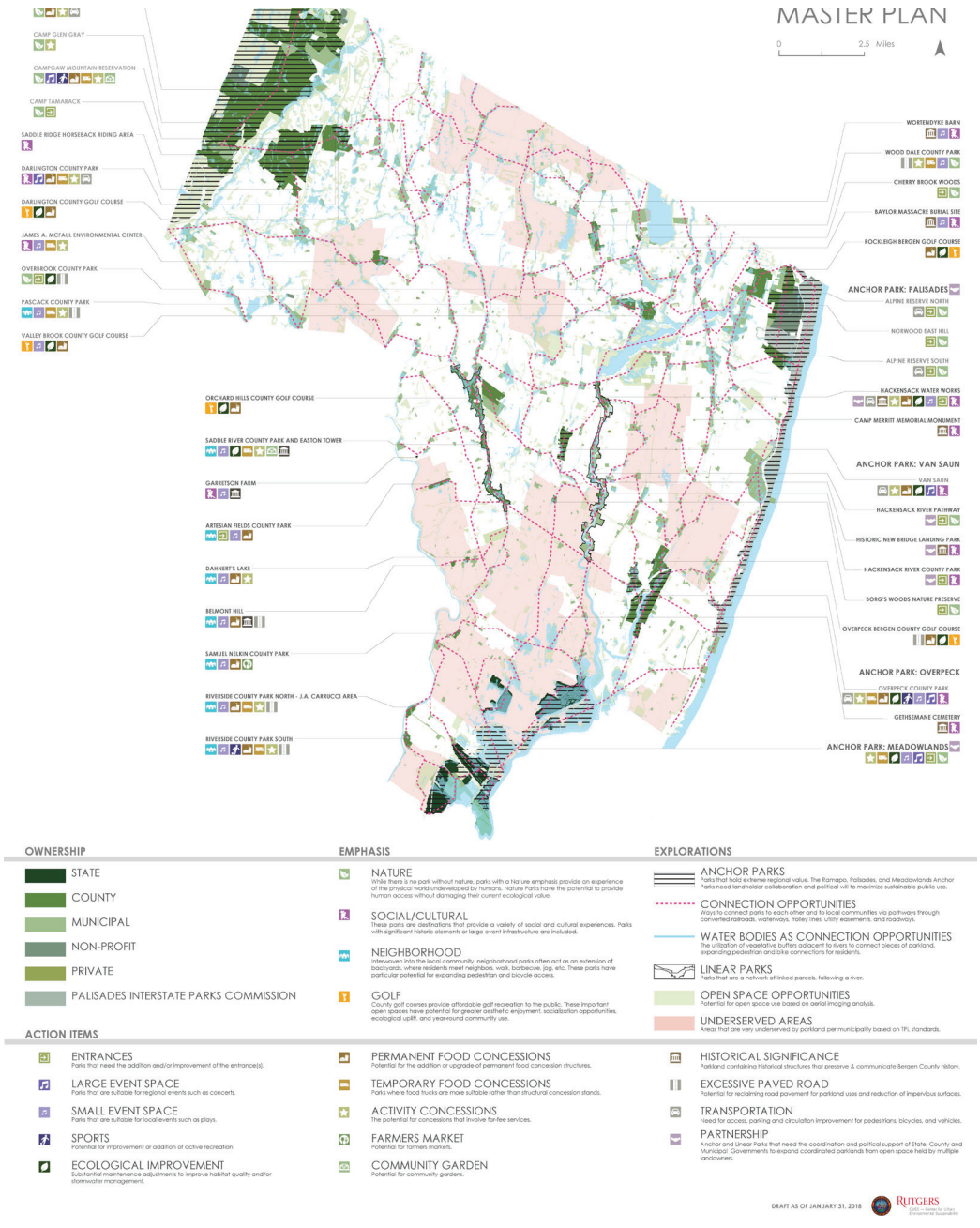

FIGURE 15 Master Plan.

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Park politics in Oslo 1920 – 1940

Implementation and Reception

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Abstract

Park politics is the subject of critique by the landscape architecture profession. This article explores the politics surrounding the parks realised in Oslo in the 1920s and 30s, which was critiqued in a book by some of the most prominent landscape architects in Norway at the time: Vår tids hage [The Garden of Our Time] (Aspesæter et al., 1939). The book reads as a commentary on the development in Oslo during that period. This study uses contemporary books by the key policy makers as resources for the ideology of these parks and aims to show how the actual park politics in Oslo were acknowledged and critiqued by contemporary landscape architects working in the first decades of the 20th century. This is then used as a backdrop for the study of today's park politics, which has been strongly influenced by the densification policy that was introduced in the 1990s and that puts additional strain on green spaces inside town and city boundaries. Up until then, urban development had, for the most part, come about as a result of urban expansion, and the urban growth that has taken place since the Second World War has been extensive in terms of land space use. One result of this study is an attempt to establish a periodisation of the park politics in Oslo in order to shed light on the consequences of recent developments in park politics.

Keywords

Marius Røhne, Harald Hals, green structure, reception, critique

The Establishment of Park Politics

Until 1916, public parks in Oslo were developed either by private citizens, associations, or by the Royal Court, e.g. the private garden, The Promenade, developed by the association Oslo Byes Vel, in 1810 - 20, and Bygdøy, developed as a public park by the Royal Court from 1837 onwards (Jørgensen & Thoren, 2012). In 1916, the Parks Department in Oslo was established, and garden architect Marius Røhne (1883 – 1966) was appointed as its head. Marius Røhne had studied garden architecture at the Royal Garden School at Rosenborg Palace in Copenhagen, and had worked in garden architect Edvard Glæsel's office, before he became a graduate of the Norwegian University of Agriculture in 1911. He set up his own private office in Oslo in 1913. A major achievement, made together with garden architect Iosef Oscar Nickelsen, was the design of the exhibition grounds for the 1914 Jubilee Exhibition that marked the centenary anniversary of the 1814 Constitution. The design received very positive feedback from, amongst others, the leading art historian Carl W Schnitler, who wrote that this was the first example of a modern park design in a European style. He characterised the design as the decisive breach with the "landscape imitation" style, for the benefit of a "style with an attitude, formality and coherence" (Bruun, 2007, p. 322) (All quotations of the original Norwegian texts are by the author.)

When the position as head gardener was announced in 1916, Røhne was the obvious candidate. He held the position as Head of the Parks Department until 1948 and published a comprehensive history of the Parks Department in 1967. What had previously been fragmented and arbitrary developments gradually took on a more systematic approach under Røhne's leadership. The development of park areas in the eastern and poorer parts of the city, along the Akerselva River, became part of a new planning focus, where green spaces for the public in and around the residential areas were given priority over prestigious park developments in the city centre.

Røhne found it necessary to develop a 'park culture' in the city by nurturing the feeling of ownership of the park development in the residential areas (Røhne, 1967, p.29). This was achieved by removing all fences around the green areas, keeping a high standard of maintenance and in the first years even guarding the green areas to avoid vandalism. This strategy seems to have worked (Elke, 2006, p.7). Røhne emphasises the 'park culture' strategy for the parks politics of the 1920s and 30s in his book. One such example is Grünerløkka, where green spaces were integrated and developed into proper parks linked by the Akerselva riverside project. The style was predominantly neoclassical.

The idea for Akerselva was to create a contiguous green space through the east side of the city, from the city centre to the periphery along the river. This focus on parks and green spaces, as well as on housing quality, was the joint effort of Marius Røhne and the Chief City Planner of Oslo, Harald Hals (1876 – 1959). As planning director in Oslo from 1926 to 1947, Hals contributed significantly to the modernisation of Oslo, including the addition of green spaces as part of the planning philosophy. Hals studied and worked as an architect in the USA, and was inspired, for example, by Olmsted's work "The Emerald Necklace" in Boston.

He travelled widely and was well aware of contemporary developments in urban planning in Europe. He was especially interested in the Garden City movement and organised the planning competition that led to the first garden city in the vicinity of central Oslo, Ullevål Hageby. In the municipal master plan from 1929, Harald Hals says, "It is our time that has made parks and green spaces to a very important and absolutely indispensable part of the urban organism" (Hals, 1929, p.182). It was less a question of defining standards for green spaces in residential areas, and more an attempt to emphasise the virtues and advantages of having green spaces blended into the urban structure.

