URBANOST
— 20 LET KASNEJE

URBANITY
— 20 YEARS LATER

Zbral in uredil /
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ZALOŽBA ANNALES

Uvod

Razvoj sodobnih mest v času globalizacije narekujejo hiter pretok kapitala, velika mobilnost in vse večja konkurenčnost med urbanimi prizorišči. Urbanost je s tem podrejena imperativu zadovoljevanja kratkoročnih razvojnih potreb, lokalne značilnosti posameznih mest pa so podrejene vplivom globalnih preobrazb. Urbani prostori se preobražajo v nadzorovana in uniformirana prizorišča. Vsebine v javnem prostoru so na tak način podrejene privatnemu interesu kapitala, kar povzroča poenotenje urbanih krajev. Urbanizem kapitala neusmiljeno briše prostor spomina, ustvarja povsem nova razmerja v prostoru in ostaja brezbrižen do obstoječe arhitekturne dediščine in značaja mesta. V urejanje mesta se intenzivno vpletajo interesi politične elite in kapitalskih vlaganj, ki ustvarjajo izrazito enosmerno komunikacijo. Proces tovrstne preobrazbe vzpodbuja čiščenje vsebinske spontanosti, to pa pospešuje usmerjen razvoj vsebin za uporabnike iz višjih socialnih slojev. Prostori nižjih socialnih slojev se oblikujejo na mestnem obrobju v obliki nakupovalnih središč. Ta razvijajo zgolj vsebine potrošnje in predstavljajo nove družbene oblike nadzora. Odziv na nesorazmeren razvoj urbanih vsebin predstavljajo spontane rabe in samoorganizacijske prakse. Te uporabljajo nenačrtovane oblike delovanja, s katerimi se različni socialno ogroženi in marginalizirani uporabniki odzivajo na neustrezne vsebinsko - prostorske organizacije mesta. Omogočajo spremembe monopolnih vzorcev oblikovanja prostora z različnimi oblikami kot so socialne mreže, platforme, gibanja, skupnosti, skupine, asociacije. Samoorganizacija na tak način oblikuje neodvisne načine urejanja prostora, zasnovane na vsebinskih in oblikovnih potrebah njenih uporabnikov.

Knjiga Urbanost 20 let kasneje opisuje različne modele samoorganizacije, ki so predstavljeni s pomočjo raziskovalnih ugotovitev istoimenskega projekta. Koordiniral ga je Center za centralno arhitekturo iz Prage v soorganizaciji KUD-a C3 iz Ljubljane. Knjiga je nastala kot rezultat dogodkov in akcij, ki so se v sklopu projekta odvijali v Ljubljani, in jo na tak način postavlja ob bok ostalim šestim mestom, v katerih je potekal projekt (Berlin, Bratislava, Budimpešta, Dunaj, Praga in Varšava). Raziskovanje in analiza posameznega mesta sta potekala v vsakem obravnavanem mestu s sodelovanjem tutorjev in sedemdesetih študentov fakultet za arhitekturo iz vključenih mest. Povezovalni dogodek je bila fotografska razstava enajstih fotografov, ki je bila prikazana v vseh sedmih mestih. Namen razstave je bil kritični pogled na vplive urbanizacije, ki je mesta v zadnjih dvajsetih letih povsem spremenila. Ob posamezni razstavi so v mestih potekali predavanja, razstave in javne predstavitve na temo urbanosti. Namen predstavitev je bil povezati umetnike, arhitekte, politike, sociologe in prebivalce ter jih vključiti v razmišljanja o oblikovanju lastnega prostora.

Monografija je razdeljena na tri tematske sklope in obravnava urbanost v treh kontekstih. Prvi del se osredotoča na vsebinsko obravnavo in pomen urbanih prizorišč. V nadaljevanju so predstavljeni primeri dobrih

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praks v nekaterih mestih srednje Evrope kot tudi Balkana s poudarkom na iskanju nove kolektivnosti. Tretji del združuje ugotovitve arhitekturne študije razvoja Ljubljane, ki so jih pripravili študentje na Fakulteti za arhitekturo pod mentorstvom Maruše Zorec in Tadeja Glažarja.

Poglavje Urbana prizorišča začne uvodni tekst Blaža Križnika in Matjaža Uršiča, ki se ukvarja z vzroki urbane preobrazbe Ljubljane. To sta še posebno vzpodbudila naraščanje potrošnje in pomanjkljiv razvoj infrastrukture. Avtorja ugotavljata, da se v Ljubljani v nasprotju z ostalimi šestimi mesti kaže značilna odsotnost velikih javnih prostorov. Zaradi neustrezne urbane politike v zadnjih desetletjih pa so izhodišča urejanja prostora neustrezna. Tekst, ki sta ga napisala sociologa, je izhodišče raziskovanja fotografa Domna Grögla. Iz serije fotografij so bile izbrane štiri, ki so na sedmih razstavah v omenjenih mestih kritično predstavljale najbolj perečo problematiko mesta Ljubljana. Na primeru urejanja zelenih površin se lahko v povezavi urbanističnega načrtovanja z drugimi javnimi politikami definira nekatere realne možnosti za izboljšave v praksi. V svojem prispevku avtorica Maja Simoneti izpostavlja problem zdravja in njegove povezave s prostorskimi ureditvami ter dostopnimi zelenimi in prostočasnimi površinami. Z načeli in zglednimi primeri postavi probleme urejanja zelenih površin v Sloveniji v kontekst preteklosti in novodobnih praks. Marta Gregorčič razkriva stereotipe perifernega načina življenja, v katerem se znajde tudi vrtičkarstvo. Danes so se značilni ljubljanski vrtički spremenili v ceste in parke, velike zelene površine pa se pod političnimi imperativi spreminjajo v nakupovalna središča, garažne hiše in stadione. Opisani primeri pridelovanja hrane v mestih po svetu so dober zgled samoorganizacije in iznajdljivosti posameznikov v času, ko se hrana v deželah izobilja meče na odpad. Inovativne politike biovrtnarstva postajajo v revnih predmestjih osnovni način preživetja. V nadaljevanju nam Karmen Bukvič predstavi pomene narave v mestu. Osredotoči se na vprašanje vrtičkarstva v Ljubljani in ga kot družbeni fenomen poskuša umestiti v kontekst urbanosti mesta. Vrtičkarstvo se dojema kot degradacija mestne vizualne podobe, družbena komponenta pa je zaradi kapitalističnega imperativa urejanja mesta zanemarjena. Kaj prinaša projekt Urbanost 20 let kasneje na primeru Ljubljane nam oriše Boštjan Bugarič na primeru javnih intervencij in predstavitev, ki so svoje mesto poiskale v neodvisnem galerijskem prostoru v zapuščenem lokalu mestnega središča. Intervencije so odgovor na gentrifikacijske in turistifikacijske procese, ki mestne vsebine vse bolj poenotijo pod skupnim načelom turistične ponudbe in s tem ne dopuščajo razvoja raznovrstnosti.

Elke Krasny se v drugem delu knjige, ki je posvečena novi kolektivnosti, loteva teoretične analize umetniških kreativnih praks kot modela horizontalne komunikacije v mestu. Urbano kuratorstvo definira kot pojem, ki omogoča horizontalno komunikacijo in prevajanje znanja med različnimi vpletenimi akterji. Pomen tovrstne komunikacije posebej izpostavi na primerih urbanega kuriranja različnih avtorjev v različnih urbanih okoljih, vsem pa je skupna pozitivna izkušnja spremembe percepcije prostora in družbenih odnosov. Izpostavljen je primer umetniškega festivala Soho in Ottakring z Dunaja, ki ga že enajst let vodi Ula Schneider. Javni prostori dogajanja in tematike se dotikajo marginalnih tem »malih ljudi« in vsakič znova odpirajo prostor

diskusije, kritike in premisleka. Italijanski umetniški tandem progettozero(+) se osredotoča na območje Balkana, natančneje na družbeno-ekonomske spremembe v Novem Beogradu, ki velja za novo poslovno središče mesta. Na podlagi intervjujev z uporabniki tega dela mesta sta umetnika pozornost osredotočila na spremembe vrednot. Danes se nedokončani odprti plan Novega Beograda zapolnjuje s tistim, česar je v skladu s popreproščenim razumevanjem v obdobju socializma najbolj primanjkovalo, torej s komercialnim in poslovnim programom na eni strani in pravoslavnimi cerkvami na drugi. Pozornost se nato iz Beograda preusmeri na Skopje, kjer Yane Calovski predstavlja nikoli uresničeni urbanistični načrt, ki so ga po potresu v Skopju leta 1963 izdelali Kenzo Tange s sodelavci. Načrt je v obdobju jugoslovanskega idealizma predstavljal priložnost zavedanja makedonske nacionalne identitete. Sodobno Skopje je rezultat političnih odločitev in nima skupnih paralel z arhitekturno vizijo Kenza Tangeja, meščani pa še danes obtožujejo Japonce, da so mesto zamenjali za videoigrico. Zaključni tekst Aleksandra Bobića se ukvarja z odnosi v javni sferi, ki pod vplivom korporativne kulture zadovoljujejo imperative potrošniškega načina življenja. Odprti javni prostori postajajo poligoni investicije zasebnega kapitala in turistične zabave. Na tak način zasebni kapital prevzema zasebno prevlado nad javnim, razčlovečuje javni prostor in vzpostavlja diskriminacijska pravila vedenja, jezika in nove potrošniške kulture.

Knjiga je odgovor na pospešeno komercializacijo javne sfere in poenotenje družbenih vsebin v urbanem okolju. Urbanost kot edini način raznovrstnosti lahko obstane pod pogojem, da se v mestu konstantno oblikujejo nova urbana prizorišča. Ta omogočajo kreativno participacijo vseh vpletenih uporabnikov. Iskanje nove kolektivnosti skozi različne primere družbenega angažmaja predstavlja odgovor na poenotenje urbanih prizorišč v mestu. Novi pristopi, ki so predstavljeni v knjigi, se razvijajo v različnih mestih z različnimi vpletenimi akterji. Skupna jim je potreba po razvoju novih oblik participacije, ki niso podrejene imperativu kapitala, ampak družbenim potrebam različnih urbanih uporabnikov v mestu. Razmišljanja in primeri predstavljenih participatornih praks predstavljajo odgovor na slepo ulico, v kateri se je znašlo urejanje sodobnega mesta pod imperativom kapitala.

Boštjan Bugarič
Ljubljana, september 2010

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Introduction

The development of contemporary cities in times of globalisation is propelled by the fast capital flow, large mobility, and the ever increasing competition among individual urban ambiences. Urbanity is subjected to the imperative of satisfying short-term developmental needs, while the local traits of individual cities are subjected to global transformations. Urban space is transforming into a string of uniform and controlled ambiences and life in public space is falling subject to private capital interests. The capital driven urban planning is erasing memories relentlessly and creating an entirely new network of spatial relations while remaining indifferent towards the existing architectural heritage and the city's character. City management is invaded by particular interests of the political elite and capital investors creating a strictly one-way flow of communication. This type of transformation promotes a sort of cleaning of the spontaneous city life and accelerates the directed development of facilities providing services for higher social classes. The lower social classes find their place in shopping centres on the outskirts of the city where development is limited to commercial facilities and a new form of social control is emerging. On the other hand, spontaneous organisation and self-organisation practices are arising in response to the disproportionate development of urban space. They take advantage of the non-planned type of action through which the various socially challenged and marginalised users respond to the inappropriate organisation of their city in terms of space and urban life. In spite of the monopoly patterns governing the designing of space such practices enable change through the operation of social networks, platforms, movements, societies, groups, associations. In this way, self-organisation generates independent ways of spatial management that are based on formal and qualitative requirements of city users.

The monograph Urbanity 20 Years Later presents different models of self-organisation described on the basis of research performed during the project under the same name. The project was coordinated by the Centre for Central European Architecture and was co-organised by KUD C3 in Ljubljana. This book is a joint result of events and actions that took place in the scope of the project in Ljubljana and set a place for this city alongside six other cities hosting the project (Berlin, Bratislava, Budapest, Vienna, Prague, and Warsaw). In each individual city, research and analyses took place with the aid of tutors and seventy students of Faculties of Architecture from all cities included. The linking event of the entire project was an exhibition of photographs by eleven authors exhibited in all seven cities. The objective of this exhibition was to provide a critical look at the effects of urbanisation that utterly transformed the participating cities during the last twenty years. In each city, the photographic exhibition was accompanied by lectures, other exhibitions, and public presentations addressing the topic of urbanity. These events were designed to unite artists, architects, politicians, sociologists, citizens, and encourage them to reflect on the design of their living environment.

The monograph is divided into three parts and addresses urbanity in three different contexts. The first part focuses on the contents and significance of urban ambiences. The next part presents architectural developmental studies of individual localities in Ljubljana elaborated by the students of the Faculty of Architecture under the supervision of Maruša Zorec and Tadej Glažar.

The third part combines examples of good practice from some Central European cities and the Balkans with an emphasis on the search for the new collectivity.The introductory text to the first part of the monograph by Blaž Križnik and Matjaž Uršič focuses on the causes of the urban transformation of Ljubljana. The authors find that it has been induced primarily by the growing consumption and the insufficient development of public infrastructure and also that, unlike the other six cities, Ljubljana is characterised by the absence of capacious public spaces. The inappropriate urban policy employed during the last decades has set the wrong starting points for spatial

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design. The text by two sociologists represented a source for the photographic study by Domen Grögl. A series of photographs was produced, four pieces were selected that presented the most urgent problems that Ljubljana is currently facing and were included into the exhibition that visited all participating cities. If linked to urban planning and other public policies, the case of designing green areas can be used to define some real possibilities of improving the current practice. In her contribution, Maja Simoneti emphasises the problem of health and its association with space and access to green areas for spending free time. She presents the problems of designing green areas in Slovenia in the context of past and present practices through principals and illustrative examples. Marta Gregorčič exposes the stereotype of the suburban way of life, which - in Ljubljana - somehow includes allotment gardening. Today, the characteristic allotment plots of Ljubljana have become roads, parks, large green areas or even shopping centres, parking houses, and stadiums, all in accordance with the political imperatives. Examples of food production in cities are given to show the commendable self-organisation and resourcefulness of individuals during the times when food is being thrown out on a massive scale throughout the lands of plenty. The innovative practices of bio-gardening are becoming the basic way of survival in the impoverished suburbs. In the following contribution Karmen Bukvič presents the significance of nature in a city. She focuses on allotment gardening in Ljubljana and tries to place it into the context of urbanity as a social phenomenon. Allotment gardening is perceived as a degradation of the visual image of the city, while the social component is neglected because of the capitalist imperative of city design. Boštjan Bugarič presents his vision of the Urbanity 20 Years Later project in Ljubljana and outlines the public interventions and presentations that took place inside the independent gallery space and the vacant shop in the city centre. The interventions are a response to the gentrification and touristification processes behind the increasing uniformity of urban space that proceeds along the lines of a common directive of tourist supply and prevents the development of diversity. The second part of the monograph is dedicated to new collectivity.

Elke Krasny attempts a critical analysis of the artistic creative practices that represent a model of horizontal communication in the city. She defines urban curating as a concept that enables horizontal communication and translation of knowledge between various actors involved and particularly stresses the significance of such communication in the case of urban curating by different authors in various urban environments with a common positive experience of the change in the perception of space and social relationships. An example is discussed of the art festival Soho in Ottakring in Vienna that has been organised by Ula Schneider for eleven years. The public spaces where the festival takes place and topics addressed refer to marginal pertaining to the "people of small means" and, time after time, they open a space of discussion, criticism, and reflection. The Italian artistic team proget-tozero(+) focuses on the Balkans, more precisely on the socially-economic changes occurring in New Belgrade, the new business centre of Belgrade. On the basis of interviews with the residents of this part of the city, the artists focused their attention to the changes in the system of values. Today, the unfinished open plan of New Belgrade is rapidly filling up with what is simplistically considered to have been missing during the socialist epoch, namely, commercial and business development on one hand and orthodox churches on the other. The attention is then shifted towards Skopje, the city is discussed in the contribution of Yane Chalovski, who presents the urban plan of Skopje. This plan was elaborated by Kenzo Tange and his co-workers after the earthquake in 1963 but was never realised. During the age of Yugoslav idealism, the plan represented an opportunity to become aware of the Macedonian national identity. The contemporary Skopje is a result of political decisions and is not parallel to the architectural vision of Kenzo Tange, yet to this day, the citizens accuse the Japanese of mistaking the city for a video game. The closing text by Alekandar Bobič discusses relationships in the public sphere that have become subjected to the consumerist lifestyle imperatives under the influence of corporative culture. The open public space is becoming a testing ground for private capital investments and for the amusement of tourists. Thus, the private is taking control over the public, public space is de-humanised while discriminatory rules of conduct, speech and the new consumerist culture are being established.

This book is a response to the advancing commercialisation of the public sphere and the unification of social life in urban

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environment. Urbanity, the only way of sustaining diversity, can only exists if new urban ambiences are constantly springing up in the city. They enable the creative participation of all actors involved. The search for the new collectivity through various kinds of social engagement is an answer to the progressing uniformity of urban space. New approaches, presented in this book, were developed in different cities by various actors involved. They share a common demand for the development of new forms of participation that are not subjected to the capital imperative but rather serve the social requirements of various city users. The reflections and examples of participatory practices presented here are a way out of the blind alley in which the design of the contemporary city has found itself under the capital imperative.

Boštjan Bugarič
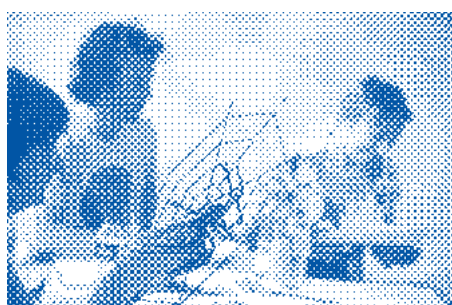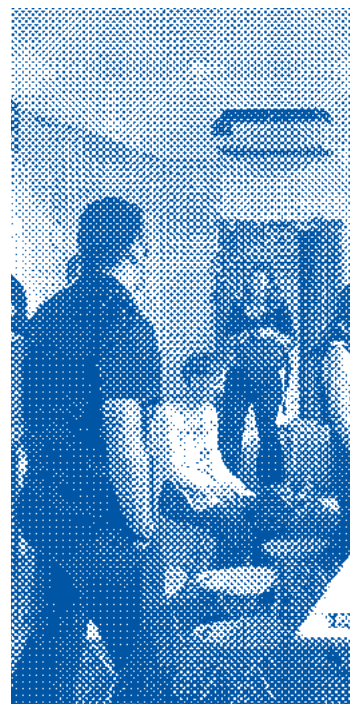Ljubljana, september 2010

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URBANA PRIZORIŠČA
URBAN SCENES
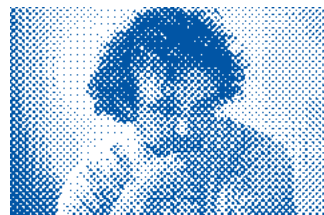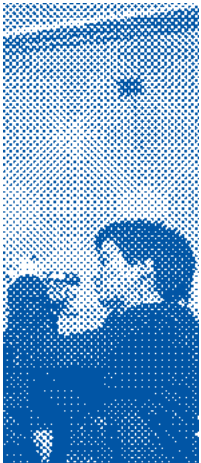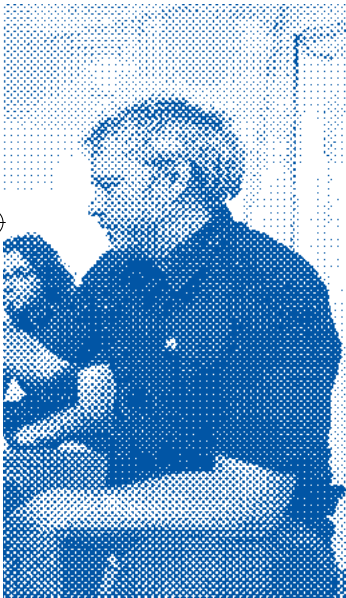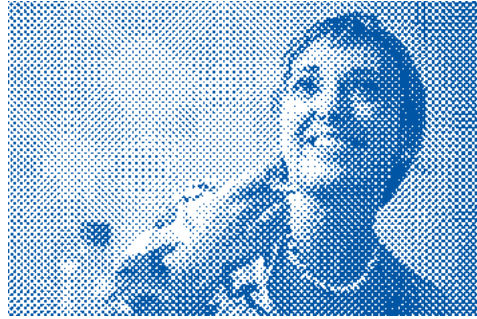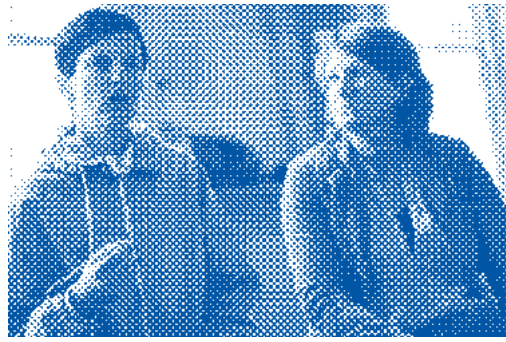
Urbana preobrazba Ljubljane

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Naraščanje potrošnje, monumentalizacija in pomanjkljiva infrastruktura

Blaž Križnik in Matjaž Uršič

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Uvod

Berlin, Budimpešto, Ljubljano, Prago, Dunaj in Varšavo povezujejo zgodovinske in kulturne podobnosti, saj vsa mesta pripadajo istemu srednjeevropskemu geopolitičnemu prostoru. Z delno izjemo Dunaja in Berlina so omenjena mesta pred kratkim prešla tranzicijo iz socialistične industrijske v post-socialistično družbo. Te spremembe so se med drugim odrazile tudi pri oblikovanju in uveljavljanju urbanih politik, potrebnih za učinkovito spopadanje s kompleksnimi družbenimi, gospodarskimi in urbanimi posledicami tranzicije. Urbanizem po meri zasebnih interesov namesto javnih, razpustitev javnega soodločanja pri procesu načrtovanja, privatizacija javnega prostora, zmanjševanje javne potrošnje in socialne stanovanjske gradnje ter rastoče družbeno in prostorsko izključevanje so do neke mere prizadeli vsako od obravnavanih mest. Negativne učinke tovrstnih neoliberalnih politik na družbeno in urbano strukturo dodatno zaostrujejo specifični pogoji post-socialističnega okolja, značilnega predvsem za Budimpešto, Ljubljano, Prago in Varšavo, za katere so značilni nizka participacija javnosti, pomanjkanje demokracije na lokalni ravni, pogosti primeri korupcije lokalnih oblasti, šibka decentralizacija političnega odločanja, nezaključena denacionalizacija, vzpostavljanje materialističnega kulturnega sistema vrednot in pomanjkanje družbene odgovornosti.