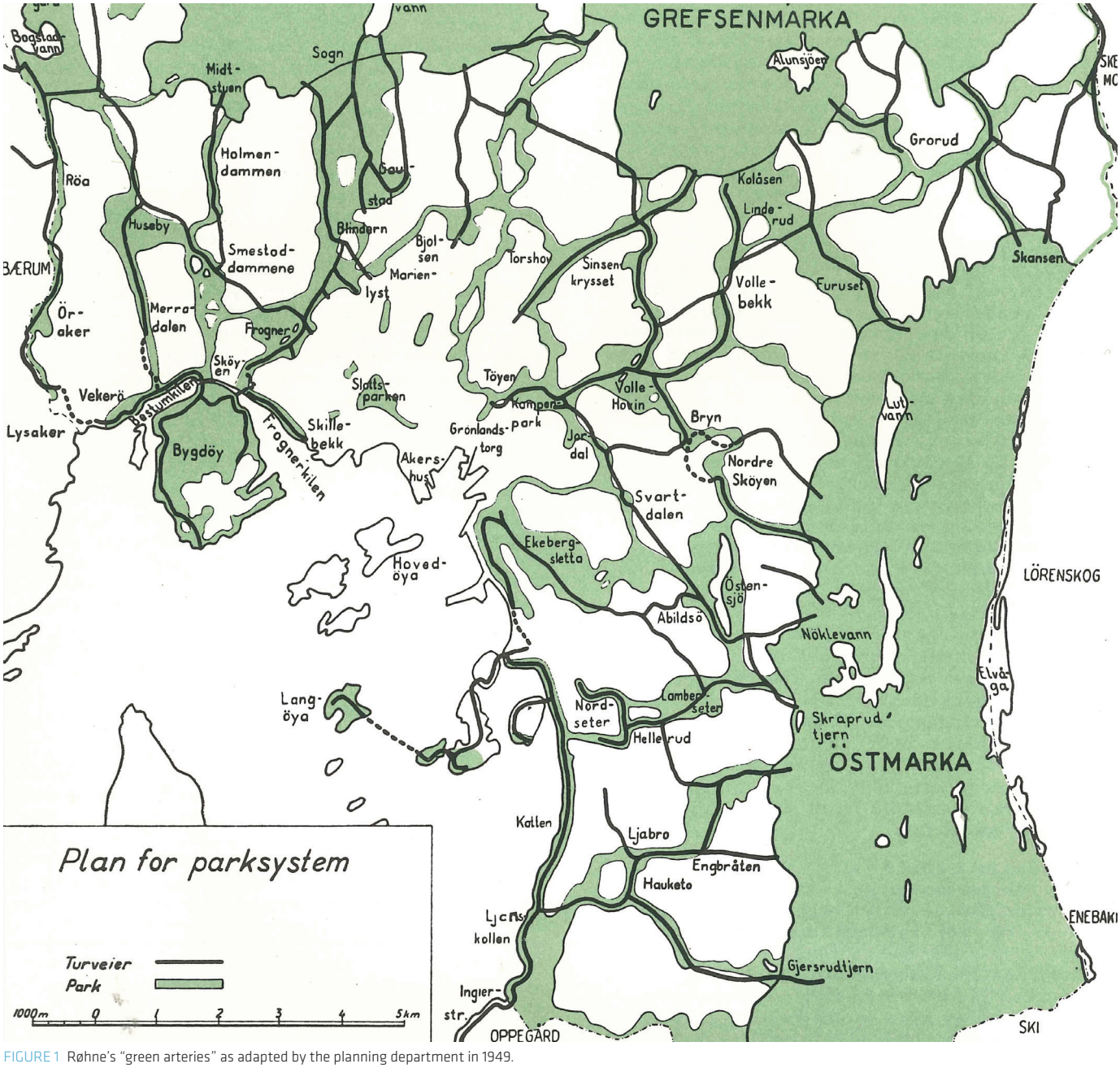

FIGURE 1 Røhne's "green arteries" as adapted by the planning department in 1949.

It is important to note how the forests and parks, and green belts, appear for the first time as main elements in the 1929 municipal master plan, and how Hals used what he called "modern" methods to estimate the required quantity of green. One of these methods was his categorisation of green areas in "district parks, community parks, nature parks, playgrounds, practice places, sports grounds, school gardens, allotment gardens and green belts." These categories relate well to his statement regarding the parks system; the idea was not only to satisfy standard requirements for e.g. playgrounds and sports facilities but also to "force all these isolated areas together in a cohesive parks system"(Hals, 1929). This echoed the mission statement from the Head of the Parks Department. According to Røhne, the parks should be integrated into a system of radial arteries, or "green fingers" (Røhne, 1967, p.70) (Fig. 1). Regarding the green areas as a system was obviously a better and more effective basis for a park policy. Parks were considered as an important part of the air purification system, so improving the air quality was also part of the Hals/Røhne vision for Oslo's parks system. This principle was followed up in later municipal plans (Fig. 2) (Thoren, 2009).

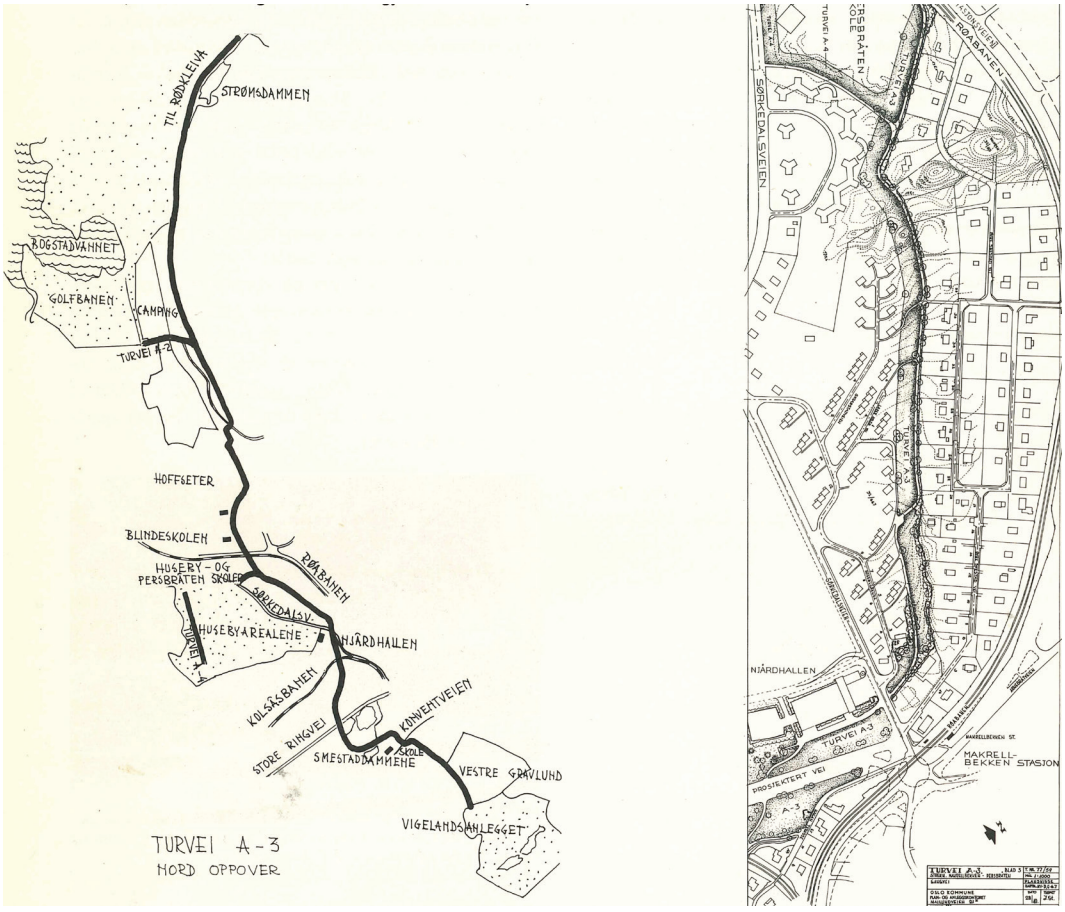

FIGURE 2 An example of Trail A3 showing the principle of a trail that connects important functions, both parks and daily destination points such as schools, local centres, sports grounds, etc. Left: Plan for Trail A3. Right: Detailed plan for a section of the trail. The trails should be adapted to natural features in the landscape (Oslo kommune Teknisk rådmann [Oslo municipality Technical Councillor] 1967, p. 17).

Critique of the Park Politics

The book *Vår tids hage* [The Garden of Our Time] was published 1939 by leading landscape architects Olav Aspesæter, Ellef Grobstok, Ola Nordal, Kristian Krafft, and Eyvind Strøm, as a response to the park politics in Norway. The authors reinforce many of the ideas developed in the Oslo park politics, especially the ideas related to the development of a cohesive park system (although they hardly give any credit to Røhne, nor to Hals). In relation to urban development, the authors state that "garden art today is not just a tendency, but is an indispensable and integral part of the modern urban organism" (Aspesæter et al., 1939, p.21). Yet, they are critical of parts of the development. They describe the contrast between what they call a "continental tradition" of royal luxurious parks in a monumental style, and the "English tradition" of more natural parks intended for everyday use. They claim that: "unfortunately for us, the Nordic countries in this time have been under the continental influence in this matter". They suggest that the style should be "national", and demand more "nature" in the parks. This critique, formulated just before WWII by Norwegian landscape architects, may have been coloured by a strong focus on nature e.g. formulated by the National Socialists during the same period (Wolschke-Bulmahn, 1997).

The authors seem to be more indifferent to the social attitude and concern demonstrated by Røhne's efforts, for example, to develop a park culture and residents' ownership of the new parks. *Vår tids hage* is of course not the only publication that provides commentary on park politics. The small pioneering group of garden architects were quite productive in terms of articles and books, but *Vår tids hage* is representative, and the authors are among the most influential garden architects of the time. Eyvind Strøm worked part-time in the planning division of Oslo's parks department from 1926 – 1936, and was a partner in the major garden architecture firm Strøm & Hindhamar from 1927 – 1936, finally heading the planning division of the Oslo parks department from 1936 until the mid-1960s.

Vår tids hage was probably also influenced by foreign titles on park politics such as C.Th.Sørensen's *Parkpolitik i Sogn og Købstad* [Park Politics in the Districts and the Cities] (1931), Hugo Koch: *Gartenkunst im Städtebau* [Garden Art in Urban Planning] (1914) and Harry Maasz: *Das Grün in Stadt und Land* [The Green in Town and Country]. On the final page of *Vår tids hage*, these, as well as other publications are mentioned as relevant further reading. Other contributions exploring the new ideas for parks and gardens, like the significant article by G.N.Brandt: *Der kommende Garten* [The Coming Garden] (1930), were part of the general contemporary discourse, and probably inspired the book (Stephensen, 2007, p.121). These and other sources of the time, emphasise the need to integrate "garden art" into urban planning. The authors state that regarding the new literature in this field, the English and German books are the most important.

The discussions and references to the parks development in Oslo show how the authors of the book 'The Garden of Our Time' were partly aligned with, and partly contradicted the park politics in Oslo, in the 1920s and 30s. The authors hardly comment the social strategy of the politics. They acknowledge the policy makers' efforts to include the urban green as an integral part of the master plan but are critical of the manifestation of neoclassical style that is the outcome of the politics. This can be linked to the "nature wave" that influenced landscape architecture from the 1930s onwards.

FIGURE 3 The trails should accommodate use during both the summer and the winter seasons. "Damefallet" [The Ladies' Fall] (Rolfsen, 1950).

Park Politics in Oslo Since WW2 - the Marka Border Example

The ideologies and discourse from the inter-war period have influenced the park politics in Oslo in the post-war era. This is partly due to long-lasting periods of office for central figures. Hals and Røhne both retired shortly after WW2, Røhne after more than 30 years in office. After his retirement, Røhne devoted himself to writing the history of the parks and recreational areas in Oslo (1967). The book, *Oslo kommunale parker og grønnanlegg 1810-1948* [Oslo Municipal Parks and Green Areas 1810-1948] is a detailed historical account of the parks' development. It was intended as a sort of dictionary for the parks department and had very few critical reflections (Apall-Olsen, 2007, p.44). In 1948, Oslo merged with the surrounding municipality, Aker, a step that had been Røhne's and Hals' intention since long before the war. The new borders corresponded largely to the plans from 1929. Hals' assistant from 1938 onwards, Erik Rolfsen, later became Chief City Planner in the 1950s, and continued the developments initiated by Hals and Røhne until the 1970s. Through specific plan decisions, parts of the politics from the 1920s were retained: the green arteries survived through The Parks System and Trail Plan of 1949, although they came under heavy pressure from developers. The green arteries principle was confirmed in a plan promoted by Rolfsen as late as 1975 (Thoren, 2009).

Not all parts of the park policies have emerged as part of the discourse on green structure per se.
An example of this is the peculiar development related to the building zone: the Marka Border. This border was the result of a decision from 1934 to limit the developed areas in Oslo to a certain altitude, due to the constraint on water pressure. Housing development above this altitude was prohibited, because the waterworks could not guarantee a steady water supply. This limit later became one of the most central issues in the park politics. The contour line at a specific altitude became a line that divides the city and the green hills and forests around it: the so-called 'Marka-Border'. Technological developments soon made the water pressure argument irrelevant, but gradually the justification for this border changed; the need for recreational areas for the rapidly growing city increased. This turn of the argument was possible because the discourse regarding the need for recreational areas was already established. The border is still a central subject in park politics in Oslo today, and the phenomenon, and its history, is still the subject of research.
In the 1970s, the city planning office in Oslo attempted to have the green belt and the border protected by law. The transition area between the built-up area and the green belt created a certain feeling of ownership and, one could say, a park culture, which may be considered a new version of the park culture of the 1920s. A slogan for Oslo shows to what extent the Marka has become a part of the city's identity: "the blue and the green and the city in between". (Børrud, 2015) Elin Børrud refers to the European Landscape Convention when analysing the unique qualities and challenges of this transition zone, especially the forces and pressures that transform it (ibid). In the 1980s, neo-liberal politics changed much of the park politics in Oslo. Private developments broke away from the earlier consensus, and the legislative ideas were put aside. The Marka-Border, however, largely withstood the attempted developments outside the building zone. The first decade of the 2000s has brought new attention to green values and new efforts to meet environmental challenges. In 2009, the Marka Act was finally endorsed, and the Oslo green belt is thus now permanently protected, and it seems that Oslo is entering a new era in its park politics. In 2019, Oslo will receive the European Green Capital Award. The park politics and the protected green belt is a central part of the justification for the award:

"Oslo is the capital city of Norway and has a population of 658,390. The city is surrounded by the Marka Forest, a nationally protected area, and the Oslo Fjord, both connected by a number of waterways. Oslo's approach to conserving its natural areas and restoring its waterway network is just one of the many reasons why it won the European Green Capital Award for 2019."

From the European Commission website http://ec.europa.eu/environment/europeangreencapital/winning-cities/2019-oslo/ (July 2018)

The Long Lines of Park Politics in Oslo

The review of the park politics in Oslo from the 1920s, its critique, and the development up to the present day, reveals a series of rather distinct periods in the city's green urban planning history. In the inter-war period, the parks system ideas are developed, and after the war, the green structure system is implemented. This gradually turned into a period of decline, which characterises the period after 1980. The growth, as well as the decline, is to some extent associated with the municipal financial situation and the decline around 1980 especially is connected to the financial crisis, resulting in poor municipal finances and a population decline, as well as a shift in general policy. Recent decades of densification and population growth have made it more challenging to safeguard green structure today, and this has led to attempts to restore stronger park politics. These attempts have now resulted in the European green capital award 2019.

A periodization of the development of park politics in Oslo may thus be as follows:

- Until 1916: Emergence of public parks in Oslo
- 1916 – 1948: The parks system approach is introduced
- 1948 –1980: The green structure grows and culminates
- 1980– 2009: Discontinuation and decline
- Since 2010: Attempts to restore a park politics.

These examples show how the park politics that were formulated early in the 20th century have influenced the development of the parks and green areas in Oslo for several decades, and still have value, almost a century later. It also illustrates the significance of a planning discourse inherited from the first city planners and their emphasis on the need for green recreational areas in the city. Reading the contemporary critics of the park politics from that time provides depth to the understanding of the significance of the early planning efforts in Oslo.

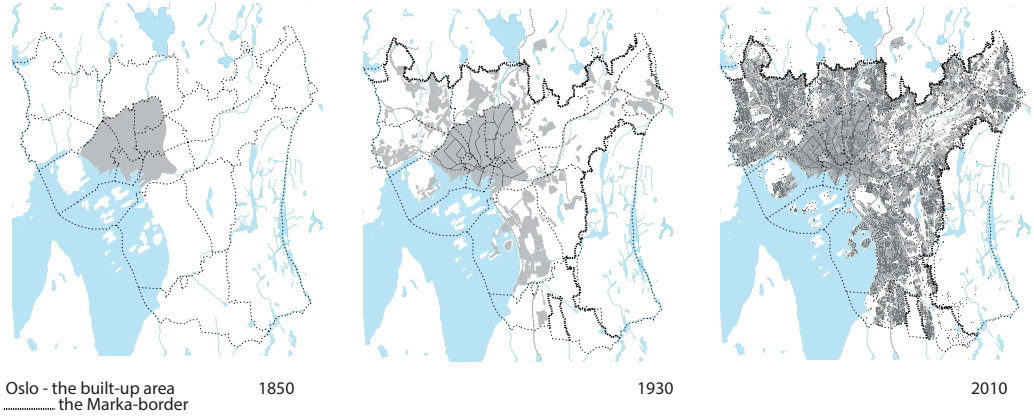

FIGURE 4 The maps of Oslo's built-up area in 1850, 1930, and 2010 show how efficiently the Marka-Border has worked to limit the urban development. (Drawing by Elin Børrud).

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The Social Aftermaths of Landscape Architecture

Urban Parks and Green Gentrification

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Abstract

To date, the scholarship of landscape architecture has ignored the evolving research on green gentrification, which studies the mechanisms behind the social aftermaths of urban environmental improvements. The paper uses a case study analysis to prove that landscape architecture practice shares with other planning professions and policy makers the responsibility for the displacement of residents following environmental improvements. The paper analyses the inclusion of social structures, social justice, and the social impacts of projects in the professional discourse, scholarship, and practitioners' design discourse. The interpretations of the case study and the scholarship maintain that there is a desire to include social structures and social justice in the discipline's traditional mandate for preservation and representation of the relationship between culture and nature. However, partially admitted deficiencies in tradition, knowledge, and methodology have thwarted this goal in both the practice and scholarship of landscape architecture. The research on the social and economic benefits of a project's performance is uncritical of the lack of assessment of the detrimental social outcomes of projects. By demonstrating and criticising the state of the art concerning the treatment of social structures in landscape architecture, the paper attempts to expand the discussion about the discipline's scope, performance, pedagogy, and research.

Keywords

landscape architecture, green gentrification, social impacts, socio-environmental urban justice, design discourse, Jaffa, Tel Aviv-Jaffa

"All socio-political projects are ecological projects and vice versa," argued David Harvey (1996, pp.174-175), yet, these categories are rarely considered to be mutually dependent. Urban policies tend to separate "things natural from things social [...] while ignoring the inevitable mediations between "nature" and "society"" (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2000, p.574). Scholars in the disciplines of geography, urban studies, and urban political ecology have analysed the conflictual continuities between the social and environmental facets of urban renewal schemes. They recognised a recurring phenomenon of supposedly apolitical, beneficial urban environmental improvement, which is accomplished at the cost of displacing long-established local residents. They conceptualised these processes with the terms "ecological gentrification" or "green gentrification" (i.e. Checker, 2011; Curran & Hamilton, 2012; Dooling, 2009; Gibbs & Krueger, 2007; Hagerman, 2006; Kear, 2007; Quastel, 2009; Wolch, Byrneb & Newell, 2014). Although the scholarship and practice of landscape architecture are highly involved and rooted in environmental urban improvement, to date, studies in this field have ignored this body of knowledge.