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Zato je pomembno zastaviti vprašanje, ali bi lahko strukturni procesi, ki so v preteklosti pogojevali razvoj obravnavanih mest, ter podobne posledice urbanih politik pri njihovem nedavnem razvoju pripeljali do oblikovanja podobne družbeno-gospodarske vloge, urbane forme in simbolnega pomena Berlina, Budimpešte, Ljubljane, Prage, Dunaja in Varšave.

Prepričana sva, da preobrazbe posameznega mesta ne moremo neposredno primerjati s preobrazbo drugega mesta brez določene mere previdnosti. Prav nasprotno, verjameva, da lahko preobražanje nekega mesta pravilno razumemo samo, če raziščemo raznolikost njegovih družbenih, gospodarskih, političnih in urbanih posledic znotraj lokalnega mestnega konteksta. Prav te posledice prebivalci mesta doživljajo v vsakdanjem življenju in prav te je treba primerjati med seboj, poleg same strukturne preobrazbe mesta. V tem smislu zagovarjava stališče, da je obseg preobrazbe družbene strukture, gospodarskih temeljev in urbanega okolja, ki jo je pred nedavnim doživela Ljubljana, sicer razmeroma majhen v primerjavi z drugimi obravnavanimi evropskimi prestolnicami, kljub temu pa ima ta preobrazba pomemben in daljnosežen vpliv tako na vsakdanje življenje prebivalcev kot na bodoči razvoj Ljubljane.

Spremembe, ki jih je doživela Ljubljana v zadnjih dvajsetih letih, se tako odražajo na različnih ravneh njene družbeno-prostorske organiziranosti. Na lokalni ravni lahko spremembe opazujemo znotraj samega mesta, kjer neposredno oblikujejo družbeno in urbano krajino. Na regionalni in nacionalni ravni lahko te spremembe opažamo v spremenjenih odnosih med mestom in njegovo širšo okolico in nacionalnim urbanim sistemom, na višjih ravneh pa so del nove čeznacionalne evropske družbeno-gospodarske dinamike. Ljubljana je namreč med najmlajšimi in najmanjšimi evropskimi prestolnicami in ne hrani zgodovinskega zapisa »prestolničnosti«. Pred dvema desetletjema je to mesto prvikrat v svoji zgodovini prevzelo vlogo nacionalne prestolnice in se tako dejavneje vključilo v čeznacionalne tokove. V tem smislu sta postala vsakdanje življenje v Ljubljani in njen nadaljnji razvoj bolj kot kadarkoli poprej odvisna od procesov, ki presegajo domet lokalnega. V prispevku predstavljava kratek premislek o nedavni preobrazbi Ljubljane, pri čemer pozornost namenjava trem procesom, ki so pomembno vplivali na nedavno urbano preobrazbo mesta:

- spremembe vzorcev potrošnje, ki so najopaznejše v nastanku novih prostorov potrošnje in povečani potrošnji prostora,
- novi odnosi med prestolnico in nacionalno državo, ki se odražajo v urbani in simbolni konstrukciji nacionalne prestolnice in monumentalizaciji urbanega prostora (oziroma njeni odsotnosti),
- razmah infrastrukturnih omrežij, ki ga lahko delno pripišemo hitro rastoči avtomobilizaciji družbe in posledični integraciji mesta v čeznacionalne tokove.

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Naraščanje potrošnje

Podobno kot druga post-socialistična evropska mesta je tudi Ljubljana v devetdesetih letih, po spremembi političnega in gospodarskega sistema, doživela velike spremembe na področju potrošniškega vedénja. V obdobju socializma je bilo mestno središče sinonim potrošnje, kjer so različne komercialne dejavnosti vedno igrale eno od osrednjih vlog. Sposobnost mestnega središča, da proizvede tak učinek, je pozneje zaradi družbenih, političnih in gospodarskih sprememb, ki so spreme-nile vsakdanje življenje posameznikov, močno upadla. V obdobju socializma se je večina prostorov potrošnje še vedno nahajala v mestnih središčih, danes pa se prostori potrošnje zaradi različnih funkcionalnih razlogov večinoma selijo na mestno obrobje. Eden od osrednjih funkcionalnih razlogov za preobrazbo vsakdanjega življenja posameznikov v mestu, ki je olajšal pojav predmestnih potrošniških središč, je bil prehod od javnega prometa k uporabi osebnih vozil. Razširjena uporaba avtomobilov je za ogromno število posameznikov spremenila zaznavanje prostorske dostop-nosti znotraj mesta. Intenzivna avtomobilizacija prebivalstva je povzročila učinek »avtomobiliziranih potrošnikov«, ki uporabljajo svoje avtomobile pri najrazličnejših vsakdanjih dejavnostih. Novi prostori potrošnje so umeščeni na mestno obrobje in so zaradi prilagojenosti načinu prevoza z osebnimi avtomobili razširili svojo ponudbo komercialnih programov tudi na tiste funkcije, ki so bile nekdaj značilne za mestna središča (npr. kinematografi, gledališča, nakupovanje).

Trenutno situacijo v Ljubljani lahko v veliki meri pojasnimo s slabo uporabo tehnične infrastrukture (neučinkovit javni promet), pa tudi z nezadostno strategijo revitalizacije mesta. Mestnemu središču Ljubljane v primerjavi z večinoma priva-tiziranim predmestnim prostorom manjka celovit strateški razvo-jni program. Ponudba mestnega središča se regulira na podlagi spontanih tržnih razmer in »turistifikacije« oziroma intenzi-fikacije ponudbe zgolj za določen segment obiskovalcev mesta. Opisani procesi postopoma vodijo v zmanjševanje ponudbe ostalih storitev, proizvodnje in prostočasovnih dejavnosti za prebivalce v primerjavi s predmestnimi nakupovalnimi središči. Kaotična tekmovalnost v tržnih razmerah izključuje manj dobičkonosne prostore potrošnje, ki prispevajo k urbanosti mestnega središča, kot so delavnice obrtnikov, rokodelcev in umetnikov, knjigarne. Tako upada skupno število kulturnih in komercialnih potrošnikov mestnega središča.

PRIZORI POTROŠNJE V LJUBLJANI

Največje nakupovalno središče v državi BTC, stolp BTC, avtomobilizirani potrošniki in parkirišča na obrobju mesta, hitro razvijajoče se nakupovalno območje Vič Rudnik, mestno središče, Stara Ljubljana z zaprtimi trgo-vinami v Metalki, na Gornjem trgu itd., nedeljski bolšji sejem v Ljubljani in na Viču.

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Monumentalizacija

Številne sodobne evropske prestolnice so nastale na osnovi monumentalnih nacionalnih prestolnic, postavljenih v dobi emancipacije narodov v devetnajstem in zgodnjem dvajsetem stoletju, in so se pred nedavnim spremenile v globalno povezana mesta, v katerih razvoj danes določa čeznacionalni pretok ljudi, dobrin, kapitala in kultur. Medtem ko je izgradnja nacionalnih prestolnic v veliki meri sovpadala z zgodovinskimi procesi industrializacije, zgodnje akumulacije kapitala in množične urbanizacije, je preobrazba v globalno povezana mesta predvsem rezultat intenzivne globalizacije in informatizacije ter njunega vpliva na družbeno, gospodarsko in urbano strukturo posameznega mesta. Mesta so tako postala vse bolj vpeta v čeznacionalna omrežja, kot so globalno gospodarstvo, politične institucije, tehnološki in medijski prostor ter globalna civilna družba. Na podoben način, kot sta zgodnja industrializacija in urbanizacija vplivali na izgradnjo veličastnih nacionalnih prestolnic, je globalizacija mest pomembno gonilo trenutnih družbenih sprememb, gospodarskega blagostanja in urbanega razvoja. Obenem je globalizacija pomemben vir simbolne rekonstrukcije številnih mest, ki poskušajo star industrijski imaginarij nadomestiti z novim post-industrijskim.

V nasprotju z drugimi obravnavanimi prestolnicami je Ljubljana šele pred kratkim postala prestolnica neodvisne države. Čeprav je že dolgo pred tem predstavljala simbolno središče naroda, se mesto nikdar ni razvilo v veličastno monumentalno prestolnico kot so Praga, Varšava, Dunaj, Budimpešta in Berlin. V svoji novejši zgodovini je Ljubljana predstavljala provincialno središče, v katerem monumentalni elementi bolj kot o lokalni ali nacionalni zgodovini govorili o »kolonialnem« oziroma močnem vplivu zunanjih političnih dejavnikov in akterjev, ki so svoje sledi pustili tudi v simbolnem redu mesta. V tem smislu je monumentalnost Ljubljane v veliki meri odraz tuje moči. Historično gledano so bili odnosi med državo, bodisi avstrijsko monarhijo, Kraljevino Jugoslavijo, socialistično Jugoslavijo in celo sodobno državo Slovenijo, kot se je izkazalo v zadnjih nekaj letih, na eni strani in mestom na drugi vedno zaznamovani s tekmovanjem ali celo s konfliktom. S tega zornega kota pomanjkanje monumentalnosti, ki zaznamuje mlado prestolnico, ni presenetljivo. Vendar pa v Ljubljani ne manjka samo monumentalnih prostorov, povezanih z njenim položajem nacionalne prestolnice, ampak tudi prostorov, ki odražajo njeno rastočo čeznacionalno povezanost. V zadnjih letih so se v Ljubljani tako pojavili številni predlogi, ki naj bi spremenili simbolni red mesta, a ostajajo za zdaj le delno uresničeni. Urbano preobrazbo Ljubljane bolj kot monumentalizacija zaznamuje prav odsotnost velikih prostorov s poudarjeno estetsko razsežnostjo.

Pomankljiva infrastruktura

Podobno kot v drugih post-socialističnih državah je bilo v Sloveniji treba posodobiti prometno omrežje, da bi lahko zagotovili hitrejši razvoj gospodarstva. Zaradi več razlogov (topografija ozemlja Slovenije, razpršena poselitev, omejena finančna sredstva) se je zdel razvoj avtocestnega omrežja najhitrejši, najcenejši in najpreprostejši način zagotovitve razmeroma dobrega prometnega omrežja. Tovrsten razvoj prometne infrastrukture je dejansko omogočil gospodarsko rast, po drugi strani pa je spodbudil porast uporabe osebnega transporta, zaradi česar se je močno zmanjšal delež uporabnikov javnega prevoza. Enostranski razvoj prometnega omrežja predstavlja resno grožnjo za razvoj bolj trajnostnega urbanega sistema in vodi v resne težave, povezane z zgostitvijo avtomobilskega prometa, neprestanimi zastoji, decentralizacijo lokalnih središč in nadaljevanjem razpršene gradnje v državi.

V primeru Ljubljane je izboljšanje cestne infrastrukture, prilagojene rabi avtomobilov, izrazito spodbudilo rast mesta, vplivalo na okolje in sprožilo degradacijo določenih mestnih predelov. V tem smislu sta avtomobilizacija in motorizacija transporta vplivali na preusmeritev finančnih tokov od mestnega jedra na obrobje in v nasprotju z vizijo prostorskega načrta temeljito vplivali na prostorski razvoj Ljubljane.

Hkrati je v Ljubljani zaznati razmeroma šibko povezanost v čeznacionalna gospodarska, finančna in napredna storitvena omrežja. Medtem ko Praga, Varšava, Dunaj, Budimpešta in Berlin pripadajo drugi skupini najbolje globalno povezanih mest v Evropi, je Ljubljana uvrščena precej nižje in je med evropskimi mesti v letu 2004 zasedla enainšestdeseto mesto. Tovrstna klasifikacija svetovnih mest je sicer pogosto osredotočena predvsem na različne vidike gospodarskega sodelovanja med mesti ali na prometne tokove, kljub temu pa predstavlja verodostojen odraz geografije svetovnega in evropskega omrežja mest ter razmeroma majhnega pomena Ljubljane v njem.

INFRASTRUKTURNA KRAJINA

Zgostitev prometa na Dunajski cesti in drugod po mestu, avtobusna postaja Bavarski dvor, avtobusna postaja Ljubljana pred železniško postajo, avtostoparji na Viču ob petkih, težave s parkiranjem v mestnem središču, parkirišča za kolesa pred fakultetami, gradbišče nove železniške postaje Ljubljana.

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Zaključek

Urbano preobrazbo Ljubljane sta v zadnjih letih pomembno zaznamovala naraščanje potrošnje v prostoru in pomanjkljiv razvoj infrastrukture. V tem pogledu se Ljubljana ne razlikuje pomembneje od ostalih obravnavanih post-socialističnih mest. Vendar pa je za Ljubljano v primerjavi z Berlinom, Budimpešto, s Prago, z Dunajem in Varšavo značilna tudi odsotnost velikih prostorov s poudarjeno estetsko razsežnostjo. To ni le posledica njenega zgodovinskega razvoja, ampak tudi pomankljive urbane politike v zadnjih desetletjih. Primerjava mest, ki sicer pripadajo skupnemu srednjeevropskemu geopolitičnemu prostoru, naj zato ne bo namenjena samo iskanju podobnosti med njimi, ampak tudi razumevanju njihovih posebnosti oziroma značilnih družbeno-prostorskih pogojev, ki jih glede na velikost, politično zgodovino, geografsko lokacijo, morfološke značilnosti in druge kontekstualne okoliščine medsebojno pomembno razločujejo.

URBAN CHANGE OF LJUBLJANA

GROWING CONSUMPTION, MONUMENTALIZATION AND DEFICIENT INFRASTRUCTURE

**Blaž Križnik and
Matjaž Uršič**

Introduction

Berlin, Budapest, Ljubljana, Prague, Vienna and Warsaw share historical and cultural similarities as they all belong to the same central European geopolitical space. With a partial exception of Vienna and Berlin have all cities recently experienced a transition from socialist industrial society towards post-socialist post-industrial societies. Such shift has also been reflected in implementation of urban policies, or, more often in a lack of ample urban policies required to deal with complex social, economic and urban consequences of the transition. Urban planning favouring private over public interests, dismantling of civic participation in planning process, privatization of public space, cut backs in collective consumption and social housing, increasing social and spatial exclusion have to a certain degree influenced each particular city. Negative impacts of such neo-liberal urban policies on social and urban structure are further heightened by specific post-socialist conditions that are present especially in Budapest, Ljubljana, Prague and Warsaw. Enlisted cities experience weak civic participation, democratic deficit on local level, frequent cases of corruptive local governments, weak decentralization, on-going denationalization process, exacerbated materialist cultural values and lacking social responsibility.

It is important to ask if structural processes that have shaped their development in the past and rather similar consequences of urban policies in their recent development could also result in similarities of socio-economic function, urban form and symbolic meaning in the cities of Berlin, Budapest, Ljubljana, Prague, Vienna and Warsaw?

We believe that the transformation of a particular city should not be directly compared with other without certain caution. On contrary, we believe that transformation of cities can be properly understood only by studying variety of its social, economic, political and urban consequences within its own local context. It is the consequences that citizens experience in their everyday life that needs to be compared and not the structural transformation as such. In this sense we argue that although recent transformation in social structure, economic base and urban landscape, which Ljubljana has recently experienced, are relatively minor compared to other European capitals, such transformation has had nonetheless a profound impact on both, everyday life of citizens and future development of Ljubljana.

Changes that Ljubljana experienced during the past twenty years are thus reflected on different levels of her socio-spatial organization. On the local level changes can be seen in the city itself, thus directly shaping its social and urban landscape. On the regional and national level those changes emerge as shifting relations between the city, broader region and national urban system, while on higher levels they are part of a new cross-national social, economic and territorial dynamics within Europe. Ljubljana is namely one of the youngest and also the smallest capital cities in Europe, with no historic record of "capitality". Less than two decades ago the city has for the first time taken the role of a national capital and has become actively integrated into cross-national dynamics. In this sense the everyday life of Ljubljana and her future development has more than ever become dependent on the processes that are out of the local reach. We try to reflect briefly the recent transformation of Ljubljana by focusing on three particular processes, which are recently shaping the urban change of the city:

- changing patterns of consumption, which are most visible in emergence of new spaces of consumption and in increased consumption of space,
- new relations between the capital city and the national state, which is expressed in urban and symbolic

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construction of national capital and in (lack of) monumentalization of the urban space,
• Extensive expansion of infrastructural networks, which is partly a consequence of the rapidly growing automobilization of society, and the consequent integration of the city into cross-national flows.

Growing consumption
Similarly to other post-socialistic European cities, Ljubljana experienced great changes in the field of consumption behaviour after the change of political and economic system in the 1990-ies. During the period of socialism the city centre was considered as a synonym for spaces of consumption, where various commercial activities always played one of the major roles. The capability of city centre to produce such effects was later substantially reduced due to social, political and economic changes that transformed the everyday life of individuals. In the socialist period, consumption places were mainly located in central areas of cities, while nowadays they are, due to different functional reasons, being mainly moved to the city outskirts. One of the main functional reasons that transformed the everyday life of individuals in the city and facilitated the emergence of suburban consumption places was the shift from collective public transport to individual mode of transport. The extensive use of car transformed the perception of spatial accessibility in the city for a huge number of individuals. The intensive automobilization of the population produced the effect of »car consumers«, which use their car for all kinds of everyday activities. New spaces of consumption located on the edges of the city due to their adaptability to car transport continue to extend their offer of commercial activities and have taken over the functions, which used to be the characteristics of city centre in the past (e.g. cinema, theatre, shopping).