Utilising a mainly interpretive research strategy (Deming & Swaffield, 2011), this paper reviews the scholarship and professional discourse about landscape architecture with regard to the social impact of urban projects. It then analyses the design discourse in one case study. The main research questions address professional education and design research with regard to social dynamics and scholarly evaluations of the social impacts of projects. Specifically, I investigate three questions:

1. Do practitioners and scholars consider the possible or existing detrimental impact of their designs their professional concern?
2. Does the scholarship on projects' performance in landscape architecture refer to deep urban social structures and assess the detrimental social effects of these projects?
3. Are landscape architects educated to identify, study, and assess urban social dynamics?

A review of the literature on green gentrification will frame a subsequent review of a) the current landscape architecture's professional discourse on the "social" and b) scholarship about the performance of completed projects, especially regarding their social and economic benefits. Thereafter, and in light of a historical review of housing and environmental urban policies, the paper will analyse design discourse using the case study of Jaffa Slope Park in Tel Aviv-Jaffa to examine the outcomes of the literature analysis.

The Discourse on Ecological Gentrification

Gentrification is the capitalist "accumulation by dispossession [... of] low-income populations" (Harvey, 2008, p.34), a process in which long-time local households and businesses cannot afford to pay their increased rent (Marcuse 1985; Smith, 1998). Critiques of gentrification view housing not as a commodity but as a "basic need satisfaction, upon which people depend absolutely" (Slater, 2012, p.172)[1].In this vein, urban projects are assessed according to their contribution to a more just, equitable, and affordable urban environment (Fainstein, 2010; Hartman, Keating & LeGates, 1982). According to Peter Marcuse, "The question is not whether [...] gentrification [can be] controlled, [and] displacement eliminated [...] but rather whether there is a desire to do them" (Marcuse 1986, p.175, original emphasis). Municipalities generally do not try to prevent gentrification (Levine-Einstein & Glick, 2016). Rather, they help entrepreneurs profit from the rental gap (Smith, 1998) by changing the zoning of land use, adding building rights through new urban master plans, and financing public spaces and urban infrastructures. The last two decades of urban research have observed

1. For an overview of pro-gentrification scholarship, see Slater (2012)

that capital accumulation increasingly relies on the development of open public spaces, which trails urban environmental plans and policies (Checker, 2011; Curran & Hamilton, 2012; Gibbs & Krueger, 2007; Kear, 2007). From their first appearance in Britain and the United States, urban parks were not detached from urban capitalist accumulation processes. Speculative development was one of the means for creating the first urban public parks in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century (Taylor, 1995). Speculation on property values was one facet of the campaign for establishing Central Park in New York City. During the park's creation, the city evicted the residents of Seneca Village, who were the owners of the land that the city confiscated (Rosenzweig & Blackmar, 1992).

Melissa Checker (2011, p.212) concedes that speculation and displacement following urban green enterprises may be an old phenomenon, but that the environmental lifestyle and apolitical environmental policies are specific to this (neoliberal) moment in history (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2000). Since the turn of the twentieth century, cities have competed to attract residents by touting their sustainability, environmental improvements, and lavish green public spaces (Enright, 2013; Margalit & Alfasi, 2016). Through urban renewal, cities have attempted to rewrite the narrative of their identities by transforming post-industrial landscapes into naturalised ones. In doing so, they have sometimes displaced impoverished working-class residents in the near environs (Anguelovski, Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018; Hagerman, 2006; Sandberg, 2014). Neighbourhood clean-ups combined with ecological improvement may come at the cost of social and racial equity and the local residents' "right to their neighborhood" (Anguelovski, 2013). The terms "ecological gentrification", "environmental gentrification", and "green gentrification" conceptualise these social effects of environmentally oriented urban projects, which cause or contribute to the displacement of vulnerable renters and street dwellers (Checker 2011; Dooling, 2009; Quastel, 2009).

The "Social" in Landscape Architecture Discourse and Scholarship

Landscape architects and landscape architecture's theory, discourse, and pedagogy are deeply involved in the creation of new and renewed urban infrastructures. The discipline's theory maintains that landscape architecture should take precedence over other planning and design disciplines in creating urban infrastructure and renewal schemes (Allen 2001; Corner 1999; 2006; Waldheim, 2006). The New Landscape Architecture Declaration of 2016 is an example of the contention about the primacy of the discipline's practitioners. It maintains that, "Landscape architects are uniquely positioned to [...] address complex social and ecological problems" (LAF, 2016). It also seeks to promote ecology and society equally: "We vow to create places that serve the higher purpose of social and ecological justice for all peoples and all species" (LAF, 2016).

Nevertheless, the research in landscape architecture reflects its practitioners' limited understanding of and interest in social dynamics and social change (Thompson, 2000). The discipline's leading manual of research methodology contends that traditionally, the "distinctive point of view or mandate" of the discipline is "the protection and enhancement of the conceptual, material, and phenomenal relationships between human *culture* and nonhuman *nature*" (Deming & Swaffield, 2011, p.18, emphasis added). The 2016 New Landscape Architecture Declaration ratifies the twofold structure of *nature* and *culture*: "As designers [we are] versed in both *environmental* and *cultural* systems" (LAF 2016, emphasis added). These definitions, by both a major theoretical source and a widespread professional document, demonstrate that landscape architecture's mandate focuses on the associations of the *natural* with the *cultural* rather than the *natural* with the *social*. This preliminary analysis may indicate that the disciplinary integration of "things natural" and "things social" is limited, and that the profession's pretence of promoting social and environmental justice might be considered immoderate.

The limited understanding of urban social structures and dynamics and the meaning of urban social justice is evident in the scholarship on the Landscape Performance Series (LPS), a praised LAF initiative, which evaluates the post-occupancy performance of landscape architecture's projects. The LAF funds performance research, which is conducted by collaborating scholars, practitioners and students. The research quantifies three types of benefits: social, environmental, and economic. A study that assessed the social benefits of the LPS maintained that the LPS "draw attention to social justice and social sustainability" (Yang, Li & Binder ., 2015, p.6). Two of the major challenges of achieving urban social justice are affordable housing and the sustainability of communities. Susan Fainstein (2010) maintains that urban equity requires "bettering the situation of those who without state intervention would suffer from relative deprivation" (p. 24), especially those "who have historically suffered from discrimination in achieving access to opportunity in housing, education, and employment" (p. 102). However, none of the LPS metrics of social benefits considers housing affordability. On the other hand, an "increase in property value" and an "increase in rents" are metrics in the economic benefits of the LPS (Wang, Yang, Li, & Binder, ,2016, p. 424). Neither the LPS, nor the scholarship that assesses the LPS research, questions whose social or economic benefits are being evaluated. They ignore the possibility that the supposed economic benefit of an increase in property values might in fact be a disadvantage for low-income populations who can no longer afford their homes when environmental improvements take place in their neighbourhoods. The LPS categories and the scholarship that studies them reflect the acceptance of a deep urban social structure of inequality and of the common world view that gentrification is not to be prevented, but promoted (Levine-Einstein & Glick, 2016).

The discipline's ambition to promote urban environmental and social justice through vast urban planning programs (LAF, 2016) ensnares an already admitted lack of education on the "social" and consequently, an uncritical research vis-à-vis the social impacts of completed projects. These conclusions will be re-examined in the analysis of the design discourse in the case study of building a new coastal urban park.

A Case Study: Jaffa Slope Park

Inaugurated in 2010, Jaffa Slope Park sprawls beneath the neighbourhood of Ajami, originally a Palestinian neighbourhood that grew south of Jaffa's walls at the end of the nineteenth century (Fig. 1). Today, it is a Jewish-Arab neighbourhood in the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The new park beneath it is a celebrated environmental achievement that was created by the municipality, in which, for the first time in Israel, a quarter of a square kilometre of construction waste was recycled on-site (Braudo & Maoz, 2010).

I will use the minutes of public participation meetings on the topic of planning the Jaffa Slope Park and interviews I conducted with the park's leading landscape architect, Alisa Braudo, to analyse the design discourse[2].However, first I provide a brief historical review of the housing and environmental policies in West Jaffa between 1948 and 2010. In April 1948, the Palestinian city of Yafa was besieged and bombarded (Morris, 1990). Of the 73,000 residents who lived in this city prior to the 1948 war, only 4,000 remained (Golan, 2001). Those who left during the protracted battles were not permitted to return (Morris, 1990). Depopulated homes were confiscated by the state and immediately occupied by thousands of Jewish immigrants, Holocaust survivors, and Arabs who were displaced from their homes (Golan, 2001). Arabs and Jews shared the city intimately, though not without tension (Abu Shehadeh, 2010). They were all state-protected tenants in the Palestinian homes that the state had appropriated (Golan, 2001).

2 Alisa Braudo is a principal in Braudo-Maoz Landscape Architecture Ltd. I conducted several interviews with her in her office in Ramat Gan and on the park's site in 2008, at a time when the park was under construction.

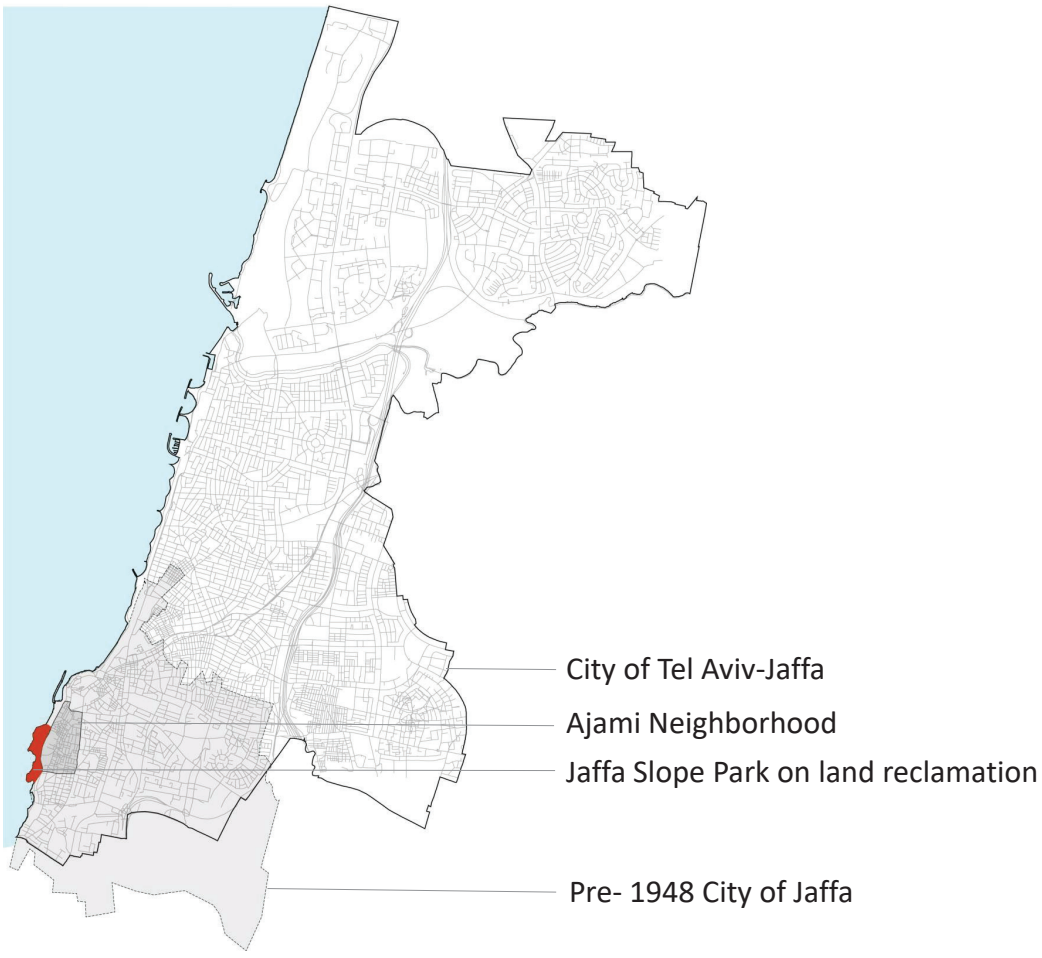

FIGURE 1 Site map. Main locales: Jaffa Slope Park by the Mediterranean (in red); Ajami neighbourhood in west Jaffa; municipal boundaries of the Palestinian city of Jaffa until its fall in 1948; and the current municipal boundaries of Tel Aviv-Jaffa (Map design by author; execution by Yeela Gundar).

Planning and Housing Policies

The first Israeli urban master plans for West Jaffa, designed in the 1950s and 1960s, called for an almost total demolition of the existing Palestinian built environs, to be replaced with modern housing projects. During the 1970s and 1980s, Jewish residents gradually moved out of Jaffa's western neighbourhoods and bought new, state-subsidised homes in housing projects of budding neighbouring (Monterescu, 2015). Arab protected tenants, who were not included in the subsidy programmes (Meishar, in progress), remained in Ajami. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, local Arab families suffered a severe housing shortage and were underserved by the municipality in all facets of life (Mazawi & Khuri-Makhul, 1991). During the 1970s, the municipality demolished about 2,000 housing units in Jaffa in accordance with the urban master plan (Monterescu, 2015; Shaqr, 1996).

In the late 1980s, the municipality had a change of heart and created a new urban master plan for West Jaffa that favoured preserving existing structures. Consequently, the demolitions stopped. This change occurred in response to the trend in which the Palestinian home (known in local parlance as an "Arab house")

became desirable in Jewish-Israeli housing culture (Athamny 2009; Nitzan-Shiftan, 2003). As in many urban regeneration schemes, the new urban master plan added building rights to the existing buildings and empty lots. Simultaneously, in 1992, the state decided to privatise most of the confiscated Palestinian urban properties that it owned and managed. The protected tenants were offered the opportunity to purchase the properties they lived in at a discounted rate. Nevertheless, this discount was not sufficient for low-income Jaffa residents, most of whom were Palestinians (Wallerstein & Silverman, 2009). The planners of the urban master plan, among them a landscape architect, did not include a mechanism to protect Palestinian renters from the predictable outcomes of such planning and housing policies, namely, spatial displacement (Monterescu, 2015; Wallerstein & Silverman, 2009). Residents submitted approximately a thousand rejections to the urban master plan. Most of them thought that the plan did not suit their needs, especially the Arab residents' housing distress. In 1991, the Tel Aviv District Planning Committee overruled almost all of the rejections (Tel Aviv District Planning Committee, 1991).

As the housing crisis continued, protests called "The Housing Intifada" erupted in 1996. Since then, the state has supplied only 22 subsidised housing units in Jaffa (Wallerstein & Silverman, 2009). In 2007, in order to promote the marketing of its properties and to ease the residents' displacement, the state sent 497 eviction orders to a third of its tenants in Jaffa who over the years had made unlicensed changes in their homes (Wallerstein & Silverman, 2009).

The state's protected tenants were the victims of detrimental housing policies that the state inflicted directly, and the municipality steered indirectly through its urban planning. The municipality destroyed potential housing units but later gave them extra building rights. In both cases, the housing units were not available for the majority of the neighbourhood's residents. Initially, the state collected low rents from its protected tenants. However, most of these people lived in very small homes. Ultimately, the state withdrew its responsibility for its tenants by privatising their homes and suddenly enforcing the laws forbidding them from enlarging or changing their homes. Since the 1990s, massive physical changes, along with creeping gentrification, have been the outcomes of these housing and planning policies. They accelerated when the city presented its plans to build Jaffa Slope Park.

FIGURE 2 Changes of west Jaffa's shoreline and urban texture. Aerial Photographs of west Jaffa: 1949 – an original Palestinian urban texture a year after Israel captured Jaffa; 1976 – during home demolitions, construction waste dumping and land reclamation (the original shoreline in white); 2012 – after the construction of Jaffa Slope Park. (Sources: 1949, P/53-7796-8 and 1976, MM/503-2730-2734 Survey of Israel, Agency for Geodesy, Cadastre, Mapping and Geographic Information; 2012, ©Google, ©2012 GeoEye).

FIGURE 3 A view from Jaffa's beach to the construction waste-mound shortly before the recycling process started in 2004 (Photograph by artist Dafna Shalom ©, Reef-Jaffa (2004-2009) #3. Digital print 60x60 cm).

Environmental Policies

The municipal environmental policies regarding West Jaffa resembled the housing policies in their indifference to the well-being of the local population. Since 1948, a one-kilometre strip of rocky shore beneath the Ajami neighbourhood has been an active socio-natural area in a neglected neighbourhood that has few open public spaces. The natural flat rocks are a unique landscape in the Eastern Mediterranean, which contains abundant littoral fauna and flora. In Ajami, it supplied a livelihood, food, and wide-ranging natural marine amenities and experiences to local residents of varied ages (Meishar, in progress). Having ignored its importance since 1969, the municipality has decided on a land reclamation policy along this shore and dumped the entire city's construction waste on the lively beach. Among the waste that buried the rocky beach were the ruins of Jaffa's Palestinian homes. Within two decades, the waste mound reached a height of fifteen meters and stretched to over 200,000m² (Fig. 2; Fig. 3). In the early 1970s, the municipality designated the land reclamation area for public parks only (Meishar, in progress). However, since the mid-1970s, lucrative land uses such as hotels, a marina, and other recreational seaside amenities were added to the municipality vision and were included in the new conservationist master plan (Mazor, 1981). Together with the building rights and home sales policy, the plan added marine infrastructure to ease the privatisation of the land reclamation area. The new urban master plan did not reach validation until 1995 due to disagreements between the municipality and the District Planning Committee about this vision (Idelitz, 1989).

FIGURE 4 A view from Jaffa's beach to the construction waste-mound during its recycling process (Photograph by artist Dafna Shalom ©, Reef-Jaffa (2004-2009) #14. Digital print 60x60 cm).

FIGURE 5 Jaffa Slope Park (Image by author, 2012).

Environmental hazards were inflicted on the remaining low-income Arab residents. Toxic fluids dripped from the mound into the water, hundreds of garbage trucks drove through the neighbourhood's narrow streets, and bad smells and dust were carried into the neighbourhood's homes with the daily western breezes. The destruction of Ajami's urban littoral socio-nature and the ongoing environmental hazards were manifestations of environmental racial discrimination (Bullard, 1994). In 1988, a local Arab organisation in collaboration with a Jewish Jaffan gentrifiers' organisation won a legal battle against the disposal of waste. Consequently, the municipality stopped the dumping on the waste mound.The state had the last say on the coastal planning. New Amendments to State Maritime Master Plan No.13/4 ended the possibility of privatising the land or building on it, by designating all of the land reclamation area for public park only. Nevertheless, this supposedly apolitical policy to promote the environment reflects a separation of "things natural from things social" (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2000, p.574). The plan's regulations exposed the tight relatedness of the environmental to the social. They conditioned the planning for high-end buildings on the park's margins (with a view to the sea) on the recycling of the waste mound (Instructions of State Master Plan No. 13/4 A2 2008: 4-5). They did not condition the creation of the park on building public or affordable housing units on the site or on its margins. It was a one-way street that promoted environmental rehabilitation at the expense of social equity.