The present situation in Ljubljana can be mainly explained by poor utilization of technical infrastructure (ineffective public transport) but also by inadequate city revitalization strategy. The Ljubljana city centre lacks a common strategic development program in comparison to (privatized) suburban consumption spaces. The offer in the city centre is regulated on the basis of spontaneous market circumstances and turistification or intensification of content focused only on specific segments of the visitors. Such process gradually leads to diminishment of other products and services, production and free time activities for residents in the city centre compared to suburban shopping malls. Chaotic competitiveness in the market conditions excludes less profitable consumption spaces that contribute to urbanity in the city centre (e.g. craftsmen, artisans, artists, workshops, book stores). Thus the overall number of cultural and commercial consumers in the city centre is decreasing.

Images of consumption in Ljubljana:
BTC city area, BTC tower, car consumers and parking facilities in BTC, fast developed shopping area in Vič-Rudnik, City centre, Old Ljubljana with closed shops in Metalka, Gornji trg etc., Sunday flee market in Ljubljana and Vič.

Monumentalization
Many capital European cities have historically developed from monumental national capitals, constructed during the period of national emancipation in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, and have recently changed towards globally integrated cities, where transnational flows of people, goods, capital and cultures shape their present day development. While construction of national capitals has mainly coincided with historic processes of industrialization, early accumulation of capital and resulting massive urbanization, the transformation towards integrated cities has been mostly a result of intensive globalization and informatization and their subsequent impacts on social, economic, and urban structure of each particular city. In this way, cities have become increasingly embedded in transnational networked structures, such as global economy, political institutions, technological and media space, or global civic society. As much as the early industrialization and urbanization have been instrumental for the construction of grand national capitals, the globalization of cities represents an important source of their current social change, economic prosperity and urban development. At the same time globalization is also an important source of symbolic reconstruction in many cities, which are trying to replace their old industrial imaginary with a new post-industrial one.

Ljubljana has been, compared to other cities, only recently established as a capital of an independent state. Although it

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has long been the symbolic centre of the nation, the city has never been developed as a grand monumental capital like Prague, Warsaw, Vienna, Budapest or Berlin. Throughout her modern history, Ljubljana was a provincial centre, where local monuments represented colonial symbolic order much more then local or national narratives due to a strong impact of external political influences and actors. Past monumentality was in this sense to a great extent an expression of a foreign power. Historically, relations between the State, either being an Austrian empire, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, socialist Yugoslavia and even present Slovene state, and the city itself were always contested, competitive or even conflictive, as the last few years have shown. In this sense the lack of monumentality, representing the new capital is not that surprising. Yet Ljubljana not only lacks monumental spaces related to its national capital status, but also those expressing her growing cross-national integration. During the last years numerous proposals have been discussed, which aimed to change the symbolic order of the city. Only few have been completed so far. Urban change of Ljubljana has been characterised less by monumentalization than by the lack of large spaces with emphasis on aesthetic function.

Images of monumentalization in Ljubljana: General Maister Square and monument, Trg republike Square with TR3 and Cankarjev dom complex, dislocated WTC complex, empty Emonika construction site, Presidential palace on Prešernova and proposals for a new one, National library and Plečnik Market Place as examples of cultural monumentality, exhitbition of the plans for the construction of Plečnik parliament in Fužinski grad, Prešernov Square and Zvezda Park as palces, where global city users mingles with local city users.

Deficient infrastructure
In order to ensure faster economic development, Slovenia has been obliged to upgrade its traffic network similarly as other post-socialistic countries. Due to various reasons (e.g. the morphologic structure of the Slovenian territory, dispersed settlements, limited economic resources, etc.) the development of highway infrastructure appeared to be the fastest, cheapest and easiest way to assure a relatively good traffic network. The formation of such a traffic network indeed enabled economic growth but on the other hand also encouraged private transport, thus only a small proportion

of public transport users remained. This type of unilateral traffic development could be a big threat for the development of a more sustainable urban system and leads to big problems with congestion of automobile traffic, decentralization of local centres and continuous dispersal of settlements all over the country.

Especially in the case of Ljubljana the improvement of road infrastructure that favoured the use of automobile transport, stimulated urban sprawl, affected the environment and the development or degradation of particular areas in the city. In this sense, automobilisation and motorized transport influenced on the redirection of economic flows from the city centre to the city edges and contrary to all spatial plans, most profoundly influenced the spatial development of Ljubljana.

At the same time Ljubljana shows a relatively weak integration into transnational economic, financial and advanced service networks. While Prague, Warsaw, Vienna, Budapest and Berlin represent the second group of the Europe's most globally connected cities, Ljubljana ranks much lower and had occupied the 61st position among European cities in 2004. Although such classifications of world cities are often focused primarily on different aspects of economic exchanges between cities or traffic flows, they nonetheless offer a fair representation of geography of the world and European city network and relatively low meaning of Ljubljana in the network.

Landscapes of infrastructure: Rush hour on Dunajska street and other parts of city, bus station on Bavarski dvor, bus station Ljubljana in front of train station, hitchhikers in Vič on Fridays between, parking problem in the city centre, where people are parking everywhere, bike storages in front of faculties, building site of the new train Station in Ljubljana.

Conclusion
Urban change of Ljubljana has been characterised in recent years by growing consumption in space and deficient development of infrastructure. In this sense Ljubljana does not differ significantly from other post-socialist cities discussed above. Yet contrary to Berlin, Budapest, Prague, Vienna or Warsaw, Ljubljana lacks large spaces with emphasis on aesthetic function. The latter is not only a consequence of a specific historic development, but also related to deficiencies in urban policy during the last decades. Comparing cities which belong to the same central

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European geopolitical space should not only aim to look for similarities among them, but also try to understand particularities and unique socio-spatial conditions, which differs each particular city according to its size, political history, geographic location, morphology and other contextual circumstances.

Mestne zelene površine kot katalizatorji zdravja :

Prihodnost načrtovanja zelenih površin v luči zdravja prebivalcev in okolja

Maja Simoneti

Prispevek na primeru urejanja zelenih površin pokaže na možnosti, ki so skrite v povezavi urbanističnega načrtovanja z drugimi javnimi politikami, konkretno izpostavi problem zdravja in njegove povezave s prostorskimi ureditvami, dostopnimi zelenimi in prostočasnimi površinami. Probleme z urejanjem zelenih površin v Sloveniji postavi v kontekst preteklosti in novodobne prakse ter skuša nakazati nekatere realne možnosti za izboljšanje prakse, kot so načela in zgledni primeri.

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Izhodišča

Na urejenih zelenih površinah je zadnja leta tudi v naših naseljih vse več uporabnikov, ki želijo z vsakodnevno vadbo izboljšati svoje počutje in vplivati na svoje zdravje. Za dolgo in kakovostno življenje je zdravje ključno in pridobi ga lahko v veliki meri tudi vsak sam. Trend povečane skrbi za zdravje med drugim opozarja na to, da bo pomembneje razumeti troje: (I) kako dobro so naša naselja opremljena z zelenimi površinami in drugo infrastrukturo, ki podpira zdravo življenje, (II) kakšne zelene površine potrebujemo in (III) kako smo usposobljeni za njihovo urejanje.

Pogoji, ki obvladujejo urbanistično načrtovanje zadnji dve desetletji od privatizacije do razpršene poselitve, razvoju kakovostnih zelenih površin niso naklonjeni. Nove gradnje, od stanovanjskih do javnih, kot so šole in bolnišnice, s kakovostjo svojih zelenih površin ni možno povezati. Dediščina preteklosti, ki je bila v letih po drugih svetovni vojni sicer bistveno bolj socialno čuteča, pa so precej izrabljene in na razne načine okrnjene urbane zelene površine. Predvsem sposobnost varovanja pred spremembo namembnosti in vzdrževanja zelenih površin se je pokazala kot šibkost socialno samoumevnega sistema.

Po drugi strani pa so slovenska naselja majhna in narava je prosto dostopna v obliki gozdov in travnikov, tako rekoč je vseprisotna. Koliko zelenih površin, kot so parki, igrišča in drevoredi, je v takih pogojih sploh potrebnih? Investitorji

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zagotavljajo, da kupci stanovanj ne povprašujejo po drugačnih zelenih površinah kot jim jih v načrtih ponujajo. Sočasno njihove marketinške službe oglašujejo novogradnje tudi z opozarjanjem na bližnje urejene in naravne zelene površine. Bližina narave je pri Slovencih visoko na lestvici prostorskih vrednot. Kako dostopna je prebivalcem narava kot taka ali povzeta v podobi parka, se v resnici ne ve. Občinam primanjkuje sredstev za vzdrževanje, kaj šele za nove ureditve. Parki podobno kot trgi in druge javne urbane površine vsaj do zdaj, v dolgi zgodovini Slovencev in njihove mlade države niso imeli posebne simbolne vloge. Število novih ureditev pa počasi le raste. Gotovo tudi uporabniki, rekreativci, tisti, ki se zlagoma sprehajajo po urejenih poteh, ležeči na travi v mestnem parku in igrajoči se pred šolo vplivajo na to, da je nove ureditve možno načrtovati. Vse to in še marsikaj drugega vpliva na ravnanje tistih, ki o urejanju prostora odločajo in so odgovorni za stanje v prostoru.

Dokazano je, da imajo dostopne urejene zelene površine neposreden učinek na zdravje prebivalcev. Zdravje je doma v samem poreklu urbanizma in je vodilo ravnanje v različnih razvojnih obdobjih. Pred dobrimi stotimi leti so iz naslova ukrepov za dvig splošnega zdravja prebivalcev industrijska mesta opremljali z javnimi parki, kopališči, telovadišči in drugimi splošno korist-nimi ureditvami (Worpole, 2000). Vpliv socialno naravnane politike urejanja prostora je odmeval še po drugi svetovni vojni in se je v socialističnih državah, kakršna je bila tudi Slovenija, na neki način ohranil do začetka devetdesetih let. Čeprav urbanistični normativi nikoli niso bili uzakonjeni, je splošna socialna naravnanost družbe vplivala na to, da so se tako imenovani Jernejčevi normativi, razviti za potrebe gradnje in razvoja slovenskih naselij, uporabljali še pri novogradnjah v začetku devetdesetih let (Jernejec, 1976). Vsekakor je ponudba zelenih površin v slovenskih stanovanjskih soseskah dvajsetega stoletja rezultat dogovorjenih, to je družbeno normiranih pravil, ki so jih smiselno povzemali tako formalizirani prostorski akti kot zazidalni preizkusi in druge strokovne podlage. V nasprotju z opisanim se danes izjemen napor vlaga v to, da bi formalizirali normativ, ki na stanovanje in meter natančno določa obvezno površino in deloma tudi strukturo zelenih površin. Slabosti tehničnega predpisa so, da se preizkuša v praksi in razbremenjuje deležnike odgovornosti za urejanje kakovostnih zelenih površin.

Namesto prizadevanja za kakovost, dostopnost, naravnost in programe se danes skrbi za minimalno potrebne površine. Rezultat so razpršene in neuporabne zelene površine, ureditve na strehah in izključnost zadovoljevanja potreb novih stanovalcev. Z vidika opremljenosti mesta z javnimi zelenimi površinami, ki so lahko in prosto dostopne ter namenjene različnim uporab-nikom in kot take pomenijo infrastrukturo za zdrave življenjske prakse so te površine nepomembne. Vprašanje je, kako danes naselja vendarle opremiti z novimi javnimi ureditvami, od parkovnih do stanovanjskih, ter pri tem optimizirati vlaganja tako, da se izkoristi učinke novogradenj. Razumljivo je namreč, da se nove površine ureja ob novogradnjah, še posebno, če se pri tem načrtuje z vidika potreb skupnosti in območja obdelave smiselno razširi, v investicijo pa poveže javna in zasebna sredstva. Nastop javnega interesa v načrtovanju med drugim slabijo pomanjkanje javnih sredstev,

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podatkov o potrebah uporabnikov in odgovornosti za sprejemanje odločitev o razvoju v prostoru. Predpostaviti je možno, da bi argumenti javnega interesa v načrtovalske procese vstopali učinkoviteje, če bi se pravočasno povezali. Načrtovanje zelenih površin je zato treba povezati z učinki, ki jih imajo na človekovo zdravje, na zdravje okolja kot takega, na mobilnost prebivalcev, in s podobnimi.

Zdravstvene potrebe prebivalcev so zato priložnost in argument za nove pristope. Učinke v prostoru je v tem kontekstu treba neposredneje povezati z različnimi vidiki kakovosti bivanja kot potrebami uporabnikov, ki morajo biti v urejanje tudi bolj neposredno vključeni. S povezavo ukrepov z različnih področij kot so zdravstvo, promet, varstvo okolja in druga je po tej tezi možno zagotoviti kritično maso argumentov in sredstev za potrebne posege v prostor ter tako premagati ovire, ki izhajajo iz lastniško in tehnično naravnanega urbanističnega načrtovanja.

Zdravje in prostor

Podatki kažejo, da je zdravstveno stanje prebivalcev v razvitem delu sveta resno ogroženo. Britanski starši so prvi v razvitem delu sveta, ki jim statistika napoveduje možnost daljše življenjske dobe kot njihovim potomcem. Svetovna zdravstvena organizacija za več kot 1,9 milijona smrti na leto krivi fizično neaktivnost prebivalcev in opozarja, da meje človekovemu razvoju postavlja zdravstveno stanje prebivalstva (WHO, 2007). Domače raziskave potrjujejo, da Slovenija sledi negativnemu trendu. Že samo to, da je kar petina slovenskih prvošolcev pretežka in da je gibalna sposobnost otrok po počitnicah slabša kot med šolskim letom, zbuja skrb in kliče po ukrepih. Med njimi bi lahko radikalen zasuk v načinu rabe prostora in posledično tudi v urbanističnem načrtovanju pomenila že samo odločitev za sistemsko spodbujanje pešačenja in kolesarjenja. V Sloveniji relativno majhnih naselij se zdi poziv k peš hoji po vsakodnevnih opravkih razumna pobuda, medtem ko je v Sloveniji razpršene stanovanjske gradnje ideja precej bolj nestvarna. V mestih bi poziv sprožil razpravo o količini in kakovosti prostora za nove načine gibanja, v manjših, pretežno stanovanjskih naseljih, bi bila vprašljiva že sama dostopnost dejavnosti.

Urbanistično planiranje postaja po mnenju Svetovne zdravstvene organizacije pomembna determinanta zdravja prebivalcev in gospodarskega razvoja in eden večjih izzivov oblikovanja holističnega modela za uresničitev politike zdravega okolja (WHO, 2007). Vse kaže, da bo zdravje skupaj s podnebnimi spremembami postalo pomemben razlog za načrtovanje poselitve in prenovo naselij. Rešitev za izboljšanje zdravstvene slike prebivalstva in stanja okolja v različnih virih v Svetovni zdravstveni organizaciji vidijo v treh novih urbanističnih paradigmah in sicer: v razumni gostoti poselitve (reasonable density), mešanju rab (mixed use) in primernosti za hojo (walkabillity). Vse tri zapovedi so med sabo smiselno povezane, dopolnjujoče se in zato predstavljajo več kot dobro osnovo za načrtovanje razvoja naselij in poselitve. Razumne gostote zagotavljajo uporabnost odprtega prostora, ki je nujna za zagotavljanje peš dostopnosti, ki postane smiselna ob dovolj veliki pestrosti funkcij na enoto prostora. V urbanizmu se obeta veliko razumevanja za mehko tkivo

mesta in za ukrepe, ki bodo iz naslova splošne potrebe uravnavali prostorski razvoj in posamezne posege.

Z vidika prostorskega razvoja naselij in poselitve so podatki o zdravstvenem stanju skupaj s podnebnimi spremembami osnova za novo prostorsko politiko. Tako staranje prebivalcev kot splošna zdravstvena slika zahtevata prilagoditve in spremembe v urejanju prostora. Osrednja tema pa postaja mobilnost prebivalcev, najsi gre za samostojnost dolgoživih meščanov ali za novo zdravo mobilnost otrok in odraslih. S tem pa postajajo mestne odprte površine, poti in urbani parter na splošno središče zanimanja in torišče sprememb. Od zgradb in infrastrukture se pozornost torej preusmerja na odprti prostor. Obstajajo že podatki o tem, da lahko preusmeritev javnih sred-stev v »zelene« programe, kot so parki in vrtički, pomeni velikanske prihranke zaradi izboljšanja zdravja, zmanjševanja emisij in ustvarjanja novih delovnih mest. Viri navajajo, da bi samo deset odstotkov sredstev, ki jih bo britanska vlada v prihodnji petih letih namenila širitvi in gradnji cest, zadostovalo za štirideset novih parkov, pol milijona uličnih dreves, milijon in pol kvadratnih metrov zelenih streh in tisoč milj varnih zelenih potih za kolesarje in pešce. Zeleno infrastrukturo Britanci po novem povezujejo z zdravjem, premožnostjo in prijetnostjo naselij.

Stanje

Danes v Sloveniji urejanje zelenih površin v naseljih, od načrtovanja do vzdrževanja, rabe in prenove, v največji meri zaznamuje pomanjkanje izkušenj z urejanjem skupnih zadev v tržno- ekonomskih pogojih. V skrbi za uveljavitev pravic lastnikov se je izgubila skrb za skupno dobro, kar se na področju urejanja zelenih površin odraža v kakovosti načrtovanja, vzdrževanja in ponudbe zelenih površin na splošno. Urbane zelene površine, od drevoredov do parkov, so rezultanta naravnih pogojev, pravočasne rezervacije namenske rabe prostora in vzdrževanja. V povezavi s tem je za stabilnost ureditev pomembno tudi, da ureditev zadovoljuje spreminjajoče se potrebe uporabnikov.

Tržno-gospodarske okoliščine, ki krojijo slovensko prakso urejanja zelenih površin v zadnjem času, niso nujno nenaklonjene razvoju urbanih zelenih površin. Privatizacija, tako prostora kot gospodarskih javnih služb, pa je v slovenskih razmerah specifično vplivala na urejanje javnih urbanih in posebno zelenih površin. Problema odsotnosti novih parkov in skromnih zelenih ureditev ob novi stanovanjski gradnji v Sloveniji ni možno razložiti preprosto. Lahko ga skušamo razumeti skozi analizo fizičnih značilnosti slov-enske poselitve in skozi strukturno analizo sprememb, ki odkrije spremembe v sistemu vrednot in razkol med izrekanjem in ravnanjem v skladu z vredno-tami. Vsekakor je v danem času argumentov za urejanje in vzdrževanje začelo notorično zmanjkovati in posledice so resne. Bolj kot to, za kako ranljivega se sistem izrečenih prostorskih vrednot izkaže v okviru sistema urejanja prostora, je vendarle zanimivo raziskati, kako je možno poseči v sistem in ga dopolniti, da bi se urejanje zelenih površin odrazilo v bolj zadovoljivi količini in kakovosti uporabnih zelenih površin.

Vpogled v spremembe prostorske zakonodaje (ZPUP 1990, ZUreP 2002 ZPNačrt 2007) pokaže, da je lastninjenje zahtevalo manj sprememb, kot jih

je kasneje izšlo iz pričakovanj o nujnem poenostavljanju in skrajševanju postopkov. Če odmislimo splošno škodo, ki jo je povzročilo prepogosto spreminjanje zakonodaje z osnovnimi izrazi za prostorsko dokumentacijo vred, je danes rezultat vseh prizadevanj predvsem sistem, ki je problemu in predmetu načrtovanja skrajno odtujen. V času, ki ga v razvitem svetu zaznamuje razvoj prakse vključujočega načrtovanja, smo v Sloveniji razvili sistem urejanja prostora, ki skoraj izključno sloni na vnaprej predpisanih pravilih in merilih. V načrtovanju to pomeni, da so možnosti za inovativne rešitve in dogovore o optimizaciji učinkov novih posegov v prostor skoraj nične. V prostoru zato prihaja do številnih posegov in absurdnih rešitev, ki se odražajo v padcu splošne kakovosti fizične strukture grajenega in razmerij v krajini. Posledica tega je, da smo v realnosti prostorskega načrtovanja priča visoki stopnji nerazumevanja in nezaupanja med deležniki - to so prebivalci, investitorji, politiki, uradniki in načrtovalci.