FIGURE 6 Landscape of green gentrification. Ajami neighbourhood homes at the eastern thresholds of Jaffa Slope Park: Old Palestinian home in the front; renovated or new buildings at the back, which use all the building rights that the valid urban master plan added (photo by theImage by author, 2018).

In 2003, Tel Aviv-Jaffa's mayor ordered that the waste mound's materials be recycled (Fig. 4). The firm Braudo-Maoz Landscape Architecture drew up plans for the Jaffa Slope Park (Fig. 5). By 2005, the municipality published a bid for the recycling works (Braudo, 2008b). As expected, the progress of this solely environmental policy has accelerated the pre-existing gentrification (Fig. 6). Officials were aware of the link between environmental improvement and property prices. The CEO of the Ezra Uvitzaron Municipal Corporation, which led the recycling process on-site, noted that, "Following the actions that were taken in the [park's] site, the property values rose in tens of percentages" (Kushrak, 2008).

Two local real estate agents were cited in the print media saying that since the municipality's announcement of the recycling works in 2004, property prices in Ajami had climbed 40 to 100 percent (Ilnayi, 2010; Nahum-Halevi, 2010). In agreement with municipalities' common position that there is no need to prevent gentrification (Levine-Einstein & Glick, 2016; Marcuse 1985; Slater, 2012), the head of the Jaffa Local Administration explicitly supported the expected displacement of residents: "The increase in property values may help the protected tenants. When the value increases, they can receive higher rates for their rights and buy an apartment in a cheaper area" (Rosen, 2006).

In the 1990s and the 2000s, the city and the state sometimes acted in collaboration and at times independently or in disagreement. The outcome of the fluctuating policies was an urban pincer movement that weaved together new urban master plans, neo-liberal privatisation policies, the sudden enforcement of the law, and environmental improvements. However, these movements attest that "[a]ll socio-political projects are ecological projects and vice versa" (Harvey, 1996, p.174-175). One cannot separate the park's landscape architecture from the combined socio-environmental process of green gentrification.

Design Discourse Analysis

To analyse the design discourse around the building of the Jaffa Slope Park, I utilised minutes from the public deliberations on the park's design and interviews with the park's landscape architect. Although the public discussions covered many topics, I considered only those that concern urban social justice and the social effects of the park's construction.

At our final meeting, during the park's construction, Alisa Braudo, the park's leading landscape architect, shared some disturbing concerns about the social impact of the park's construction on housing affordability: "What is happening now, the eviction of fifty residents from their homes […]." I made a quick correction: "The 500 eviction orders" and she continued: *"And I don't know why.* Something is going on, simultaneously, and *I don't understand what it is.* How would it implicate the park? […] Parks of this kind will raise the apartments' values and it will cause distress. It's a real dilemma in each situation where the park increases property values and the local population is excluded […] But then *the need for the park was much more dominant.* […] It is a good deed altogether" (Braudo, 2008b).

It appears that the architect had an understanding of the interconnectedness between the park's construction, property values, and housing affordability. However, from her statement about her missing knowledge, it seems that there is no design-research tradition, nor expectations and standards for studying the social aspects of housing policies, housing affordability, and residents' displaceability. In comparison, a thorough environmental study of the suitability of coastal vegetation was conducted in a special testing lot right on the site. It is also not clear how to measure and value the "dominant" needs of a locale, whether environmental or societal. A shared disciplinary responsibility for social questions and recognised research methods for collecting data on social aspects would have encouraged practitioners to educate themselves along with their design research.

Four years before the above conversation, in 2004, residents of Jaffa demanded a stop to the design for the Jaffa Slope Park and insisted that the plans include their needs and visions (Braudo, 2008a). A petition signed by 500 residents led to the establishment of a planning participation procedure, and public meetings took place in Jaffa between November 2004 and February 2005, with nine ethnically and geographically divided groups (Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality & Braudo-Maoz, 2006). The individual face-to-face meetings with each group were steered by municipal officials with the participation of landscape architects. The residents' statements were documented (Braudo, 2008a).

During the meeting with the Palestinian leadership group, the participants stressed that, "We want to be included and to follow the progress of the planning; we want to see alternatives; *to consider the site in the context of more comprehensive future planning (what is going to be built and where)"* (Tel Aviv-Jaffa & Braudo-Maoz, 2016, p. 17, emphasis added). The Palestinians' demand to consider the site's planning in a wider planning context, probably of other land uses, politicises a supposedly apolitical environmental improvement design. Had they been presented with drafts for the state's maritime master plan, they might have learnt about the one-way conditioning of permitting high-end residential buildings on the site's rehabilitation and not vice versa. The residents met with the officials and the landscape architects again four months later, when the final design plan was presented in a plenary session. The municipality conducted the procedure itself in accordance with democratic values such as communication and recognition in these meetings (Healy in Fainstein, 2010; Young, 1990). However, planning theory places little value on the ability of public deliberations to promote urban social justice. As Susan Fainstein (2010) argues, public deliberations in urban renewal plans are limited because "their ability to halt gentrification, however, is restricted by their lack of control over private-market activities" (p. 39). Nancy Fraser (1997) rejects the "[l]iberal political theory [which] assumes that it is possible to organize a democratic form of political life on

the basis of socioeconomic and sociosexual structures that generate systemic inequalities" (In Fainstein, 2010, p.21). Indeed, the long lasting systemic inequalities in West Jaffa were outcomes of socioeconomic policies and regulations that were ignored during the deliberations, obviating the possibility of a democratic, political discourse on social change.

In a meeting that was held with the Yafa Yefat Yamim Group, consisting of long-time Jewish gentrifiers, one participant requested "housing units for the poor." Another participant argued in favour of "socioeconomic planning" (Tel Aviv-Jaffa& Braudo-Maoz, 2006: 15-16). Braudo recalled (in a conversation) that, "We [landscape architects and municipal officials] said that *we can't do that*; we said that *this is not within the scope of our work and our possibilities"* (Braudo, 2008b, emphasis added). Indeed, their commission was for a park on an area that was designated by the state's maritime master plan for a park only. However, the state's master plan was still in its planning stages. Informing its planners about the communications regarding affordable housing around the park would have circumvented the supposedly omnipotent private market and created a political discourse with policy makers.

The refusal of the officials and landscape architects to discuss housing policy together with environmental policy and park design exemplifies "separating things natural from things social" (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2000, p. 574). Landscape architecture leadership to ensure both environmental and social justice requires a tradition of including social structures and dynamics in the discipline's *"scopes"* and *"possibilities."*

Conclusion

This paper demonstrates that landscape architecture is an active agent, among others, in current processes of urban green gentrification. The analysis of the professional discourse indicates a desire to intertwine environmental and social justice; however, the discipline's traditional borders of stewardship and pedagogy do not include social structure change and social justice. I also show that the leading LAF research initiative of the LPS, which assesses the performance of projects, does not consider social injustices and measures property values apolitically in accordance with the logic of the free market. Furthermore, scholarly research that studies the research of the LPS is not critical of this tendency. To achieve a level of critical scholarship and practice that includes the "social" and thus transcends the historic boundaries of stewardship of landscape architecture, we need a thorough study of the discipline's ethics, pedagogies, and design-research methods for evaluating designs. Such a study may lead to the creation of pedagogies and research methods that integrate "things natural" with "things social."

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Form, Funding and Political Purposes of Urban Parks

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Abstract

This paper examines the political motivations behind the establishment of public urban parks in western Europe and the United States, and addresses issues affecting the funding of those parks. It does this through a chronological examination of park development, arguing that the physical form and facilities provided in parks reflect the purposes for which they were designated. As such, the form and purpose of parks therefore reflect, in their various forms and functions, the intentions and values of their funding agencies. The paper examines principal sources of funding for public parks, and documents current challenges in funding urban parks with public money.

Keywords

urban parks, political purposes, park funding, Western Europe, United States

Introduction

Parks have evolved from being paternalistically-conceived pastoral antidotes to infernal industrial settlements to being recreation components of the City Beautiful and then components of the 'city functional', and on to currently being seen as providing economic and green infrastructure services. This transition has included contributions to human physical and psychological health, to fitness through active recreation, to raising the value of neighbouring real estate, to the structuring of urban form, to the restoration of derelict land, and to city marketing. Latterly, as climate change has become a more politically-charged topic, the role of urban parks in providing 'ecological services' has become more important. At the same time, single-purpose parks have been created, particularly for play – like Maggie Daley Park in Chicago and an extension to Parc André-Citroën in Paris. The projects referred to in this paper are generally larger parks and park systems. They are listed chronologically in Table 1 (below). Between them, they demonstrate a range of purposes for parks and a range of funding models for them.