Mehko tkivo mesta v naselju prihodnosti prevzema naloge gradnika kakovosti bivanja in zato postaja načrtovanje zelenih površin ena osrednjih razvojnih nalog. Povezava med zdravjem mesta in meščanov ni enoznačna in za dobre rezultate je potrebno predvsem dobro, tudi vsebinsko, sodelovanje in usklajevanje. Če zdravnik bolniku priporoči redno dnevno aktivnost, je lahko naloga zanj bolj ali manj preprosto izvedljiva. Prostorske ureditve lahko fizično aktivnost različno dobro podpirajo. Za dostopnost dejavnosti, kot so knjižnica, šola, zdravstveni dom, trgovina, pošta in banka, morajo postati urbanistični akti bolj zavezujoči. Za sprejetje zelo zavezujočih aktov je treba graditi konsenz iz več naslovov, gotovo pa vsaj iz naslova zdravstvene, kulturne, okoljske, gospodarske in prostorske politike. Za slovenska naselja predstavljajo dejstva o zdravstvenem stanju veliko priložnost za trajnostno naravnano preobrazbo in dvig bivalne kakovosti.

Sodeč po virih in tujih vzorih lahko odgovorni za razvoj na lokalni in nacionalni ravni ukrepajo načelno in se postopoma zavzamejo za oblikovanje celovitih strategij. Stanje v prostoru je možno občutno izboljšati tudi z uresničevanjem različnih načel in primeri dobre prakse. Načelo je lahko zaveza, da se prenovi vse površine, ki so v naselju po nepotrebnem asfaltirane ali betonirane, ali pa, da se vsako posekano drevo nadomesti z dvema novima. Vsaka nova gradnja, ki poveže posamezne interese z interesi skupnosti za dostopne in uporabne javne zelene površine, je primer zase in spodbuda za premagovanje ovir pri razvoju kakovostnega bivalnega okolja. Čeprav sta med pripravo nove generacije celovitih prostorskih načrtov prioriteta dve skrajnosti, deregulacija in instrumentalizacija načrtovanja prostorskega razvoja, lahko prihodnji razvoj poselitve in naselij vseeno zaznamujejo tudi drugačni ukrepi, ki bodo učinkovito dvignili kakovost bivanja.

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GREEN URBAN SPACE AS A CATALYSTS OF HEALTH

THE FUTURE OF GREEN SPACE DESIGN IN THE LIGHT OF HEALTH OF POPULATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Maja Simoneti

In this paper the example of green space design is used to illuminate of some possibilities concealed within the link of urban planning and other public policies, more specifically stressed here are health issues and their association with organisation of space, accessibility of green urban space and leisure time areas. The problem of green space design in Slovenia is presented in the context of past and present practices. Some concrete possibilities of improving these practices are indicated with guidelines and illustrative examples.

Starting points
In recent years, well-organised green urban areas in Slovene towns are attracting an increasing number of visitors who wish to improve their well-being and support their health by daily exercise. Health is crucially important for the quality and duration of life and can be largely achieved by each individual alone. The tendency of increasing consideration of health issues suggests, among other things, that it is becoming increasingly important to understand the following: (I) How well are the towns in Slovenia equipped with green areas and other types of infrastructure supporting a healthy lifestyle? (II) What sort of green areas are required? (III) How competent are we in terms of organising green space?

The factors governing urban planning during the last two decades – from privatisation to dispersed habitation - have not been favourable for the development of high-quality green areas. New constructions, residential and public, including schools and hospitals, cannot be associated with the quality of the green space around them. Green urban areas, our heritage from the time after WW2, which was marked by a greater social sensibility, have become worn and disfigured in various ways. Within the contemporary self-evident social system, our ability to maintain green areas and protect them from being transformed into other types of spaces, has turned out to be rather poor.

On the other hand, most towns in Slovenia are small and nature (forests, meadows) is accessible virtually everywhere. In view of this fact – How much do we actually need organised green areas like parks, playgrounds and promenades? Investors assure us that their customers do not require any other kinds of green spaces than those that are offered as part of their plans. At the same time their marketing departments draw attention to well preserved natural green areas in the vicinity of new constructions they are advertising. Among Slovenes, the proximity of nature holds a high position on the scale of spatial values. There is no data to help us answer the question how easy it is for residents to actually access nature (as such or recapitulated in the form of a park). Municipalities lack funds even to maintain existing green areas, let alone create new ones. Like the squares and other public areas, the parks have not played a particular symbolic role in the long history of Slovenes and the short history of their state. The number of new parks is growing very slowly. Surely, the users, joggers and people strolling along the paths, those lying in the grass in a city park and people playing near some school, are those who make planning of new green spaces possible. The above are just some of the factors influencing the actions of decision makers in the urban planning process and are responsible for the current spatial.

It has been proven that access to green areas directly effects population health. Health resides in the very origin of urban planning and represents a guiding line running through different developmental stages. Over one hundred years ago the industrial cities were equipped with public parks, baths, athletic grounds and other universally beneficial arrangements (Worpole, 2000) as a measure of improving general health. The effects of socially oriented policies of spatial planning have echoed long after WW2; in socialist countries like Slovenia they were present in a certain way until the beginning of the nineteen nineties. Though the standards of urban planning have never made their way into legislation, the general social orientation of society contributed to the fact that the so called Jernejec standards (Jernejec, 1976), which were developed for the purpose of construction and development of urban areas in Slovenia, were followed when new structures were constructed until the early nineties. In any case, the abundance of green areas in 20th century residential neighbourhoods results from a social agreement, a

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standard set of rules, which were recapitulated in formal urban plans, experimental construction plans and other expert documents. Contrary to this, at present day, considerable efforts are being undertaken to formalise a standard which would establish a certain mandatory surface and structure of green space per every apartment (and square meter) built. The downside of this sort of technical standard is, that it is only tested while it is practiced, besides, it relieves all parties of any responsibility for the organisation of high-quality green areas.

Instead of striving towards quality, accessibility, natural appearance and contents, we are currently concerned with the minimum area required. This results in dispersed and dysfunctional green areas, green rooftops and in the exclusive consideration of new inhabitants and their requirements. On city scale, these green spaces lack any kind of correspondence with easily accessible public green areas designed for various kinds of users, which are the infrastructure of a healthy lifestyle. How in spite of all these difficulties can we furnish urban space with new accessible green areas of all sorts ranging from parks to residential areas, and how can investments be simultaneously optimised in a way that allows for the effects of new constructions to be exploited. It is rational to plan new green near new constructions, particularly if the requirements of the community are considered during the planning process, and if the area in question is broad enough to allow a combination of private and public funds. The modest representation of public interest is the planning process is a result of shortage of public funds, a lack of information concerning the residents' needs, and of the fact that no party wants to take responsibility for taking any kind of action in space development. Perhaps the arguments of public interest would enter into the planning process more efficiently if they were linked together in due time. If that is so, when it comes to green areas, the planning process must be linked to the effects they produce in terms of population health, healthy environment, population mobility, etc.

In view of the above, the requirements linked to population health are an opportunity for and an argument in favour of new approaches to be taken. In this context, spatial planning has to be linked to various consequences it has for the quality of living and needs of residents, who need to get directly involved in the process of organising space. According to this idea, the linking of measures from various special fields like health care, traffic, environment protection, and the like, can provide the critical mass of arguments and sufficient means to stimulate the realisation of necessary spatial interventions and thus overcome the obstacles arising from urban planning that is constrained by ownership and technicalities.

Health and space
Data shows that population health in the developed world is facing a serious threat. British parents are the first in the developed world to have a statistically better chance of living longer than their children. The World Health Organisation attributes over 1.9 million deaths per year to the lack of physical activity and points out that the health status of the world population poses limits to human development (WHO, 2007). Research in Slovenia confirms that Slovenia is following this negative trend as well. The fact that one in five first-form pupils in Slovenia is overweight and that the physical capacity of children is lower at the end of summer vacations than it is during the school year is concerning and calls for action. An example of positive action could be a radical twist in the use of space and consequentially of urban planning, which would support the decision to encourage walking and cycling systematically. In the Slovenia of small towns, walking on everyday errands seems to be a sensible appeal, while in the Slovenia of dispersed habitation this idea is less realistic. In towns, such an appeal would trigger a debate on the quality and quantity of space available for this new way of transportation, while in the smaller, predominantly residential, settlements this approach could threaten the very access to various services.

According to the World Health Organisation, urban planning is becoming an important determinant of population health and economic development as well as one of the largest challenges for the designers of a holistic model to implementing healthy environmental policies (WHO, 2007). It seems that health coupled with environmental changes will become an important factor in planning and reconstructing settlements. According to different sources the solution to problems of improving the population's state of health and to environmental problems lies in three new paradigms of urban planning: reasonable density of settlement,

mixed use of space, and walkability. All of the three are sensibly interconnected, they supplement each other and therefore represent more than a good basis for planning urban development. Reasonable density ensures that open space remains useful, which is a prerequisite for providing access on foot. The latter only becomes sensible when the array of functions per spatial unit is sufficiently diverse. A great deal of understanding of urban soft tissue is expected of urban planning, as well as mastering of measures, which regulate spatial development and individual interventions with respect to public demand.

The data on population health and climate change represent the basis for a new spatial policy from the aspect of spatial urban development. The ageing of the population and the general state of health call for adaptations and changes of urban spatial design to be made. The mobility of the population is becoming a vital issue, whether it concerns the independence of the elderly or the new healthy mobility of children and adults. The open urban areas, the paths, and the ground floor of the city in general, are coming into the focus of attention and represent the scenery for changes. Attention is being diverted away from buildings and infrastructure towards open space. There is a considerable body of data indicating that the transfer of public funds into »green« programmes like parks and vegetable gardens, can result in massive savings in the domain of health improvement, in lowering of emissions and in the creation of new jobs. Sources state that a mere 10% of the funds, which were earmarked for the construction and widening of roads by the British government during the next 5 years, would suffice to construct 40 new parks, plant one half a million trees on the streets, make one and a half million square meters of green roofs, and a thousand miles of safe green paths for cyclists and pedestrians. Lately in Britain, green infrastructure has become associated with health, wealth and comfort of the residential area.

State of the art
In present day Slovenia, the organisation of green urban spaces, including their planning, maintenance and use, is characterised mainly by the lack of experience in handling community affairs in an environment of market economy. Great concern for the assertion of the owner's rights has consumed the concern with common

good. This is reflected in the quality of plans, maintenance, and accessibility of green space in general. Urban green areas, from promenades planted with trees to parks, is a common result of natural circumstances, timely determination of land use, and maintenance. Also associated with the above is the capacity of a green area to satisfy the changing needs of its users and thus to provide its stability.

The circumstances of market economy, which have lately been directing the practice of green space design in Slovenia, are not necessarily disinclined towards the development of green urban space. Privatisation of space and public economic establishments in Slovenia, however, has had a specific effect on the organisation of urban public space and particularly green urban space. The problem of non-existent parks and undersized green areas near new residential constructions in Slovenia is not easy to explain. We can try to understand it by analysing the physical characteristics of settlement in Slovenia and through the structural analysis of changes, which reveals a shift in the system of values and a large gap between what is said and what is done with respect to those values. In any case, we have lately started to run out of arguments in favour of organising and maintaining green space notoriously, which brings about some serious consequences. Rather than investigating how vulnerable the practicing of the current system of declared spatial values really is, it is interesting to see how this system can be intervened and supplemented to make the designing process of green space produce widely available high quality green areas.

A close look at the changes of spatial legislation (ZPUP 1990, ZUreP 2002 ZPNačrt 2007) reveals that the effects of privatisation were relatively small compared to the changes which were later brought on by the prospect of the sudden simplification and shortening of administrative procedures. If we disregard the general damage caused by frequent legislation changes including the changes of definitions of basic terms used in spatial documentation, the result of all the endeavours is a system, which is utterly estranged from its basic problem and the subject of planning. In the time when the practice of inclusive planning is being widely introduced in the developed world, in Slovenia, we have developed a system of spatial planning which is based almost exclusively on prescribed rules and standards. In the planning process

this means that the chances of introducing innovative solutions and optimising the effects of new spatial interventions are close to none existent. That is why we are bearing witness to numerous spatial interventions and absurd solutions, which find their expression in a general quality decrease of the physical structure of built environment and disproportionate landscape development. As a consequence, we are noticing a high degree of incomprehension and mistrust among the actors of spatial design including residents, investors, politicians, officials and planners.

In the city of tomorrow, the soft urban tissue will become a building block of the quality of living, so planning green space is becoming one of the essential developmental tasks. The link between the health of the city and its citizens is not straightforward and a positive cooperation and adjustment (of programme concepts as well) must be established to achieve good results,. When a doctor prescribes regular physical activity to a patient, performing this task can either be simple or not. The organisation of space can support physical activity to various degrees. To enable access to services like library, school, health centre, store, post, and a bank, the legislation governing urban planning must become even more obliging. To pass very strict regulatory measures a consensus of various actors has to be established, including at least the creators of health care, cultural, environmental, economic, and spatial policies. For Slovene towns, the data on their population's state of the health represent a great opportunity to proceed along the lines of a sustainably oriented transformation and improve the quality of living.

According to literature and examples from abroad the actors responsible for local and national scale development can act on principle and support the gradual formation of integral strategies. The current spatial circumstances can be improved significantly by following various principals and examples of good practice. It could become a principal to commit to the renovation of all areas covered in asphalt or concrete for no apparent reason or to plant two new trees for each one that is cut down. Each new construction, which links individual interests with public interests concerning public green areas is an example by itself and represents an incentive for overcoming obstacles in the development of a high quality living environment. In the preparation stage of a new generation of

integral spatial plans, two extremes act as priorities, deregulation and instrumentalisation of spatial development plans. This does not mean, however, that the future development of settlement and settlements cannot be influenced by other measures as well, which will effectively raise the quality of living.

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Kadar skupnost odhaja v prihodnost, jara gospoda vrešči, da odhajajo v retardirano preteklost

Marta Gregorčič

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Pravljica o jari kači ali o steklenem polžu

Postfordistične družbe obvladuje močno stereotipiziran pogled na preteklost in razvoj. V Sloveniji, eni od redkih dežel, ki je doživela močno industrializacijo, ne pa tudi urbanizacije, je stereotip o perifernem, vaškem, kmetstvu in poljedelstvu toliko močnejši. Agrarci in obdelovalci zemlje na splošno, ki imajo danes retardiran družbeni status, so imeli negativno konotacijo tudi v času socializma. Svoboden trg, globalizacija, neoliberalizem, tehnološka revolucija – vse to pa je tudi prebivalkam in prebivalcem Slovenije dalo priložnost, da se izvijejo iz svoje prevladujoče podeželske identitete ter končno postanejo jara gospoda.

Jara gospoda pa rada poudarja svoja stališča, ki jo distancirajo od drhali. Estetika postfordističnega življenja je kupiti šopek za ženo na tržnici, ne pa zelenjave za družinsko kosilo – kar je bila izjava župana, ki naj bi se jo najprej razumelo kot prelepo, romantično dejanje moškega do svoje partnerice. Čeprav tu sam župan ni relevanten, pa je njegova izjava indikativna iztočnica za vrsto procesov, ki smo jim priča v vseh slovenskih mestecih. Mesto je končno osvobojeno ruralnega – značilni ljubljanski vrtički so se spremenili v ceste in parke, velike zelene površine za nakupovalna središča, garažne hiše in stadione. In ne bo treba dolgo počakati, ko bo ves slovenski urbani svet verjel, da zaužita hrana zraste na policah in v hladilnikih nakupovalnih središč.

Zakaj bi gojili hrano v mestu, ko pa jo še kmetje z novo evropsko politiko kmetijstva mečejo na odpad, saj so subvencije donosnejše, kot pa pridelek. Vendar se vsak pridelovalec organske hrane v Sloveniji zaveda, kako izkrivljena mora biti evropska usmeritev, ki diktira tako početje, vendar molči, da bi preživel.

Ali je družinska samooskrba s hrano bolj moteča za zakonitosti svobodne trgovine ali za videz mesta, je sedaj še težko odločiti. Prvič v svoji zgodovini se v Slovenijo dve tretjini zelenjave uvaža. Od samooskrbe in visoko hranljive ter bogate hrane, ročno pridelane na majhnih površinah, zlasti na vrtovih v državi z visoko biološko raznovrstnostjo, na malih kmetijskih površinah med malimi kmeti, ki še posedujejo avtohtona semena, smo v razmeroma kratkem času prešli k odločitvi, da je uvožena in lepo zapakirana hrana v velikih trgovskih središčih sprejemljivejša, saj je cenejša in tuja, torej odlična. Medtem že drugo desetletje zapored v Sloveniji vsak dan umre ena kmetija in se zazida sedem hektarjev obdelovalnih površin, ljudstvo pa je vse bolj urbano, vse bolj sterilno in se nažira vse bolj globalne hrane. To je umetnost postfordističnega življenja, da prvič v zgodovini človeške družbe lahko preživimo od neživega. Ves ta čas pa ne izumirajo le kmetstvo, izginjajo avtohtona semena, domače obrti, rituali, javni prostori, srečevanja, druženje, izmenjava med ljudmi in ljudska refleksija. Izumira tudi razumevanje človekove vloge v naravnem okolju, zlasti pa njegove vse večje odvisnosti, v katero so ga pognale ekonomske zakonitosti politik, po katerih si je ustrojil sodoben svet, sistem in družbo.

Urbano vrtnarstvo

Številna evropska mesta so v zadnjem desetletju naredila velike premike. Vrt sredi mesta ali na strehi stanovanjskega bloka, v kompleksu naselij ali na balkonu ni več sramota, pač pa prestiž, družinski laboratorij, hobi, sprostitev. Po nekaterih prestolnicah pa je postal tudi potreba – ne le potreba po žrtvovanju ali preživetju, pač pa potreba ljudi, da poznajo procese proizvajanja lastne hrane, potreba po druženju prebivalcev, ki vrtove soupravljajo, potreba po dotiku narave, potreba po iskanju vsega tistega, čemur se morajo iz dneva v dan odpovedovati. Da narava odločilno zaznamuje družbene procese, govorijo tisočere egalitarne skupnosti, ki jih je nekdaj raziskovala antropologija. Za človeka neoliberalne epohe pa je narava teren, na katerem lahko manipulira svoja znanja (genska revolucija).

So pa tudi mesta, v katerih je vrt osnovni vir hrane številnih družin. Prav na ravni urbanega je mogoče v postfordizmu zaznati tektonske premike. Če je še za drugo polovico dvajsetega stoletja veljalo, da se revščina poglablja na podeželju, zdaj več kot ena tretjina globalne urbane populacije živi v urbanih revnih naseljih, slumih ali *barrios* (Davis, 2006: 23): revna naselja v mestih iz držav centra kapitalizma predstavljajo šest odstotkov revnih, 78,2 odstotka revnih naselij pa pripada državam s periferije kapitalizma. Svetovna banka je ugotovila, da je ohranitev revnih naselij donosnejša, kot njena ukinitev, zato s posebnimi programi (*Poverty Reduction Strategy*) namesto odpravljanja revščine in neprimernih bivališč povečuje revna naselja zlasti v deželah periferije kapitalizma.

Prav zato je zanimivo, kako inovativne politike tudi glede biovrtnarstva in permakulture vznikajo prav v revnih predmestjih velikih prestolnic držav Juga.

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Med politično organiziranimi revnimi mestnimi naselji, *barrios, favele* ali slumi, ki so tudi na račun novih ekoloških pristopov (biovrtnarstvo, permakultura, organska pridelava hrane – *organoponico* ipd.) zlasti pa z rekuperacijo vednosti o skupnosti, pri vzpostavljanju avtonomnih in alternativnih kolektivitet dosegli samozadosten, neodvisen in trajnostni model razvoja, so bile v znanstveni literaturi doslej najnatančneje popisane samoupravljane mestne četrti in tovarne v Argentini, ki so se razvile po dogodkih 19. in 20. decembra 2001. Vendar bi po vsem Jugu lahko našli na tisoče mest, ki se samoupravljajo in so neodvisna: prehransko, politično, zdravstveno, izobraževalno, kulturno, energetsko itn.

Novi kolektivni pristopi, ki so ljudem v obdobju gospodarskih in političnih kriz v državi omogočali preživetje, so resonirali v vse vidike njihovega življenja. Urbano vrtnarstvo ni dajalo le hrane, pač pa je vplivalo tudi na regeneriranje zemlje, revitalizacijo mest, ponovnega obujanja družbenega in socialnega okolja. Kako malo potrebuje narava, da lahko ustreže človeku, pa je daleč najbolje pokazala Kuba. Če danes postfordistične družbe z intenzivnim, mehanskim, monokulturnim kmetijstvom, kot je na primer Kanada, porabijo dvajset kalorij energije, da pridelajo samo kalorijo hrane, je Kuba dokazala, da lahko organska pridelava hrane ob porabi ene kalorije energije, pridela dvajset kalorij hrane.

Revitalizacija skupnosti in zelena ekonomija

Primer zelene ekonomije, revitalizacije mest in skupnosti na Kubi je prvi celostno predstavil neodvisni ameriški dokumentarni film *Moč skupnosti: kako je Kuba preživela naftno krizo* (Morgan, 2006), sledil pa mu je še kanadski dokumentarni film *Kuba: naključna revolucija* (Burley, 2007). V zadnjih letih je bilo o novi zeleni ekonomiji in gospodarskem razvoju Kube, katerega protagonisti so kubanske skupnosti (mestne četrti, soseske, vasi itn.), narejeno že na desetine dokumentarnih filmov, prav tako v znanstveno literaturo vstopa vse več nazornih analiz, kako lahko človek z novimi tehnologijami predvsem pa z alternativno izrabo naravnih virov dosega nadstandardne rezultate v vseh vidikih človekovega življenja ter tudi v oziru sonaravnih ali trajnostnih praks človekovega poseganja v naravno okolje. Še najbolj pa glede na humanistični vidik razvoja družbe. Kajti Kubanci in Kubanke danes pojasnjujejo, da niso zares tako korenito spremenili družbenega sistema, pač pa je revolucija zelene ekonomije dejansko prinesla družbeno revolucijo – ponovno vzpostavitev skupnosti in nova družbena razmerja.

Kuba je bila kljub trgovinskemu, ekonomskemu in finančnemu embargu ZDA, ki je stopil v veljavo februarja 1962, ena od najhitreje razvijajočih se držav v Latinski Ameriki, z intenzivnim monokulturnim industrijskim kmetijstvom, hitro urbanizacijo, močno vojsko in socialno politiko ter hitro rastjo kakovosti življenja prebivalcev. Nacionalna strategija razvoja je bila osnovana na netrajnostnih razvojnih principih, v prvi vrsti na tako imenovani »zeleni revoluciji«, ki je z monokulturnimi plantažnimi nasadi in industrijsko živinorejo sicer dosegala vidne rezultate pridelave v svetovnem merilu, vendar se je to dogajalo v obdobju, ko je globalno gledano industrijsko kmetijstvo najbolj netrajnostno in dolgoročno pogubno posegalo v naravno okolje. Kuba je bila v tem

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času država z največjo mehanizacijo kmetijstva, vodila pa je tudi po količini uporabe pesticidov. Prav tako je bilo industrijsko kmetijstvo v veliki meri odvisno od uvoza surovin: socialistični razcvet je slonel na več kot 80 odstotnem zunanjem trgovanju s Sovjetsko zvezo, ki je bila tudi glavna dobaviteljica za gorivo (90 odstotkov), kemikalije, pesticide, umetna gnojila, orožje in hrano (64 odstotkov).

Z razpadom Sovjetskega bloka leta 1989 se je Kuba čez noč soočila z gospodarsko krizo, ki sta jo v največji meri pogojevali energetska in prehranska kriza. Castro je obdobje po letu 1989 poimenoval »Posebno obdobje«, raziskovalci pa dokazujejo, da je Kuba bolj spontano kot načrtovano že do leta 1999 izvedla najobsežnejši program organskega in trajnostnega kmetijstva ter z novo ekonomijo (zelena ekonomija) dosegla zgodovinsko stopnjo samozadostne države. To ni bil vladni program, ampak produkt naključnega in vzajemnega ustvarjanja različnih družbenih skupin, zlasti visoko izobraženega kadra v večjih mestih, vrste znanstvenikov, inženirjev, rokodelcev, učiteljev, farmacevtov, študentov. Urbani deli Kube so prvi in najbolj grobo občutili posledice politik odvisnosti, na katerih je dotlej temeljilo gospodarstvo na Kubi.

Ker je bil zaradi pomanjkanja fosilnih goriv omejen tudi transport hrane s podeželja, lakota pa iz dneva v dan bolj pereča, so se urbani prebivalci znotraj mest soočili s potrebo po očiščenju okolice, mestnih parkov, vode, igrišč itn. Vse neprimerno izkoriščene in zanemarjene zelene površine so spremenili v urbane vrtove (*organoponico*). Nepozidane površine mest so preplavili eksperimentalni kolektivi biovrtnarstva in permakulture, ki so se hitro razširili še na strehe bivališč: organska pridelava hrane v betonskih koritih. Ker ni bilo umetnih gnojil in pesticidov, so začeli razvijati alternativne organske metode polikulturne proizvodnje hrane; zdravila so pričeli pridelovati iz zdravilnih rastlin, značilnih za Kubo, ki je pred kolonialno monokulturno proizvodnjo veljala za državo z visoko biodiverziteto. Agro-ekološke principe, nov način trajnostnega razvoja in življenja v okviru naravnih virov in zmožnosti otoka so vključili tudi v izobraževalne načrte, alternativno medicino v zdravstvene domove ter bolnišnice itn.

Kuba ima danes najvišjo kvaliteto življenja v regiji, najdaljšo pričakovano dolžino življenja in eno od najbolj izobraženih populacij v Latinski Ameriki. Netrajnostno socialistično paradigmo razvoja je v slabem desetletju spontano nadomestila nova paradigma *trajnostnega* razvoja, in to pod pogoji teritorialnega apartheida (določen z embargom in padcem sovjetskega bloka) in kasneje tudi semantičnega apartheida – postavljena je na »os zla« (Davis, 2006). Kljub omejitvam mednarodnih razvojnih agencij ter globalnega trga, se Kuba še naprej spopada z notranjimi vprašanji demokracije in svobode. Pa vendar je prva država, ki je dosegla zgodovinsko samozadostnost in prva država, ki najmanj vlaga ter največ žanje: iz ene vložene kalorije energije ljudje pridelajo dvajset kalorij hrane.

Še dobro, da smo izpostavili primer Kube, kajti sedaj lahko vse kritike letijo na Castrov režim in uspešno zaslepijo družbene, prehranske, energetske in zdravstvene inovacije, ki jih je razvilo visoko izobraženo ljudstvo brez vladnih programov in tudi brez vladnih omejitev. Zanimivo je, da je

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komunistična oblast za potrebe prehranske gotovosti prebivalstva celo odpravila regulacijo trgovine: država ne nadzira več cen na trgu, prodajalci pa so lahko posamezniki, in ne več zadruge. Vendar se bo o tem lahko pisalo in premišljevalo, ko bo Zahod izgubil velikega sovražnika in ko si bo uspel podrediti tudi ta otok eksperimentov in družbenega ustvarjanja.

Pravljica o življenju skupnosti

Organsko vrtnarstvo, novi pogledi na javni prostor v urbanih okoljih in novo dojemanje »lepega« v času globalnih finančnih kriz in vse bolj intenzivnih gospodarskih recesij postajajo pomemben vidik utripa mesta. Vendar bi moral glavni argument sodobnih neoliberalnih politik iti v smeri ponovnega vzpostavljanja skupnosti in ne le vse večje prehranske neodvisnosti ljudi. Vendar vsak politični sistem, še zlasti pa neoliberalizem, potrebuje popolnoma odvisno in spečo družbo, za kar skrbi z ustvarjanjem spektak-lov (Debord, 1999). Celoten razvoj regij, držav, mest in kontinentov in tudi sama umetnost upravljanja spečih ljudstev na planetu (Foucault, 1991) se že stoletja odvijata v smeri večanja prehranskih, energetskih in drugih odvisnosti človeka. Namesto da bi vsesplošen stoletni razvoj družb pomenil večjo samos-tojnost, boljše znanje in sposobnosti ljudi, smo danes priča oropani, lačni, tihi in pokorni globalni družbi, ki nikdar v svoji zgodovini ni imela tako visoke neenakosti, kot smo ji priča danes.

Vendar vsak hegemon, ki upravlja družbo, še kako dobro ve, da pri vprašanju izrinjanja vrtičkov iz urbanega dejansko ne gre za vrtičke, pač pa za ljudi, njihova medosebna razmerja, njihove skupne radosti, srečanja in tolažbe. Sodoben hegemon bo uspel samo, kadar bo ljudem preprečil temeljne societalne pogoje, da se realizirajo kot humana, dostojanstvena bitja. Na politikah odvisnosti, osamljenosti, izoliranosti in tekmovanja lahko gospostvo gradi programe za užitke, prireditve, dogodke, *happeninge* – kjer se posamezniki srečajo zato, da obnovijo svoje temeljne potrebe po soobstoju v družbi. Prav upravljanje najvitalnejših vidikov človekovega življenja, ki zadevajo njegovo samouresničitev s sodelovanjem v kolektivnih, skupnostnih in družbenih procesih, je tisti paradni konj postfordizma, ki mu je doslej najbolj podlegel center kapitalizma.

Ker pa nam permanentne krize iz dneva v dan sporočajo, da je z družbo spektakla nekaj hudo narobe, bi veljalo, vsaj dokler se o tem še lahko svobodno odločamo, že sedaj premisliti smer in poti, po katerih stopamo. Kajti vsaka kriza, pa naj bo finančna, vladna, gospodarska, globalna ali lokalna, argentinska ali kavna, prehranska ali naftna, se ne pojavlja zato, da bi nas streznila in da bi kasneje, ko se kriza poleže, bolj ubrano in urbano nadaljevali pot v smeri, v katero drvimo. Samostalnik *krísis* namreč izhaja iz grškega glagola *krinein*, ki pomeni *odločiti se*, zato *krísis* pomeni **odločitev.** V prevladujoči rabi se res uporablja pasiven pomen, kot sta hitro slabšanje gospodarskih razmer, pomanjkanje ali stanje, iz katerega ni videti rešitve. Ali se bomo pripravljeni spopasti z njegovim aktivnim pomenom in na novo odmisliti pretekle smeri ter se spopasti z novimi? Če ja, potem morda takrat ugotovimo, da vrtiček, polje, balkonsko korito solate, park, travnik ali kmetija ne pripovedujejo zgodbe o retardiranih in neukih ljudeh, pač pa govorijo

o življenju skupnosti, o zgodovinskih vednostih, praksah in naši lastni umeščenosti na Planet, brez katerega ne nas ne hegemonov ne bi bilo.

REFERENCE
(→ Glej stran 54)

WHEN COMMUNITY VENTURES TO THE FUTURE, THE NEW BOURGEOIS SCREAM THEY ARE LEAVING FOR THE BACKWARD PAST

Marta Gregorčič

The non-exsistent tale

Post-Fordian societies are characterized by a strongly stereotyped view of their past and development. In Slovenia, one of the few countries which underwent strong industrialisation unaccompanied by urbanisation, a stereotype of the peripheral, country-like, rural and agricultural is all the stronger. Today, the social status of agriculturists and people who cultivate soil in general is associated with backwardness – the same negative connotation was associated with them during the socialist period. The free market, globalisation, neoliberalism, technological revolution – all of the above provided the population of Slovenia with an opportunity to depart from their predominantly rural identity and finally become the new bourgeois.

The new bourgeois like to emphasise opinions which distinguish themselves from the mob. The aesthetics of post-Fordian life is – in the words of the mayor of Ljubljana, who was describing a charming romantic act of a man towards his partner – to go to an open market and buy a bunch of flowers for the missus instead of vegetables for a family lunch. Though the mayor himself is not relevant in this discussion, his statement, however, is an indicative starting point of a series of processes taking place in every Slovene town. Ljubljana is finally free of the rural – vegetable gardens, so typical of the capital, have been turned into roads and parks. Large green areas have been transformed into shopping centres,

garage houses and stadiums. It will not be long until the entire urban population of Slovenia believes that the food we consume grows on the shelves and in the refrigerators in shopping centres. Why would anyone want to grow food in the city when even the farmers themselves dispose of their crops as the new European agrarian policies have made it more profitable to collect subventions than to actually sell food? Organic food growers in Slovenia are well aware that the European agrarian orientation dictating such nonsense is distorted, but they keep quiet in order to survive.

At this moment it is not exactly clear whether the self-sufficient family production of food represents a bigger annoyance to the rules of free trade or the image of the city. For the first time in its history, two thirds of the greens consumed in Slovenia is imported. It did not take very long before we replaced the self-sufficient way of hand growing highly nutritious and delicious food in small plots of land, particularly in vegetable gardens characterized by high biological diversity, and growing old autochthonous plant varieties on small farms with nicely packed imported foods from shopping centres – they are cheaper and foreign after all, so they must be great. Meanwhile, for two decades now, an extinction process has been going on destroying one farm and seven hectares of arable land with ne constructions each day, while people are getting increasingly urban, sterile and stuffed full of increasingly global food. This is the art of post-Fordian living – for the first time in human history we can survive off of the non-living. The farming, autochthonous plant varieties, handicrafts, rituals, public spaces, meetings, exchanges between people and their reflection were not the only things that were lost during this period. It is also the understanding of the human role the in natural environment that is under threat of extinction. Humanity is being driven into an increasing dependence by economic laws which have shaped the contemporary world, system and society.

Urban gardening

Large shifts have been made in numerous European cities. A garden in the middle of the city, on the roof of an apartment building, or on the balcony is no longer considered to be a disgrace but rather prestigious, the family laboratory, hobby, and a form of relaxation. In some cities this has actually become a necessity – not

only to sacrifice or survive, but also to become acquainted with the way food is produced, to socialise with other gardeners, to be in touch with nature, and to find the things which have to be denounced in everyday life. Thousands of egalitarian communities discussed in anthropological studies demonstrate that social processes are fundamentally affected by nature. To neoliberal age man, however, nature is merely a test field for manipulating knowledge (genetic revolution).

Then there are cities where gardens represent the main food source for many families. In post-Fordian times, large shifts can be discerned at the level of urbanity. Even in the second half of the 20th century it was the countryside that was home to increasing poverty, while today over one third of the global urban population resides in poverty stricken urban settlements – slums or *barrios* (Davis, 2006: 23): the impoverished settlements in cities from the leading capitalist states house 6% of the world's poor, while in countries from the capitalist periphery these settlements are home to 78.2% of the poor. The World Bank has found the preservation of impoverished settlements to be more profitable than their abolishment, so special programmes (*Poverty Reduction Strategy*) are designed to support the growth of impoverished settlements, particularly those in the capitalist periphery, rather than to eradicate poverty and inappropriate housing.

That is why it is interesting to see innovative policies including those concerning bio-gardening and permaculture originating precisely inside impoverished suburbs of the great cities of the South. Among the politically organised impoverished settlements, *barrios*, *favelas*, or slums, which attained a self-sufficient, independent, and sustainable developmental model in establishing autonomous and alternative collectivities due partly to new ecological approaches (bio-gardening, permaculture, organic food cultivation –*organoponico*, etc.) and largely to the recuperated knowledge about the community, the most exhaustive scientific studies have described autonomous city quarters and factories in Argentina, which developed after the occurrences on December 19 and 20, 2001. In reality there are thousands of autonomous cities all over the south which are independent in the sense of alimentation, politics, health-care, education, culture, energy, etc.

New collective approaches supporting people during the times of economic and political crises in the country have resonated in every aspect of their lives. Urban gardening did not only provide the food, it also influenced the regeneration of the soil, revitalization of the cities, reawakening; of the society and social environment. The best example by far of how little is needed for nature to start serving mankind is the case of Cuba. Today, post-Fordian societies such as Canada engage in intensive agriculture characterised by mechanisation and monocultures where it takes 20 calories of energy to produce a single calorie of food. Cuba, on the other hand, has proven that it is possible to organise organic agriculture in a way that allows a single calorie of energy to be used for producing 20 calories of food.

Revitalisation of the community and green economy

An example of green economy and of the revitalisation of cities and communities in Cuba was first presented in an independent American documentary titled *The Power of Community: How Cuba Survived Peak Oil* (Morgan, 2006), which was later followed by the Canadian documentary titled *Cuba: the Accidental Revolution* (Burley, 2007). In recent years dozens of documentaries have been made about the new green economy and economic development of Cuba with Cuban societies (city districts, neighbourhoods, villages, etc.) as protagonists, while simultaneously an increasing amount of detailed scientific analyses is accumulating concerning the use of new technologies and particularly the alternative use of natural resources in achieving above standard results in all aspects of human existence as well as in the sense of sustainable practices of human interventions into the natural environment. Particularly so if we consider the development of society from a humanist aspect. Today, Cubans explain that no great changes of the social system were made, however, the green economy revolution actually brought on a social revolution – setting up society anew and establishing new social relations.

Despite the commercial, economic, and financial embargo imposed by the USA in 1962, Cuba was one of the fastest developing economies in Latin America characterised by intensive farming and monoculture, fast urban growth, a strong army, social policies, and a fast improving quality of life for its citizens. The national development strategy was based on non-sustainable developmental principles, particularly during the "green revolution",

when substantial globally comparable results were achieved with monoculture plantations and an industrial style growing of stock, yet this took place during a period when industrial farming was most unsustainable and had a devastating effect on the environment in the long-term. Cuban agriculture was marked by the highest use of mechanisation and pesticides. Industrial agriculture in Cuba was also dependent largely on imported resources: the prosperity of socialism was based upon the Soviet Union as a partner in over 80% of Cuba's foreign trade including the supply of oil (90%), chemicals, pesticides, artificial fertilisers, weapons and food (64%).

When the Soviet Block collapsed in 1989 Cuba found itself facing an economic crisis overnight, caused mostly by the energy crisis and the shortage of food. Castro named the period after 1989 the "special period", while research suggests that by as early as 1999 Cuba underwent a most extensive programme of organic and sustainable farming and reached a historical stage of a self-sufficient country with the new economy (green economy). This was no government programme, but rather a product of chance and mutual activity of various social groups, particularly the highly educated population in large cities, a variety of scientists, engineers, craftsmen, teachers, pharmacists, and students. The urban areas in Cuba were the first to experience the collapse of the dependency policy which represented the basis of Cuban economy.

The shortage of fossil fuels limited the possibility of transporting food from the countryside and the prospect of hunger was drawing near, so the urban population was urged to clean up their surroundings, city parks, water, playgrounds, etc. All neglected green areas and those lacking appropriate use were transformed into urban gardens (*organoponico*). Experimental collectives organised biogardens and permacultures all over urban environment and rapidly spread to rooftops and concrete containers as well. There were no artificial fertilisers on hand so they began to develop alternative organic methods of polyculture food production. Medicine was produced from plants native to Cuba – before the age of colonial monoculture agriculture this was a land of great biodiversity. Agro-ecological principals, a new form of sustainable development and life within the natural resources of the island and its

possibilities, was included into the education programme, alternative medicine was introduced to hospitals, etc.

Today, the quality of life in Cuba is highest in the region, life expectancy is longest and the level of education is among the highest in Latin America. The non-sustainable developmental paradigm has been spontaneously replaced with the new paradigm of *sustainable* development. This occurred under the circumstances of territorial apartheid (a consequence of the embargo and the collapse of the Soviet Block) and later on, the semantic apartheid as well, as Cuba was set onto the "axis of evil" (Davis, 2006). Despite the limitations and restrictions on the part of international developmental agencies and the global market, Cuba continues to deal with internal problems of freedom and democracy. Yet Cuba is the first country to achieve historic self-sufficiency and is the first country to invest the least and harvest the most: they produce 20 calories of food per 1 calorie of invested energy.

It is most convenient to expose Cuba as an example, as all criticism can now concentrate on Castro's regime and turn a blind eye to the all social, alimentary, energetic and health care innovations developed by the highly educated part of the population without any government cooperation or any government restrictions. It is interesting that the communist authorities dismissed market regulation to ensure alimentary supply: the state no longer controls the prices on the market, instead of cooperatives, individuals can sell their produce themselves. But this will only be a matter of thought and discussion after the great enemy of the West will fall and this island of experiments and social creativity will be subordinated.