PARK	LOCATION	DATE OF CURRENT DESIGN
Englischer Garten	Munich, Germany	1789
Royal Parks	London, England	1820s
Tiergarten	Berlin, Germany	1833
Derby Arboretum	Derby, England	1840
Birkenhead Park	Merseyside, England	1845
Central Park	New York, USA	1858
Haussmann + Alphand's Parks	Paris, France	1850s and 1860s
Prospect Park, Brooklyn	New York, USA	1866
Forest Park, St Louis	Missouri, USA	1876
Minneapolis Park System	Minnesota, USA	1883
Kansas City Parks and Boulevards	Missouri, USA	1893
Hamburg Stadtpark	Hamburg, Germany	1910
Grant Park	Chicago, USA	1915
Amsterdamse Bos	Amsterdam, The Netherlands	1935
Paley Park	New York, USA	1967
Parc de la Villette	Paris, France	1983
Parc André-Citroën	Paris, France	1987
Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord	Duisburg, Germany	1992
Westergasfabriek	Amsterdam, The Netherlands	1998
Millennium Park	Chicago, USA	2004
The High Line	New York, USA	2004
Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park	London, England	2009

TABLE 1 Chronology of Parks Addressed in Paper

Galen Cranz's *The Politics of Park Design* (1982) reviewed motivations for the funding and design of public parks in San Francisco, Chicago, and New York. Cranz examined the archived minutes of the respective city committees responsible for parks in order to evince their motivations for investing public money in urban parks. In that process, she identified four eras of park development – the Pleasure Ground (1850-1900), the Reform Park (1900-30), the Recreation Facility (1930-65), and the Open-Space System (from 1965). Latterly, with her student Michael Boland, Cranz identified, from a global study of recent park projects, the emergence (from 1990) of what they termed the Sustainable Park era.

Cranz's eras can, of course, be questioned. Geographer Terence Young, in his study of parks in San Francisco, concluded that there were only two eras of park development – the romantic era up to the 1920s, after which 'urban parks were no longer *the* promoters of moral order' and 'changed little', and the rationalistic era whose 'vision continues to dominate' (Young, 2004, p. 13). So, essentially, Young identified eras of romantic paternalism and pragmatic functionalism.

My suggested chronology – based on an examination of parks across western Europe and North America (as opposed to the relatively small number of cities studied by Cranz and by Young) comprises:

- the industrial city before 1940, comprising two parts – first, a pastoral / romantic era providing parks for passive recreation in contrast to the infernal industrial city, and second, the post-Nietzschean, Modernist era up until World War II, typified by axial, neo-Baroque parks, such as the Hamburg Stadtpark and other Volksparks, which were designed primarily for active recreation

- from World War II to 1980, an era of rapid suburbanisation, and de-centred expansion of cities during which parks were often underfunded and allowed to deteriorate

- the post-industrial era, after about 1980 – with 'white flight' reversed and lower income groups being pushed to the edges of cities. This coincides with establishment of public-private partnerships for the restoration of ageing pastoral parks in the United States – like Central and Prospect Parks in New York, and Forest Park in St Louis – and the creation of new parks like Parc de la Villette in Paris, the Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord, the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, and Olympic Park in London – all active recreational venues on former industrial land and all with significant national government funding.

Park Purposes

No matter how one defines eras of park development, there is a clear sequence of urban parks being designed as, first, a response to living conditions in industrial cities; then as places for the development of physical fitness; next as run-down places for people left behind by post World War II suburbanisation; and latterly as resources that have been restored and revivified by and for citizens returning to living more centrally. This pattern of changes has been supported by funds from a diverse range of sources.

FIGURE 1 The Englischer Garten, Munich, Germany. Converted for public use in 1789 (Photograph by Alan Tate, October 2014).

FIGURE 2 Derby Arboretum, England. Donated by industrialist Joseph Strutt, opened in 1840 (Photograph by Alan Tate, August 2013).

Nineteenth-century parks in Europe included existing royal and military sites like the Royal Parks in London, the Bois de Boulogne and the Bois de Vincennes in Paris, the Tiergarten in Berlin, and the Englischer Garten in Munich (Fig. 1). These were donated to citizens (or made available – the Royal Parks in London remain in Crown ownership) and redesigned with national government funds for public use – to avert political unrest as much as to provide sanitary 'lungs' in the city. It is worth noting, for instance, that, in 1789 – the year of the French Revolution, the military land now occupied by the Englischer Garten was allocated by Archduke Charles Theodore (1724-99), first for crop gardens for soldiers and then as a public park.

The conversion of royal parkland into public parks by monarchs and their governments was followed by examples of private philanthropy and then by public funding of parks. Private philanthropy is exemplified by Derby Arboretum (1840) – a donation from industrialist Joseph Strutt (Fig. 2), and Birkenhead Park (1845) was the first publicly-funded urban park in the world (Fig. 3). Both projects demonstrated concern for the health of urban dwellers in an era of intensive industrialisation. And in Paris the earthworks and sinuously-curving path system in Parc des Buttes-Chaumont (Fig. 4) are testimony to Haussmann and Alphands' preoccupation with ideas of health and circulation, in its many forms (Komara, 2009).

FIGURE 3 Birkenhead Park, England. Reputedly the first publicly funded park in the world, opened in 1847 and fully refurbished with National Lottery funds in 2004-08 (Photograph by Marcella Eaton, July 2013).

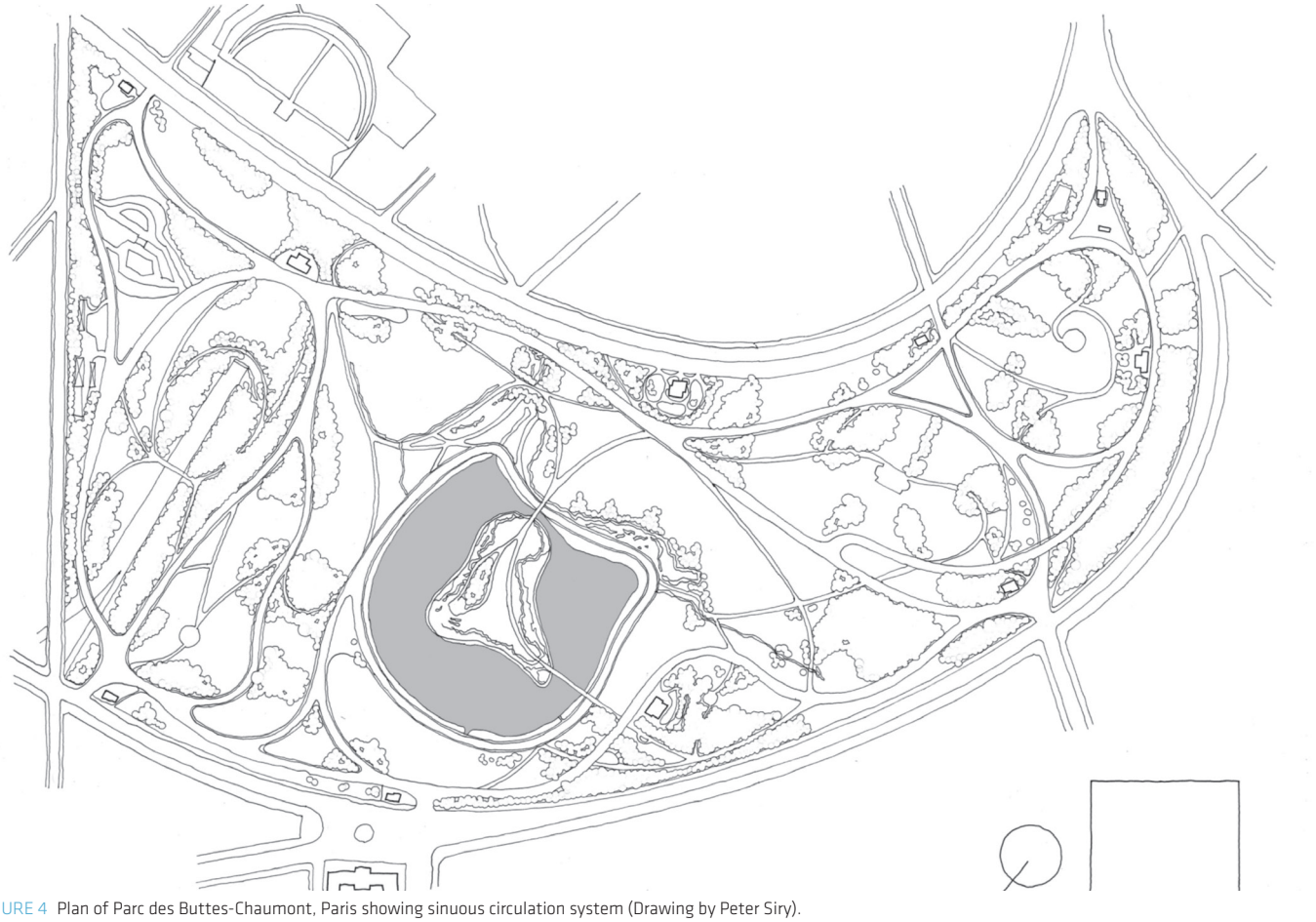

FIGURE 4 Plan of Parc des Buttes-Chaumont, Paris showing sinuous circulation system (Drawing by Peter Siry).

In the United States, there was a strong commercial motivation of 'city-marketing' manifest in parks across the country, starting with the state-funded Central Park, New York – where the call for a major public park probably originated from Robert Browne Minturn (1836-89), a merchant who had travelled widely in Europe. In fact, the development of parks and boulevards in many cities in the United States – including Chicago, Minneapolis, and Kansas City – was driven by a combination of civic pride, response to traumatic events (particularly Chicago's 'Great Fire' of 1871), and city-marketing. All of them were influenced by the example of 'Haussmann's Paris', not least because many American architects received their design education at the École-des-Beaux-Arts.