A tale of the community life
Organic gardening, a new approach to public space in urban environment, a new understanding of "beauty" is becoming an important aspect of city life in the time of global financial crisis and an increasingly intense economic recession. The main argument of contemporary neoliberal policies should be the re-creation of the community and not merely increasing alimentary independence. Yet every political system, particularly neoliberalism, requires an utterly dependent and sleeping society and makes sure it stays that way through the creation of spectacles (Debord, 1999). The development of entire regions, countries, cities and continents as well as the art of managing sleeping

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societies on the planet (Foucault, 1991) has been progressing along the garbage strewn path of increasing alimentary, energy and other dependencies of mankind. Through hundreds of years of social development, no progress has been made in terms of increasing independence, level of knowledge and skills. Instead we are facing a deprived, hungry and quiet global society characterised by the highest level of inequality in recorded history.

Every hegemon managing society is well aware that forcing gardens out of the urban sphere is not about gardens themselves but about people, their mutual relationships, common delight, meeting and comfort. A contemporary hegemon will only be successful when the basic societal prerequisites required for people to realise themselves as humane and dignified beings are impeded. Policies of dependence, loneliness, isolation and competition are the basis for the economy to construct programmes of pleasure, entertainment, events, *happening* – where individuals meet to renew their basic need for coexistence within the society. The managing of the most vital aspects on existence pertaining to the individual's

self-realisation through cooperation in a collective, community, and social processes is precisely what represents the flagship of post-Fordism and has had the largest impact upon the centre of capitalism.

Every day permanent crises demonstrate that there is something very wrong with the society of spectacle, so we ought to think about the direction and the path we are treading at least while we still have an opportunity freely to decide. The term *krísis* originates from the Greek verb *krinein* meaning *to decide*, so *krísis* would signify a **decision**. Today the word is mostly used in the passive sense of quickly deteriorating economic circumstances, deficit, or a state of having no solution in sight. Will we be prepared to tackle the crisis in the active sense of the word and cast away old directions to take new ones? If yes, then we might discover that a garden, a field, a container for growing lettuce on the balcony, a park, a meadow, or a farm do not tell the story of backward, uneducated people but rather a story of community life, historical knowledge, practices, and our own place in this planet, without which there would be no us and no hegemons.

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Umetnik/znanstvenik govori

Karmen Bukvič

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Sodobni urbani trendi gredo v smeri oblikovanja kvalitetnega grajenega in odprtega javnega prostora. To se povezuje s kvaliteto življenja, ki je v sodobnem času osrednja tema oblikovanja in urejanja prostora. Z razvojem sodobnih urbanih aglomeracij narava v mestu zagotavlja pomembno funkcijo zadovoljevanja določenih življenjskih potreb posameznikov, ki živijo v mestu. Javni zeleni prostori se kot taki dojemajo zlasti v kontekstu kvalitete življenja posameznikov, problem pri načrtovanju in investicijah, potrebnih za izvedbo načrtov pa izhaja iz predpostavke ekonomske oziroma potrošniške nefunkcionalnosti zelenih mestnih površin. Zeleni prostori v mestu so po Rotarju (1981: 300) tisti, ki znotraj sodobnega družbeno-ekonomskega sistema nimajo potrebe za produkcijo ali komunikacijo, vsaj ne neposredno, temveč so bolj nefunkcionalni dodatek utilitarne dejavnosti in služijo prostemu času in rekreaciji. Kapitalistično mesto temelji na dobičku, zato ni presenetljivo da urejanje delov prostora, ki zadovoljujejo psihološke in zato imaginarne in neoprijemljive potrebe posameznikov - potreba po stiku z naravo - niso primarne naloge kapitalističnih investicij. V sodobnih urbanih okoljih zelenim mestnim površinam njihovi uporabniki pripisujejo čedalje več pomembnosti. Raziskave poudarjajo, da »zelena in zato prijetna mesta pritegnejo investicije« (Petts 2001: 15), kar je relevanten ekonomski argument v zagovarjanju ohranitve

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odprtih zelenih prostorov. Ena izmed legitimnih rab prostora v kontekstu zelenih mestnih površin je vrtičkarstvo v mestu. Primer je Nemčija, kjer so vrtičkarska območja zakonsko zaščitili že leta 1919 (Jamnik et al., 2009). Preseneča dejstvo, da sodobno mesto ni izrinilo pridelave hrane iz urbanega družbenega dogajanja in da je vrtičkarstvo po svetu tako uveljavljena praksa, da se pojavlja skoraj v vseh metropolah razvitega sveta. Zanimiv primer je Japonska, kjer lokalne oblasti v mestih iščejo in ponujajo nove ukrepe za ohranitev vrtičkarstva v mestih (Tsubota, 2007). Tudi v državah v razvoju zasledimo urejene razmere in spodbujevalne pogoje za obstoj vrtičkov v mestu. To je lahko pomembna ekonomska komponenta in preživetvena strategija (primer mesta Havana kot zgledni primer v spodbujanju urbanega kmetijstva (Chaplowe, 1996). Čeprav vrtičkarstvo v razvitih in visoko urbaniziranih mestih pogosto naleti na ovire zaradi teženj po privatizaciji zapuščenih prostorov v mestih, kamor se širijo vrtički (primer mesta New York), obstajajo nekateri zgledni evropski primeri zavarovanj območij, namenjenih vrtičkarstvu in njihovem urejanju, na primer mesta London, Berlin, Dunaj (Jamnik et al., 2009; Petts, 2001).

Pomembnost vrtičkarske dejavnosti za ljubljanske prebivalce se izkazuje na več ravneh. Ugotovitve se nanašajo na dejstva, da meščani iščejo načine, kako aktivno preživljati prosti čas na zelenih površinah. Potreba po stiku z naravo, veselje nad sadovi lastnega dela, zdravi pridelek, prihranek dohodka, pozitivni vplivi na okolje ob ustrezni urejenosti vrtičkarskih površin v mestu, morfološka obogatitev mestne podobe so le nekateri izmed razlogov, da v razvitih mestih po svetu najdemo vrtičkarske površine.

V ljubljanskem primeru vrtičkarstva ta družbeni fenomen povezujemo oziroma pojasnjujemo skozi vrednote glede rabe prostora in prostorskih preferenc. Tako lahko bolje razumemo pomembnost dejavnosti z družbenega vidika, vztrajnost uporabnikov pri obdelovanju, vpliv tradicije in vrtnarjenje iz roda v rod ter vpliv prevladujočih ruralnih vrednot slovenskega prebivalstva na posameznikovo navezanost na vrtiček. V Sloveniji raziskave izkazujejo, da mesto za mestne prebivalce velikokrat ne predstavlja izbire bivanjskega prostora oziroma se preference glede kraja bivanja v veliki večini nanašajo na podeželje, kar nakazuje na protiurbane prostorske vrednote. Tako lahko vrtičkarsko dejavnost pojasnjujemo tudi kot vrsto adaptacije na urbani bivanjski prostor z vnašanjem ruralnih praks v primerih, kjer je tovrstna aspiracija k podeželju ali navezanost na podeželje. Na tem mestu upoštevamo raziskavo o bivanjskih preferencah Slovencev (Hočevar et al., 2004), ki razkriva pomembni podatek, ki potrjuje to tezo, in sicer da 65 odstotkov anketiranih odgovarja na vprašanje »Kje bi najraje stanovali, če bi imeli možnost za to?« z odgovorom »Hiša z vrtom v naselju«.

Pri oziru na vrtičkarsko dejavnost se torej izpostavlja vprašanje o urbanosti Ljubljane. V dilemi, kaj je urbano in kaj ne, od vrtičkarstva preidemo tudi h kmetijam v mestu in očitni dilemi glede neizrazite ločenosti podeželja in mesta v slovenskem prostoru. Mestna občina Ljubljana ima namreč ogromno število kmetij, ki skupaj z gozdnimi površinami predstavljajo dve tretjini prostora občine (Lovšin, 2009). S kmetijami v mestu je slednje samooskrbno in s tem stremi k trajnostnemu razvoju. Grajeno okolje vključuje tudi zelene

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površine, ki urbanemu okolju dajejo kvaliteto in ekološko vrednost, vendar se meja med mestom in podeželjem zabrisuje, med drugim tudi z vnašanjem ruralnega v polje urbanega ter obratno. Na tej točki se sprašujemo, kaj je urbano. Odgovori, ali so vrtički v mestu, kmetije v bližini mesta in kovinski pajki na fasadah hiš urbani ali ne, niti niso tako pomembni, hkrati pa enoznačnega odgovora na to vprašanje ni. Ob upoštevanju motivov in vrednot, ki stojijo za temi družbenimi fenomeni, je morda najbolj smiselno razlagati to vprašanje s pomanjkanjem urbane raznovrstnosti vsebin v mestu. Urbanizacija ni privedla do akulturacije, kjer bi se ljudje prilagodili novemu (urbanemu) kulturnemu okolju (Hočevar, 2002), zato meščani čutijo močno navezanost na podeželje in je vrtičkarstvo tako priljubljena dejavnost. Glede na velikost mest v Sloveniji, bližino podeželskih krajin in ob upoštevanju podobnih kriterijev ne bi pričakovali naraščajoče potrebe po naravi v mestu in vedno intenzivnejših načinih njene uporabe, kar se kaže v Ljubljani. Ali je torej v slovenskem prostoru mestu spodletelo pri vsiljevanju svojih vrednot ali pa že v prvi vrsti ni razpolagalo s tovrstnimi vrednotami? Lahko bi celo rekli, da je slovensko podeželje skozi prostorske preference percipirano kot kraj »boljšega načina življenja«. Mestu pa je potemtakem spodletelo v akulturaciji svojih prebivalcev.

Vrtičkarska območja v Ljubljani so pogosto kritizirana zaradi vizualne pojavnosti in oblikovnih značilnosti, saj so jih do nedavnega v celoti urejali uporabniki samih, in ne mestne oblasti. Vrtičkarji se v svojem individualnem izražanju v urejevanju vrtičkov pogosto niso ozirali na mestna določila glede dejavnosti. Tako se vrtički dojemajo zlasti kot degradacija mestne vizualne podobe in vizualna motnja. Za urejanje in načrtovanje vrtičkarske dejavnosti v Ljubljani so predvidena območja, ki so precej rigidna, standardizirana in uniformirana. Kar je pomembno pri načrtovanju zelenih mestnih prostorov, kamor se prišteva tudi vrtičkarstvo, pa je zavedanje, da ti deli mesta pomembno vplivajo na kvaliteto življenja meščanov in s tem tudi na kvaliteto mesta. Pri tem so pomembne nerestriktivne politike v urejanju dejavnosti, kar bi nakazovalo na tendenco k dojemanju vrtičkarske dejavnosti kot kvalitete urejanja mestnega zelenega sistema. S to tendenco pa bi se vzpostavljala tudi večja toleranca do različnih rab prostora, kar je pomemben indikator urbanosti.

Ljubljansko vrtičkarstvo lahko pomeni aktualno izhodišče za iskanje oblikovanja novega značaja sosesk, ki jih ne zaznamuje zgolj vodilo tržnosti, temveč tudi vrednote solidarnosti, samooskrbe, ustvarjalnosti in ekološke zavesti. Tako lahko vrtički v Ljubljani odražajo določeno identiteto mesta Ljubljana in urbano raznovrstnost (Bugarič, 2009).

Procesi suburbanizacije in širitev potrošnih ter kulturnih vsebin na obrobje so imeli ključno vlogo pri spreminjanju vloge mestnega središča, njegove rabe in s tem povezane osiromašenosti vsebin ter urbane raznovrstnosti. Zdi se, da so javni prostori v mestnih jedrih izgubili svoj pomen. S tem se je preobrazil tudi značaj historičnega mestnega jedra. Zaradi večanja stroškov v središču mesta se mora socialno šibkejši sloj prebivalstva odseliti na obrobje. Ti procesi ogrožajo nekatere obstoječe neformalne prostorske predele v mestu, ki imajo funkcije urbane prizoriščnosti, saj jih lahko ravno zaradi značaja neformalnosti nadomestijo druge vsebine.

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Kar je v urbanem okolju kompleksno in težko dosegljivo, je uspešno uskla-
jevanje raznolikih interesov prebivalcev, zato pogosto prihaja do omejevanja
identitet posameznikov na poti do samorealizacije. Povsem logično je, da
mesto usklajuje interese z možnostmi, pri tem pa tudi skozi določene politike
ureja sam prostor, zato delovanje posameznikov v uporabljanju prostora ne
more biti povsem prosto. Pri tem pa sta ravno zaradi tega sodelovanje javnosti
in komunikacija akterjev v procesih (pre)oblikovanja prostora ključnega
pomena. Sodelovanje pripomore k temu, da se z novo ureditvijo in spre-
membo prebivalci lažje poistovetijo, kar pa se nadalje odraža tudi v odnosu do
okolja in rabi prostora z večjim občutkom soodgovornosti (Simoneti, 1997).
Tudi pri oblikovanju edinstvene identitete mesta, ki ni homogenizirana in
uniformirana podoba, katere preobrazbo narekujejo procesi globalizacije,
je soodločanje javnosti povsem na mestu. Vključenost posameznikov v
sodelovanje in upoštevanje njihovih želja privedeta tudi do večje priprav-
ljenosti ljudi do odgovornejše rabe prostora, pri čemer prebivalci sooblikujejo
svoje lastno okolje. Zadovoljstvo uporabnikov in občutek soodgovornosti za
prostor izvirata ravno iz sodelovanja oziroma integriranosti uporabnikov v
procesih preobrazenja prostora.

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ARTIST/SCIENTIST TALKS

Karmen Bukvič

Contemporary urban trends are oriented towards designing high quality built and open public space. This is associated with quality of living, which is the primary concern of designing and arranging space in contemporary times. Along with the development of new agglomerations, the nature within a city serves an important function of satisfying certain needs of individual urban dwellers. Public green areas are perceived as such, particularly in the context of the individual's quality of life, while the basic problem with planning and investing required for the realisation of plans originates from the preposition that green urban space is not functional in the economic or consumerist sense. According to Rotar (1981, 300), green spaces in the city are those which are free of the need to (directly) produce or to communicate within the contemporary socially-economical system and rather represent a disfunctional addition to utilitarian activities intended for recreation and spending free time. A capitalist city is based on profit so it is not suprising that organising parts of the city which are designed to satisfy the psychological and therefore imaginary and non graspable needs of individuals – the need to be in touch with nature – are not the primary task of capitalist investments. In contemporary urban environments urban green areas are gaining importance as far as their users are concerned. Research emphasises that "green and therefore pleasant cities attract investments" (Petts 2001, 15) which is a relevant economic argument in favour of preserving open green space. One of the legitimate modes of using space in the context of urban green urban areas is allotment gardening. In Germany, for example, allotment areas have been legally protected since 1919 (Jamnik et al. 2009). It is a surprising fact that within the contemporary city, the production of food has not been displaced from the urban sphere and that allotment gardening is a common contemporary practice which can be encountered in virtually all metropolises of the developed world. In this respect, it is interesting to look at the example of Japan, where local municipalities pursue and propose new measures to preserve allotment gardening within cities (Tsubota 2007). In the developing countries as well we find that allotment gardening is well organised and encouraged. This can represent an important economic component and a survival strategy (Havana is a perfect example of encouraging urban agriculture, Chaplowe 1996). In highly developed and urbanised cities, allotment gardening within often meets with obstacles from the part of tendencies towards the privatisation of abandoned urban areas where allotment gardens find their place (in New York for example), still, there are examples of good practice in certain European cities (London, Berlin, Vienna), where there are protected areas intended for allotment gardens and their organisation (Jamnik et al. 2009; Pets 2001).

The importance of allotment gardening to the population of Ljubljana can be perceived on several levels. The findings refer to the fact that city dwellers seek ways to actively spend their free time in a green environment. Satisfying the need to be in touch with nature and enjoy the fruits of one's own labour, healthy produce, money saved, a positive environmental impact when gardening areas are appropriately organised, and an increase of morphological diversity of the urban landscape are only a few of the reasons for encountering allotment gardens in virtually all developed cities worldwide.

In the case of Ljubljana, the social phenomenon of allotment gardening is associated or explained through values concerning the use of space and spatial preferences. In this way we can better understand the importance of this activity from the social point of view; the persistence of users in cultivation, the influence of tradition and gardening from generation to generation, as well as the influence that rural values (predominant

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among the Slovene population) have on the attachment of an individual to his garden. Researches in Slovenia are manifested through the fact that the city often does not represent the chosen habitat for its dwellers, which shows to anti-urban spatial values. A large majority of the urban population would prefer their place of residence to be located in the country. Thus we can explain allotment gardening as a sort of adaptation to an urban living environment by introducing rural practices in cases where there is an aspiration towards or attachment to the countryside. At this point we consider a study of living preferences among Slovenes (Hočevar et al. 2004), which contains an important piece of information confirming the above presumption: when asked "Where would you most like to live if you had the opportunity?", 65% of the sample population chose the answer "A house with a garden in a town."

When considering allotment gardening, a question of the urbanity of Ljubljana arises. The dilemma regarding what is urban and what is not leads from allotment gardening to farms inside the city and, in turn, to the obvious dilemma of the vague distinction between the countryside and the city in Slovenia. There is, for instance, a tremendous number of farms inside the Municipality of Ljubljana and – along with wooded areas – they represent two thirds of the total area of the municipality (Lovšin 2009). City farms make the city self-sufficient and oriented towards sustainable development. Built environment includes green areas, which increase the quality and ecological value of the urban environment. However, this blurs the boundary of the city and the countryside, among other things, also by introducing the rural into the urban sphere and vice versa. At this point we ask ourselves - what is urban? Answers like allotment gardens, farms in the vicinity of the city and decorative spiders on house façades, either perceived as urban or not, are not all that relevant, but at the same time, there is no simple answer to this question. A consideration of motives and values behind these social phenomena may offer the most sensible explanation: there is a lack of diversity of urban programmes in the city. Urbanisation did not lead to acculturation, where people could adapt to new (urban) cultural environment (Hočevar 2002), so city dwellers feel a strong connection to the countryside and gardening remains a very popular activity. Keeping in mind the size

of Slovene cities, the proximity of rural landscapes and considering other similar criteria, one would not expect to see a growing demand for nature in the city or the constantly increasing intensity of its use and yet this is the case in Ljubljana. So, did Slovene cities fail to enforce their values or were there no such values to begin with? We could even say that the Slovene countryside is the preferred option and is perceived as the site of the "better way of life". The city then failed to acculturate its dwellers.

Allotment plots in Ljubljana have often been criticised for their visual appearance and formal characteristics. Until recently they were organised exclusively by their users without the participation of the municipality. In their individual expressions and garden arrangements the gardeners often ignored municipal regulations. That is how the allotment plots came to be seen as a degradation of the visual urban image and a visual obstruction. Certain areas have been designated to organise and plan gardening activities in Ljubljana, however, they are rather rigid, standardised and uniform. It is very important to recognise the connection between the quality of life of city dwellers and the quality of the city itself with green urban areas which include allotment plots and to consider it during the planning process. Non-restrictive regulatory policies have to be employed implying a tendency towards perceiving gardening as a positive quality and not an obstruction of the urban green system. This tendency would eventually establish a higher level of tolerance towards various uses of space which is an important indicator of urbanity.

Allotment gardening in Ljubljana can represent a contemporary starting point in search of designing a new character of neighbourhoods characterised not only by the market but also by the values of solidarity, self-sufficiency, creativity and ecological awareness. In this manner, allotment gardens in Ljubljana can reflect a certain aspect of Ljubljana's identity and urban diversity (Bugarič 2009).

The process of suburbanisation and the expansion of market and cultural programmes to the suburbs have played a crucial role in the transformation of the function of the city centre, its use and the associated impoverishment of programme and urban diversity. It has been noticed that public spaces within city centres have lost their meaning. In turn, this has transformed the character

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of the historical city centre. The increased cost of living in the city centre is forcing financially weaker social classes to the suburbs. These processes have endangered some existing informal city areas with the function of urban stages. Their informal character is precisely what makes them susceptible to replacement with other types of programmes.

It is complex and difficult to harmonise the diverse interests of city dwellers in an urban environment and restricting the identity of individuals venturing towards their self-realisation is quite common. It is perfectly logical for the city to bring interests in line with possibilities and in doing so, to organise space in accordance to certain policies so the actions of individuals in their use of space can never be entirely free. Yet this is precisely why public participation and the communication of actors in the processes of (trans) formation of space is crucial.