As an example, the commercially-funded *Plan of Chicago* (1906) – the apotheosis of the City Beautiful – asked 'after it is finished will the people of means be so ready to run away and spend their money in other cities?' Similarly, Augustus Robert Meyer – President of the Kansas City Municipal Improvement Association – together with Frankhausen-born landscape architect George Edward Kessler and William Nelson, founder and editor of the *Kansas City Star*, saw parks as a vehicle for marketing the city (Mobley & Harris, 1991). These developments were largely funded by the individual cities, sometimes through dedicated parks board taxes of the type still levied in Chicago and Minneapolis. They were early precursors of the 'Bilbao Effect' and can be fairly compared with *Structural Vision: Amsterdam 2040* adopted in 2011, promoting that city's public realm as an attraction to footloose, technology-based industries (rather than tourists) to relocate to that city.

The early twentieth-century *Volkspark* in Germany paralleled the Reform Park in the United States and carried similar moral messages about recreation and health. Schumaker's Hamburg Stadtpark (Fig. 5) was the archetypal Volkspark. The subsequent format (or formula) for the Volkspark comprised 'three distinct elements – a stretch of water, an island of grass and a shady screen of trees' (de Michelis, 1991, p. 409). Similarly, as Cranz put it, 'utility, not beauty, was the goal of the Reform Park' (Cranz, 1982). The *Volkspark* was a precedent for the *Jugenpark* (Youth Park) promoted by Leberecht Migge (1881-1935) and others during the Weimar Republic (1918-33) – described as an approach in which 'function now began to create form, instead of being accommodated within a form that was preconceived' (Chadwick, 1966, p.254).

FIGURE 5 Stadtpark, Hamburg, showing one of present-day play areas (Photograph by Alan Tate, August 2013).

Concurrently, Britain's *Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration* (1904) promoted the establishment of municipal parks with extensive sports fields. And the work of Thomas Mawson (1861-1933) – author of what he called the 'composite style' – reflected the fact that a park had become 'a landscape arising from certain use requirements, to which "style" is afterwards applied' (Chadwick, 1966, p.223). The modernist idea of the recreation facility as a programmed space for physical exercise persisted until World War II. And, in the case of, for example, the plans drawn up in 1941 for extension of the Hamburg Stadtpark on an axis to the northeast, this idea continued into the war (City of Hamburg, 1997).

Federal funds from Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal supported refurbishment of existing parks and provision of new parks as essentially practical facilities. The 1934 re-design of New York's Bryant Park by Lusby Simpson and Gilmore Clark – which introduced the Great Lawn (Fig. 6) and promenades of *Platanus acerifolia* – was the result of a competition for out-of-work architects and led to the creation of 'no less than America's finest classically designed park' (Lynn & Morrone, 2013, p.236). The same type of make-work approach was adopted in the creation of the labour-intensive Amsterdamse Bos, commenced in 1934 (RIBA, 1934). However, by 1960, burgeoning car-based suburban development, particularly in the United States, led to underfunding and a downward spiral of neglect, declining visitor numbers, increasing vandalism, perceived (if not actual) high crime levels, and a growing backlog of deferred maintenance.

This decline included New York's two headline parks – Central and Prospect – and continued until the formation in 1980 of the Central Park Conservancy and Prospect Park Alliance, partnerships for their protection and improvement. This was the first major move in hybrid, public-private funding for urban parks. By 2013, the Conservancy had received donations of over $700 million and provided 85% of the annual budget for the park. This pattern of funding is more extreme in the United States – particularly in New York, which has a highly developed culture of philanthropy – and in Chicago where the $470 million Millennium Park (Fig. 7) was supported by $200 million in private donations – leading to legitimate concerns about privatisation of the public realm. The City of St Louis and, in particular, the non-profit friends group *Forest Park Forever*, have also been remarkably successful in raising funds to protect, improve and manage their 555-hectare principal public park. The target for their most recent fund-raising campaign (from 2013 to 2018) was $130 million – $30 million for capital works and $100 million for endowments.

Despite these changes in the funding and fortunes of many parks in the United States, in his inaugural presidential address, Donald Trump included the statement that 'communities have fallen into disrepair with rampant crime and rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones. This American carnage stops right here and stops right now'. Robust rhetoric … but not altogether accurate. In New York, for example, where more than 2,000 people used to be murdered each year, 328 were killed in 2014, the lowest number since the 1940s. As Adam Gopnik put it, 'from Portland, Maine to Portland, Oregon, the transformation of America's inner cities from wastelands to self-conscious espresso zones became the comedy of our time' (Gopnik, 2018, p.92). The falling crime rate can be attributed to multiple causes – broken-windows surveillance, more coercive policing, and the rising median age of having a first child, enabling singles to stay longer in the centre of cities. This era of young singles living in New York was characterised by TV shows like *Seinfeld*, *Friends*, and *Sex and the City*.

Meanwhile European examples include the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, run by a private company under a model of 'cultural entrepreneurship', and London's Royal Parks, which now generate around 50% of their annual budget from summer rock concerts and winter festivals. But for the last twenty years in Britain, the Heritage Lottery Fund was the only major source of funds for restoration of (primarily historic) urban parks, providing in the order of £700 million for their restoration. This reflects the fact that, in most western countries, parks are a non-statutory local authority service that has to compete for funds with health and social services. And, with ageing populations making increasing demands on statutory services, local authority finances are undergoing increasing pressure.

FIGURE 6 Millennium Park, Chicago. Jointly funded by City of Chicago and private donors at a cost of around $470 million, opened in 2004 (Photograph by Alan Tate, October 2013).

While parks like the entirely privately-funded Paley Park (completed in 1967) – a standout project that signalled a flickering return of faith in the liveability of American cities (Fig. 8), and the High Line – commenced in 2004 – whose maintenance is 90% privately-funded, are extreme examples, they represent a recurrent pattern of politicians outsourcing the funding of nominally public facilities and, very possibly, decreasing their democratic qualities. Although private funding can promote public engagement with parks, there is also the risk of park managers feeling obliged to cater to the tastes of major funders. There is, for instance, a strong sense of corporate presence in Millennium Park, Chicago, where the $200 million from private donors paid for above-ground features like the AT&T Plaza, the Pritzker Pavilion, and the BP Bridge.

Then there are stories like the 'Sheffield Street Tree Massacre', in reputedly the 'greenest' city in Europe. Outsourcing under a 25-year Private Finance Initiative (PFI) has enabled a multi-national company to profit from the removal of mature street trees that it deems to be 'damaging' to roads and sidewalks (Sheffield Tree Action Group). Meanwhile, city-marketing (in pursuit of the 'Bilbao effect') leads to public investment in high-profile projects (like the Parc de la Villette in the 1980s and most Olympic Games since World War II) while the 'Graph of Doom' (showing an increasingly aged population being supported on finite local government budgets) leads to the deterioration of public parks, particularly in poorer areas. It also leads to parks becoming a political issue, as illustrated by the OURS (Outdoor Urban Recreation Spaces) campaign in Winnipeg, Canada. That campaign, commenced in 2011, seeks to make provision and management of public space a focal issue in municipal elections in order to leverage funding for them.

The impact of reduced public funding for parks and public spaces is exacerbated by the fact that cuts in park budgets manifest themselves relatively slowly and do not have immediate political repercussions. But there are optimistic signs of a possible approach to these issues with the example of Newcastle-upon-Tyne establishing, in November 2017, with guidance from the National Trust, a charitable trust to manage their parks. This does have to be viewed, however, in the perspective of the city's parks budget having been cut by 90% over the preceding seven years (City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2018). This kind of financial structure negates the long-term need to see parks as an integral part of cities and to see cities as an integral part of wider natural systems – as cultural capital rather than window-dressing for commercial facilities.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that the principal motivations for funding the development of public parks generally have a political dimension. Inevitably, the form that they have taken has reflected these considerations. The paper also illustrates the difficulty of maintaining parks through public funds alone in the twenty-first century.

The principal political purposes for the creation of public parks have been:

- reducing civil unrest (e.g. Englischer Garten in Munich, Haussmann and Alphands' parks in Paris)
- as part of city-marketing (e.g. Central Park in New York, Plan of Chicago, Kansas City parks and boulevards and, latterly, Structural Vision: Amsterdam)
- general recreation and health of people in industrial cities, and preparing young men for war (e.g. municipal parks in Britain in the wake of concern about 'physical deterioration' of urban males)
- creating work at times of depression (e.g. Bryant Park, New York and Amsterdamse Bos)
- making beneficial use of post-industrial sites that might otherwise remain dangerously contaminated (e.g. Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord and Westergasfabriek).

FIGURE 7 Paley Park, New York. Privately-funded public park, opened in 1967 and completely refurbished to the same design in 1999 (Photograph by Marcella Eaton, November 2011)

It is clearly becoming more challenging to support parks in North America and western Europe from public funds alone, particularly in countries that have ageing populations that also have to be supported from public funds. Increased dependence on private funding of parks becomes inevitable and, with it, increased responsiveness to donor interests, whether they are entrepreneurs like rock concert promoters or local property owners who recognise the symbiosis between parks and property values, often co-opting parks as instruments of gentrification, thereby driving out the very people for whom the parks were intended.

Furthermore, with their substantial biotic component, parks require regular, recurrent attention in order to maintain their health – as do humans. Latterly, human health providers have developed greater appreciation of the physical and psychological benefits of time spent in local green space. And that remains a major argument for the future funding of urban parks – so that they may continue to be adequately funded and are thus able to maintain their design integrity while being places that allow people to escape their daily routines without leaving town.

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