Cooperation helps inhabitants to identify themselves with the new arrangement which is also reflected in their relationship towards the urban environment and its use characterised by a sentiment of shared responsibility (Simoneti 1997). In the process of creating a unique identity

for the city, deviating from a homogenised and uniform image developing in terms of the globalisation processes, it is entirely reasonable for the public to take part in the decision-making process. Including individuals into this cooperation and considering their demands makes dwellers willing to shape their own urban environment and use it responsibly. The satisfaction of users and the shared responsibility towards space are a result of cooperation or integration of users within the processes of spatial transformation.

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Urbanost

—

20 let kasneje

Boštjan Bugarič

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Identiteta evropskih mestih se zaradi večanja mobilnosti prebivalcev, pretočnosti kapitala in iskanja konkurenčnosti med mesti podreja splošni internacionalizaciji in uniformiranju prostorov. Urbana območja se pod imperativom atraktivnosti oblikujejo zgolj za potrebe določenih privilegiranih skupin uporabnikov, ostali uporabniki pa ostajajo zapostavljeni in izločeni iz procesov sooblikovanja svojega lastnega bivanjskega prostora. Takšno urejanje prostora dolgoročno povzroča manjšanje urbane raznovrstnosti in vodi k osiromašenju mestnih vsebin. V tem sklenjenem krogu, kjer je glavni vzvod moči za uravnavanje in oblikovanje značaja mesta kapital, smo postavljeni pred vprašanje, ali je danes sploh še mogoče govoriti o specifičnem značaju posameznega mesta.

Projekt Urbanost 20 let kasneje se s fokusom na prostor srednje Evrope osredotoča na skupne vsebinske iztočnice razvoja izbranih mest. V zgodbi o urbanosti se srečajo Berlin, Bratislava, Praga, Budimpešta, Dunaj, Varšava in Ljubljana v trenutku, ko obeležujemo dvajseto obletnico padca komunizma. Izbor mest sta narekovala dva zgodovinska obraza, ki sta pripomogla k oblikovanju identitet izbranih mest: avstro-ogrsko in komunistično obdobje. Projekt si je zastavil nalogo raziskovanja in prepoznavanja urbanih identitet posamičnih mest, ki jih je po eni strani oblikovala skupna zgodovinska izkušnja, po drugi pa sočasno aktualno soočanje s sodobnimi

trendi prostorskega razvoja. Osrednje vprašanje, ki si ga zastavljamo, je, ali je v tem procesu oblikovanja lastne identitete katero izmed teh mest preseglo toge okvirje centralističnega načrtovanja in doseglo raznovrstnost urbanega. Kakšne so posledice različnih urbanih politik, uravnavanja kulturnih vsebin in pospeševanja ali zaviranja raznovrstnosti, skuša projekt pokazati na podlagi raziskav stanj, kakršna se manifestirajo v danem prostoru.

Izhodišče projekta je serija fotografij iz sedmih obravnavanih mest, ki jih enajstih avtorjev prikazuje kot posledice neskladnega prostorskega razvoja. Enosmerno načrtovanje, izključevanje raznolikih družbenih skupin, poman-jkanje komunikacije med različnimi družbenimi, ekonomskimi, političnimi in kulturnimi akterji ter uporabniki v organizaciji mestnega prostora so ključni razlogi za značilne sodobne podobe urbanih nekrajev, ki jih prikazu-jejo fotografska dela. Gre za vizualne izseke iz vsakodnevnega utripa mest, kjer se razkrivajo sistemske napake v razvoju izbranih lokacij. Neskončno osamljeni, pomensko izpraznjeni, neustrezno vsebinsko zasnovani in premalo upoštevani prostori so simptom izgubljanja kulturnih identitet evropskega prostora v pogojih globalnega tržnega sistema. Fotografsko gradivo pokaže zbir možnih fotografskih pogledov na zapostavljene, odrinjene in manj atrak-tivne, vendar hkrati značilne prostorske realnosti obravnavanih mest. Preplet raziskovanja na polju različnih praks (umetniških in znanstvenih) kaže, da se sedem srednjeevropskih mest srečuje s podobnimi razvojnimi tendencami, ki pa jih kljub vsemu ločujejo specifične lastnosti, posledice kulturnega, družbenega, političnega in geografskega okolja, v katerem se nahajajo. Če je v preteklosti značaj nekaterih obravnavanih mest določala kulturna paradigma avstro-ogrske monarhije, pa je preostali delež vzhodno evropskih prestol-nic določneje zaznamovalo komunistično obdobje, po njegovem padcu pa neoliberalni sistem uravnavanja prostora, ki ima značilne politične in razvojne strategije. V današnji fizični strukturi mest se kaže kot prevladujoči oblikova-lec prostora skoraj izključno komercialni interes.

Kakšne posledice imajo vsebinske preobrazbe z Ljubljano smo razmišljali v okviru javnih diskusij v neodvisnem in zapuščenem lokalu v mestnem jedru. Podoba in značaj mestnega središča Ljubljane sta se v času kapitalističnega pretoka dobrin v zadnjih letih precej spremenila. Gentrifikacijski procesi z velikim zamahom čistijo mestno jedro in ga z umeščanjem določenih elitnih vsebin oblikujejo le za namene višjih slojev uporabnikov. Mestni prostor je ustrezno prilagojen ekskluzivnim uporabnikom, ki postopoma zamenjujejo meščane, za katere se predpostavlja, da obvladujejo nižjo raven splošne kulture. V naslednji fazi je mestno središče zajel tudi močan vpliv turisti-fikacije, saj se večinoma trgovske vsebine prilagajajo le potrebam turizma v mestu. Mestno jedro je tudi pod pritiski mednarodnih korporativnih znamk, ki parter mesta oblikujejo v smeri generičnega turističnega prostora. Ekskluzivne trgovine in gostinski lokali so prevzeli prevlado nad vsebinami, ki so bile iz središče odstranjene zaradi visokih najemnin in domnevno neprimerne ponudbe. Razrast nakupovalnih prostorov potrošnje, sprem-injanje historičnih jeder, getoizacija, gentrifikacija, poenotenje določenih vsebin so izhodišča, ki so spodbudila iskanje ustreznega prostora za akci-jsko delovanje. Urbane intervencije so bile povod za odpiranje pomembnih

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urbanih tem s sodelovanjem kreativnih praks različnih avtorjev, ki ustvarjajo na območju Ljubljane. Z raziskovanjem smo ustvarili neodvisni predstavitveni prostora, kjer se lahko vzpostavlja razširjanje znanja in izobraževanja različnih javnosti. Javne predstavitve in pogovori so se dogajali v praznem prostoru bivše trgovine Sadjar in vrtnar na Cankarjevem nabrežju v mestnem jedru Ljubljane. Izpraznjen prostor lokala je dobil vsebinski naboj za javne diskusije na teme urbanosti, komunikacije med mestnimi akterji in možnimi načini delovanja različnih kreativnih praks v javnem prostoru. V seriji dogodkov so različni avtorji s področja urbanizma, arhitekture, krajinske arhitekture, sociologije, antropologije, etnologije in vizualnih umetnosti obravnavali pet prepletajočih se tem. Pretežno nekomercialni interes, ki ga tovrstne prakse izražajo, jih odrinja na margino kljub njihovemu močnemu vpliv na vizualno podobo Ljubljane. V okviru posameznih predstavitev so udeleženci razpravljali o vlogi sodobne umetnosti znotraj arhitekture, preobrazbi odprtih zelenih površin v mestu, vsebinskih neskladjih na mestnem robu, pomenu različnih načinov raziskovanja mesta in možnostih zapolnjevanja mestnih praznin z ustreznim umeščanjem mestotvornih programov.

V uvodnem predavanju je umetnik Tobias Putrih govoril o razmerju med umetnostjo in arhitekturo ter posledicami nezmožnosti komunikacije med akterji na omenjenih poljih. Sodobne umetniške prakse, ki na prostoru mesta raziskujejo vsebinske odnose med uporabniki, lahko ob ustrezni integraciji v javni prostor bistveno pripomorejo h kasnejšemu oblikovanju in organizaciji mesta. Druga javna diskusija se je osredotočila na temo preobrazbe zelenih odprtih površin v mestu. Sodelovanje štirih sogovornic je pripomoglo k celostnemu dojemanju urejanja zelenih površin in gospodarjenja z njimi. Sogovornice so se teme zelenih površin lotevale vsaka iz svoje perspektive. Umetnica Tanja Lažetić skozi prizmo lastnega umetniškega projekta, krajinska arhitektka Maja Simoneti skozi izkušnje in delo v praksi, sociologinja Marta Gregorčič na primeru kritičnega odnosa do družbenih preobrazb in arhitektka Nina Vastl na podlagi sistematične analize vrtičkarstva kot sodobnega in kompleksnega družbenega in prostorskega pojava. Vrtičkarstvo kot model samoorganizacijskega urejanja prostora spodbuja ustvarjalnost in odpira izhodišča za oblikovanje odprtih prostorov mesta. Zaradi pomanjkanja komunikacije med mestnimi uporabniki in akterji pa so vrtički neustrezno opremljeni in deležni napačne percepcije mestne politike. Na javnem performansu *Ljubljanski mleko bar* je umetnica in arhitektka Polonca Lovšin predstavila video o problematiki kmetij v mestu Ljubljana. Obenem je galerijski prostor s svežim mlekom s kmetij sprejemal mimoidoče in jim kot edini lokal omogočil zastonjsko uživanje javnega prostora. Povezovanje umetniške raziskovalne metodologije z znanstveno raziskovalno je odprlo dve različni poti raziskovanja fenomenov v mestu. Izkazalo se je, da lahko tako etnologinjo Katjo Hrobat kot umetniško skupino Društvo za domače raziskave pripeljejo do podobnih rezultatov s povsem različno metodologijo in načinom zbiranja podatkov. Vsebinsko prostorsko analizo so pripravili študenti Fakultete za arhitekturo in Fakultete za družbene vede pod vodstvom Maruše Zorec, Tadeja Glažarja in Igorja Kovačevića. Raziskovalni izsledki so bili predstavljeni na razstavi v izložbi bivšega lokala. Med drugim so mimoidoče nagovarjali z

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vprašanji: Čigavo je mesto? Česa ima Ljubljana več: reklamnih plakatov ali dreves? Središče mesta, lunapark za turiste? Kaj človek še lahko počne v mestu brez denarnice? Kdo si lahko privošči stanovati v središču mesta? Na podlagi razvojne analize mesta so bile predstavljene umestitve določenih urbanih vsebin na posamezne lokacije v Ljubljani, ki so jih študenti analizirali na delavnici.

Predstavitev prostorskih realnosti obravnavanih mest se je zgodila v galeriji Vžigalica Muzeja in galerij mesta Ljubljana. Ob fotografski razstavi so povabljeni umetniki predstavili izkušnje urbanosti, ki so jih pridobili z različnimi umetniškimi praksami. Združujeta jih aktivacija in sodelovanje javnosti, ki na podlagi raznolikih izkušenj omogoča razvoj nove kolektivnosti urbanih prizorišč. Vsebinska obravnava urbanih prizorišč pokaže na potrebe obujanja opuščenega javnega interesa. Današnja prizorišča prevzemajo komercialni značaj, ki ne dovoljujejo svobode vsebinski raznovrstnosti. Ljubljana, dragocena po svoji zasnovi in prisotnosti zelenih površin ter prepleta zelenega z grajenim okoljem, pozna dragocen fenomen prostorske samoorganizacije na področju raznovrstnih vrtičkov na različnih območjih mesta. Zgodbe vrtičkarjev predstavljajo enega izmed primerov urbanega navdiha, na katerega se je projekt podrobneje osredotočil. Primer uspešnega izogibanja urbanističnim avtoritativnim režimom izpričujejo po eni strani zgodovinske sledi razvoja mesta in po drugi področje oblikovanja socialnih stikov, kažejo pa tudi na širši pomen in potrebo po snovanju zelenih sosesk. Če so te, betonske in asfaltne, pred dvajsetimi leti izzvale iskanje zelenih območij za komunikacijo in preživljanje prostega časa, so obenem sprožale različne situacije nezakonite rabe zemljišč in samoorganizacijskih možnosti uravnavanja prostora. Ljubljansko vrtičkarstvo je lahko danes eno izmed znova aktualnih izhodišč za iskanje oblikovanja novega značaja sosesk, ki jih ne zaznamuje zgolj vodilo tržnosti, temveč tudi vrednote solidarnosti, samooskrbe, ustvarjalnosti in ekološke zavesti. Je tovrsten model snovanja urbane površine, ki ga je zapovedala ljubezen do zelenja, zgolj utopija ali lahko postane tudi realen navdih pri bodočem razvoju mesta?

URBANITY
— 20 YEARS LATER

Boštjan Bugarič

Increasing population mobility, capital flows and competition are compelling the identity of European cities to conform to general trends of internationalization and uniformity of space. The imperative of attractive appearance is reflected in the design of urban areas, which are well suited to meet the requirements of particular privileged groups of users, while the needs of others are neglected, they are excluded from the process of designing their own living environment. In the long term, this type of space management results in a decrease of urban diversity and leads towards an impoverishment of city life. From inside this closed circle, where capital represents the main lever of power, a question arises: Is it still possible to refer to a specific character of an individual city.

The Urbanity 20 Years Later project focuses on the region of Middle Europe and some common characteristics marking the development of selected cities. The story of urbanity introduces Berlin, Bratislava, Prague, Budapest, Vienna, Warsaw and Ljubljana in a historic moment marking the 20th anniversary of the fall of Communism. The selection of cities was made with respect to two historic periods, both largely significant for the shaping of urban identity: the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Communist period. The project took on the task of researching and acknowledging urban identities of individual cities, which were shaped, on one hand, by common historic experience, and on the

other hand, by the simultaneous arrival and operation of contemporary spatial development trends. While the identity of selected cities was taking shape, have Berlin, Bratislava, Prague, Budapest, Vienna, Warsaw and Ljubljana managed to exceed the rigid scheme of centralistic planning and establish a diverse urban sphere? The project presents the results of research concerning the effects of advocating various urban policies, managing cultural programmes and stimulating or hindering diversity upon the current situation.

The starting point of the project is a series of photographs taken in seven selected cities by eleven authors to document the consequences of irregular spatial development. The photographs portray characteristic urban non-places, the familiar contemporary result of one-way planning, exclusion of various social groups, and lack of communication between different social, economic and cultural actors and users involved in organizing city space. They are visual segments of everyday city life exhibiting systematic developmental mistakes in selected sites. Infinitely lonely and ignored spaces lacking any kind of significance or appropriate conceptual design are a symptom of the European cultural identities disintegrating in global market circumstances. The photographs exhibit a range of possible visual aspects of the spatial realities in selected cities, showing neglected, dismissed, and unattractive sites that are, nevertheless, characteristic at the same time. The intertwinement of research performed in the scope of various practices (artistic and scientific) reveals that the seven Middle European cities are experiencing similar developmental tendencies, but vary with respect to specific sets of characteristics originating from their cultural, social, political and geographical environment. During the course of the past, the character of some cities considered in the project was determined by the cultural paradigm of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while some other Eastern European capitals were strongly influenced by Communism, which eventually collapsed and gave way to the new neoliberal approach to space management marked by its specific political and developmental strategies. Today, the physical structure of cities exhibits the fact, that the dominant factor governing space management is commercial interest.

The consequences caused by the above transformations in Ljubljana

were discussed in an independent and abandoned shop in the city centre and were presented on the basis of research in the urban sphere. During recent years, the capital dominated flow of goods in Ljubljana caused significant changes of the image and character of the city centre. Gentrification processes are sweeping the city centre clean, the preferential design corresponds to the needs of city users belonging to higher social classes. The city centre supports a lifestyle adapted to exclusive city users, which are replacing the segment of the population that is generally associated with lower level of general culture. At the same time the city centre is strongly influenced by touristification, as most shops are specially adapted to meet the requirements of tourists visiting the city. The city centre is also subjected to pressures from the part of international corporations advertising trademarks, which are driving the gradual transformation of the city's ground floor into generic tourist space. Exclusive stores and restaurants have taken over the centre after all of the supposedly inappropriate segments of city life have been removed by means of raising rents. The spreading of shopping towns devoted to consumerism, changes of the city centre, ghettoisation, gentrification and unification of certain contents are the starting points that instigated our search for a suitable space to act. Urban interventions marked by creative practices of various authors working in Ljubljana have provided an opportunity to approach important urban topics. The research of the urban sphere was presented in an independent exhibition space that enabled the dissemination of knowledge and education of various segments of the public. Public presentations and talks took place in a vacant shop that used to sell horticulture products (Sadjar in vrtnar) in Cankarjevo nabrežje in the centre of Ljubljana. In this empty space, a strong creative charge was generated and used for public discussions concerning urbanity, communication among city actors and possible ways of working in various creative practices in public space. Through a series of events, the various actors working in the field of urban planning, architecture, landscape architecture, sociology, anthropology, ethnology, and visual arts, focused on five intertwined topics. The largely non-commercial character of these sorts of practices is pushing them into the margin despite the strong influence they can have on the visual appearance of Ljubljana.

The lectures and debates in the vacant city shop concerned the role contemporary art inside architecture, the transformation of green areas in the city, disproportionate spatial development of the city, the significance of individual approaches to city research and the possibilities of installing appropriate contents into vacant urban to promote urban diversity.

The first lecture by the artist Tobias Putrih addressed the relationship between art and architecture and the consequences arising from the inability of the actors operating in these fields to communicate. If they are appropriately integrated into public space, contemporary artistic practices concerning relationships among various city users, can support the creation of a high quality design and organization scheme of a city. The second public debate focused on transformations of green urban areas. The joined efforts of four speakers created a comprehensive picture of the way in which green spaces are organized and managed. Each speaker addressed the topic from a particular perspective: the artist Tanja Lažetić approached the subject from the aspect of an art project she performed, Maja Simoneti, a landscape architect, presented her experience with practical work, Marta Gregorčič, a sociologist, added an example of a critical relationship towards social transformation, and the architect Nina Vastl discussed the subject through the scope of a systematic analysis of allotment gardening as a contemporary and complex social and spatial phenomenon. As a model of self-regulating organization of space, allotment gardening boosts creativity and offers new approaches to designing urban open space. The lack of communication between city users and urban actors manifests itself in the non-appealing design of allotment gardening areas, which is why they are perceived by the municipality authorities in a wrong way. The public performance *Ljubljana Milk Bar* was a presentation of a video about farming and farms in Ljubljana made by Polonca Lovšin, an artist and an architect. During the time of the project the empty shop functioned as the only freely accessible public space in the area, it was open to the public and invited people passing by to stop and enjoy some fresh milk from city farms. Associating artistic and scientific research demonstrated various ways of approaching urban phenomena. It turned out, that completely different approaches and ways of acquiring information - like

the scientific methods used by the ethnologist Katja Hrobat and artistic research practice of the Domestic Research Society – can lead to similar results. Under the leadership of Maruša Zorec, Tadej Glažar and Igor Kovačević the students from the Faculty of Architecture and Faculty of Social Sciences analyzed urban space and its contents. They presented their results in the shop window of the vacant horticulture store. Among other things, they would ask the people passing by: Who does the city belong to? Are there more trees or advertising panels in Ljubljana? Is the city centre an amusement park for tourists? What can one do in a city without one's wallet? Who can afford to buy an apartment in the centre? A developmental analysis of the city performed during the student workshop provided the basis to present the installation of selected slices of urban life into appropriate localities in Ljubljana.

The spatial realities from all cities considered in the scope of the Urbanity project were presented in the Vžigalica Galley (City Museum of Ljubljana). The programme included an exhibition of photographs by eleven authors and presentations of various artistic practices by invited artists. Though the ranges of their experiences are diverse, their work shares a common characteristic - they try to achieve the activation and participation of the public to stimulate the development of a new sense of community in urban settings. An evaluation of city life in urban settings becomes means to awaken the neglected public interest. The contemporary urban settings are marked by the commercial character leaving no room for diversity of unrestricted urban life. With its prized asset - a city plan marked by the intertwining green areas and built environment - Ljubljana is well acquainted with the creative phenomenon of spatial self-organization that took form in several allotment gardening areas scattered in throughout the city. The personal stories of allotment gardeners were used as one of the sources of urban inspiration in the core of the Urbanity project. On one hand, historical traces of the city's development and the formation of social networks represent examples of successfully bypassing the authoritative regimes of urban planning, while on the other hand they highlight the wider significance of designing green neighborhoods. Twenty years ago, new neighborhoods were made of concrete and asphalt, so the people ventured out to look for green areas where

they could communicate and spend their free time by themselves. This resulted in both: the self-organization of space and various instances of illegitimate land use. Today, again, allotment gardening in Ljubljana represents an important potential - it is one of the basic points in the search for a new character of urban neighborhoods that are not only marked by market imperatives but also by values like solidarity, self-sufficiency, creativity and ecological awareness. Is this mode of designing urban space, inspired by the love of greenery, merely a utopian concept or can it become a realistic inspiration in future city design?
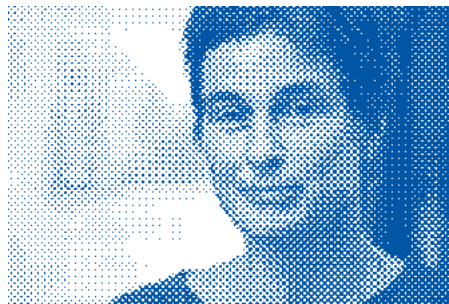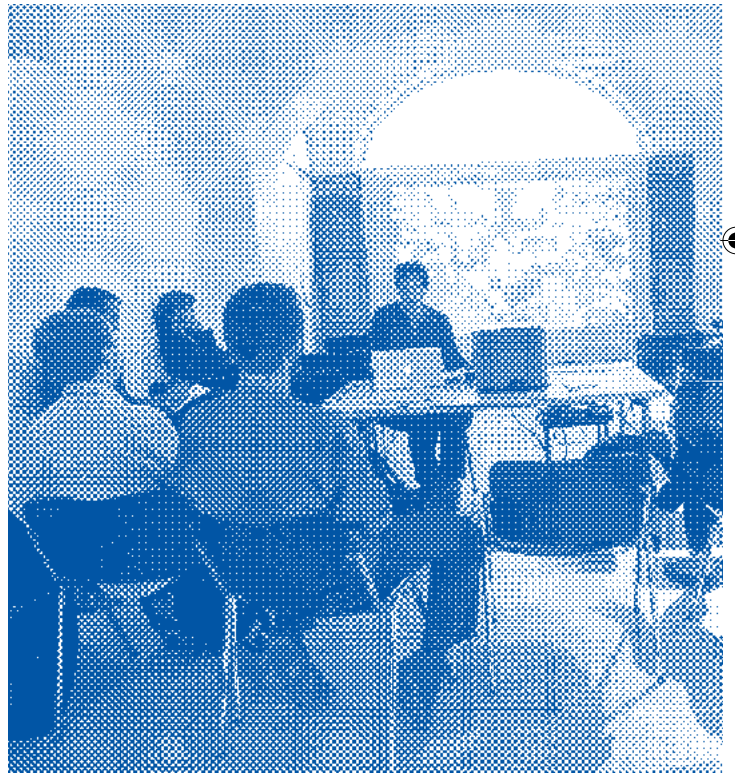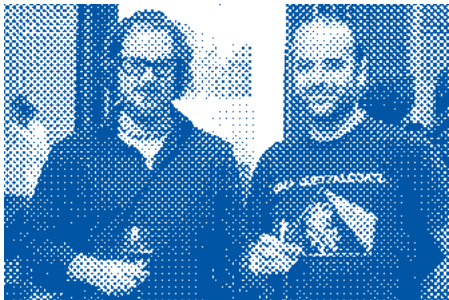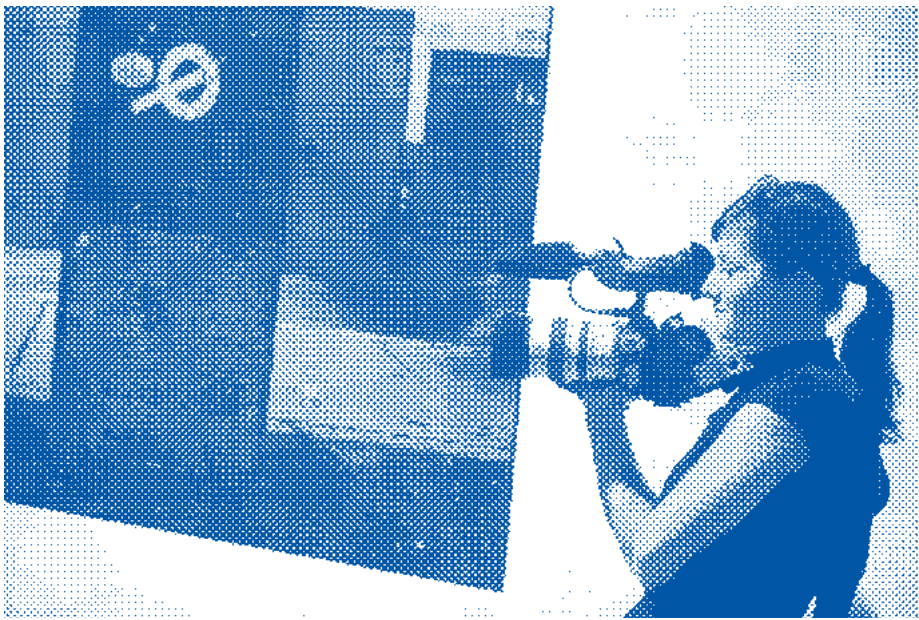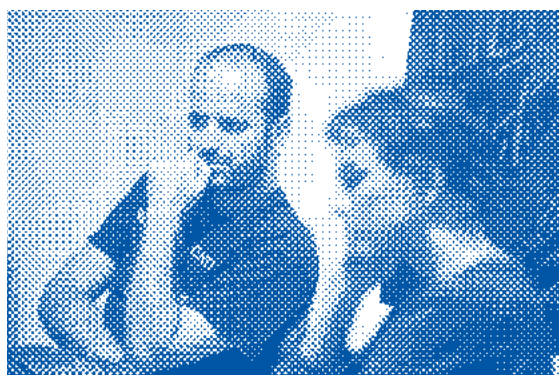
02.

NOVA KOLEKTIV-NOST NEW CO LECT-IVITY

Transverzalnost

:

Urbano kuriranje in mikropolitika prilaščanja prostora ter konstrukcije identitet

Elke Krasny

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V izgradnji: grajeno, podoba, besede

Identiteta lokacije je oblegano področje. Način, na katerega lahko kot meščani sodelujemo pri ustvarjanju svojih mest in se z njimi identificiramo, je nenehno na preizkušnji. Razmišljanja po vzoru »prostorskosti«, »historičnosti« in »socialnosti« Edwarda Soje vodijo v aktualne teme predstavljivosti, vidnosti in preobrazljivosti. Identiteta ni mirujoče stanje, ampak nenehen proces postajanja. Identiteta je neprestano v izgradnji. Izgradnja, uporabljena kot metafora, vodi v zelo realne izzive fragmentiranih urbanih stanj, ki izkazujejo svojo prehodnost kot izgradnjo fizičnega urbanega prostora, izgradnjo urbane proizvodnje podob, pa tudi urbanih pripovedi (prepogosto skrčenih na urbano retoriko, podprto s tržno logiko).

V tem smislu je kritičen pristop, ki zaznamuje najnovejšo knjigo arhitektke in urbanistke Denise Scott Brown pod naslovom »Having Words«, še kako potreben pri raziskovanju medprostorov znotraj komunalnega urbanizma, ne samo v smislu ostankov ali nezadostno reguliranega prostora, ki bi lahko prešli v javni interes, ampak tudi v smislu sondiranja in vzpostavljanja medprostora med fizičnim prostorom, prostorom podob in prostorom besed. Kot meščani delimo oblegano področje treh domen: grajenega, podobe in besede. Preko umetniške prakse poskušamo razumeti, kako lahko na novo razumljena kolektivnost, ki podpira izgradnjo

množtva identitet, proizvede bivanje kraja namesto bivanja v kraju. Kar je
včasih predstavljal izziv izpraznjenih in malo rabljenih prostorov, od koder so
odstranili smeti ter jih ponovno uporabili v okviru samo-organizirane skup-
nosti, kot kaže primer nastanka prvih skupnih vrtov v New Yorku v sedemde-
setih letih, je danes malo uporabljan medprostor med fizičnimi strukturami
s svojimi možnimi kolektivnimi/individualnimi imaginariji in kolektivnimi/
individualnimi zgodbami. Preko združevanja sil treh formacij - grajenega,
podob in besed, lahko urbano kuriranje prevzame vlogo obujanja opuščenega
javnega interesa na polju tega, kar bi lahko bila javna domena urbanega na
začetku enaindvajsetega stoletja.

   V času vse večje privatizacije interesov - nemški umetnik Stephan
Dillemuth govori o korporativni javnosti - je ključno, da premagamo močno
zaupanje v korporativni tok urejanja javnega prostora in produkcije urbanega.
Zapuščena zemljišča v sedemdesetih je zaznamovala specifična prostorska
praksa na temelju prebujanja, samoorganizacije in sledeče dolgoročne
podpore skupnosti. Zapuščena zemljišča enaindvajsetega stoletja so v enaki
meri prostorska kot miselna. Ideja pozitivnega kolektivizma, ki vznika kot
nova kritična praksa, ima korenine v pomanjkanju solidarnosti pri ustvarjanju
kraja in pomanjkanju identifikacije z drugim in drugačnostjo, z raznoliko-
stjo in s heterogenostjo kot gonilnimi silami urbane realnosti. Kar ostane,
je izziv medprostora in odpiranje praznin, ki kličejo k ukrepanju in praksam
urbanega kuriranja - ne toliko v ožjem kontekstu neprimerne rabe prostora
kot takega, ampak v smislu neprimerne rabe občutka kolektivnosti. Pri
urbanem kuriranju je na kocki način, kako se sprijazniti s procesom urbane
preobrazbe - ne na način plitvih sporazumov in površinskega sklepanja miru,
ampak skozi globoko in kolektivizirano urbano produkcijo znanja o tem, kako
sodelovati pri ustvarjanju lastnega mesta.

   Vodilo metodoloških, strateških, taktičnih in semantičnih iskanj
dolgoročnih in angažiranih umetniških praks je postalo iskanje načina,
kako izgraditi lokacijskost, kako misliti prostor kot razvijajoč se proces kole-
ktivnega ukrepanja. Te prakse se preko preseganja zahtev lokacijske specifike
in doseganjem resnične lokacijsko-časovno-skupnostne specifike ter njenega
preobražanja med dolgoročnim delovanjem gibljejo v ozkem medprostoru
med estetiko, pragmatizmom, izgradnjo kolektivnega, politiko podob in mest-
nimi politikami. Konflikti so del vsakdanjega urbanega delovanja. Različne
akterje žene želja po spremembah. Aktivacija in sodelovanje sta ključna
elementa mnogih praks, mestni prostor razpirata kot vprašanje urbane
demokracije. Raje kot jasnim mejam pristopov od zgoraj navzdol in od spodaj
navzgor želim slediti branju realnosti vzdolž prostorske in semantične konfig-
uracije transverzalnosti in kolektivnosti. Slednji postavki sta del zgodovine
idej o prostoru, ki se nanaša na določen koncept načina zamišljanja javnosti.

   Ko si zamislimo stanje urbanosti v izzivov polnem položaju prehodnosti,
se soočimo s posledicami sodobne zgodovine: točka obrata leta 1989, vojne
in oboroženi spopadi devetdesetih let, terorizem z vrhunci ob 11. septem-
bru, ob bombnih napadih v Londonu leta 2005 ter v Mumbaju leta 2006.
Urbana varnost je ena od ključnih postavk v razmišljanjih o današnji urbani
javnosti. Nadzor in zaščita sta dominanti v konstelacijah, ki določajo interese

meščanov pri stikih z javnim urbanim prostorom. Druga pomembna postavka pri razmišljanju o urbani javnosti označuje turistifikacijo vsakdana. Interesu globalizirane urbane kulture vlada uživanje lastnega mesta kot dobrine, primerljive s strojem želja, ki ga poganja proizvodnja podob globalnih turističnih brošur. Ta uporablja lokalno kot posebno sestavino, kot dejavnik lokacije pri lokacijskih strategijah ustvarjanja blagovnih znamk. Med varnostjo in ustvarjanjem blagovnih znamk je potreba po kritični medprostorski praksi ponovnega vzpostavljanja mentalitete meščanskih vrednot in principov javnega, ki presega nenehen nadzor in izkustveno vzpostavljanje blagovnih znamk.

Urbanemu miselnemu življenju prvega desetletja 21. stoletja vladata varnost in blagovne znamke. Če se ozremo na zadnje desetletje prejšnjega stoletja, bomo kot označevalca stanja mentalnega življenja meščanov našli zadržanost in anonimnost. V knjigi »Metropolises and Mental Life« iz leta 1903 nemški sociolog Georg Simmels podrobno opiše pojav zadržanosti, ki vlada družbenim odnosom v mestu, in njene posledice.

Ob ponovnem prebiranju zadržanosti in njenem povezovanju z varnostjo oziroma nadzorom postane očitna potreba po vključevanju kritične prakse komuniciranja. Številne prakse urbanega kuriranja se močno zanašajo na orodje komunikacije. Naj bo komunikacija estetska ali socialna, v idealnem primeru pa oboje, gre za premagovanje anonimnosti, spodbujanje diskurza, negovanje samoorganizacije, spodbujanje zavesti o tem, kako nastaja lokalna identiteta in kako lahko proces njenega nastajanja postane gonilna sila pri oblikovanju mikropolitike ter pri vključevanju heterogenosti in različnosti. Richard Sennett v knjigi »The Fall of Public Man«, izdani leta 1977, govori o mestu kot o sredini, kjer se lahko srečajo tujci. V okoliščinah, ko vsem urbanim odnosom vladajo nadzor in dobrine, je treba koncept srečanja preoblikovati in napolniti z novo energijo, da bi lahko postal estetska strategija ali umetniška praksa.

Konceptualizacija javnosti: muzej vrt, knjižnica, hotel. Urbani prostor je viden kot prostor potencialnega sodelovanja in kolektivnosti, prostor za spremenljivost na mikropolitični ravni in za proizvodnjo novih podob, ki bi dopuščala bogastvo identitete, ne da bi bilo to reducirano na stalno reprodukcijo dvorane zrcal imenovane lastna identiteta. Zanimivo je, da je tradicija prostorskih konfiguracij javnega predmet konceptualnega prilaščanja in ponovne rabe, torej muzej, vrt, park, opera ali kinematograf, ki se aktivira in reciklira kot umetniška metoda, strategija ali koncept. Foucaultov koncept vladajoče mentalitete in mentalitete vladajočih lahko razumemo kot model za teoretiziranje o zgodovini idej, vstavljenih in realiziranih skozi prostor, da se pokažejo formacije, konfiguracije in koncepti načinov javne samokonstrukcije in hkratne nenehne konstrukcije in rekonstrukcije.

Kraji oblikovanja javnosti, utemeljeni na umetnosti srečanja, so bili predvideni v urbanističnih praksah 19. stoletja. Muzeji in parki, knjižnice in javni vrtovi, kinematografi, hoteli, ulice in veleblagovnice so bili prostorske oblike 19. stoletja, kjer sta se skozi medsebojne odnose izoblikovala javnost in njen odnos do kulture, narave in gospodarstva. Knjiga »The Birth of the Museum« avtorja Tonyja Bennetta predstavlja poglobljeno analizo odnosov kulture

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in vodenja, javnosti, prostora in srečevanja. Rem Koolhas v delu »Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan« raziskuje dejavnike, ki so povzročili izoblikovanje hotela kot organizacijskega modela za srečevanje in samopredstavljanje porajajoče se urbane javnosti. Omenjene historične modele prostorskega oblikovanja javnosti danes oživljajo prakse urbanega kuriranja.

Dve značilnosti stanja urbanega - anonimnost in naključna srečanja – sta osnova, iz katere izrašča urbano kuriranje, ki deluje proti anonimnosti in izkorišča produktivne posledice naključnih srečanj. Upoštevanja vredno je tudi teoretiziranje francoskega filozofa in antropologa Bruna Latourja o javnem, še posebno njegov pogled na skupno in politično. Mesto kot organizirano telo javnih con ima bogato zgodovino ustvarjanja javnega. V spremnem besedilu k razstavi »Making Things Public. Atmosferes of Democracy« Bruno Latour na različne skupine »zainteresiranih strank« naslavlja sklop sodobnih vprašanj. »Jasno je, da vsak objekt – vsako vprašanje – poraja različne emocionalne vzorce in motnje, sporazume in nesporazume. Morda ni kontinuitete, skladnosti naših mnenj, obstaja pa skrita kontinuiteta in skladnost tega, na kar smo navezani. Vsak objekt sproži nove priložnosti za strastno nestrinjanje in razpravo. (…) Z drugimi besedami, objekti – v širokem smislu - nas vse zavezujejo na načine, preko katerih se izrisuje načrt javnega prostora, ki se v sami osnovi razlikuje od tega, kar ponavadi prepoznavamo in označujemo kot »politično«.« Sprožanje naključij in posledičnih sprememb je estetska, a tudi socialna in politična strategija urbanega kuriranja. Latourjevo predstavo o tem, kako lahko stvari postanejo javne, uporabljam kot pristop k branju sklopa historično-prostorskih »stvari«, ki so omogočile urbani javnosti, da je ustvarila svoj kolektivni portret, utemeljen na naključnih srečanjih drugih kot konceptualnem modelu sodobnih umetniških strategij. Tovrstne umetniške prakse ponovno odrejajo obstoječe strukture, tesno povezane s tradicijo glede organiziranja javnega kot prostorskega in vizualnega polja srečevanja, znano iz 19. in 20. stoletja. Študije o vladajočem Michaela Foucaulta izpostavljajo vidik organizacije zmožnosti tehnik obvladovanja sebstva. Osebna avtonomija in odgovornost zase se prenašata na posameznike vse življenje. Če ju prociramo na polje kolektivnega, imata avtonomija kot samoorganizacija in odgovornost kot solidarnost veliko skupnega z drugačnim pogledom na pripadnosti urbanem prostoru ali postajanju njegovega sestavnega dela.

Urbani kuratorji: transverzalna dejanja
Prostori, kot so muzej ali hotel, vrt ali knjižnica, so prostori kolektivnega vedénja, privlačni za kulturno dediščino avtonomije in samoodgovornosti v skupnih prostorih. Mnoge kuratorske prakse urbanega kuriranja žanjejo sadove samo-institucionalizacije in samo-odgovornosti ter organiziranosti samo-organizacije. Veličastne urbane postavke kolektivnosti in obvladljivosti so prostorsko predstavljene na ulici, v muzeju, kinematografu, knjižnici, na vodenemu ogledu, v parku, na vrtu ali v hotelu. Te prostorske postavke doživijo svojo izpolnitev kot strategije v praksah urbanega kuriranja, ki jih bom raziskala, da bi izluščila historične plasti in pregledala, kako uporaba teh prostorskih struktur kot strategij vodi v razširjen koncept javnosti v javnem

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prostoru z ustvarjanjem ad-hoc kolektivov, ki lahko potencialno prerastejo v bolj dolgoročne skupnosti. V jedru teh prostorsko-političnih praks je strategija transverzalnosti. Različni akterji vključeni v prakse urbanega kuriranja, se gibljejo vzdolž horizontalnega modela povezljivosti, ki mu pravim transverzalen. Sama transverzalnost predstavlja prostorski in konceptualni izziv za tradicionalno uprostorjanje odnosov moči in interakcij, ki se izoblikujejo pod vplivom vertikalnosti, temelječih na omejitvah v pristopih od spodaj navzgor in od zgoraj navzdol. Četudi pristop od spodaj navzgor predstavlja srž aktivističnih praks, že samo sprejemanje prostorskosti, temelječe na konceptih zgoraj in spodaj, zahteva kritičen pristop. Nicolas Bourriaud je v delu »Relational Aestethics« daleč od radostne odnosnosti ostal znotraj omejitev sveta umetnosti in umetniškega trga, transverzalnost pa je v nasprotju s tem kot družbeno-estetski in politično-poetičen koncept v tesnem stiku z realnim svetom. Omejitve realnega sveta se odprejo s silami, ki vplivajo na prakse urbanega kuriranja in se soočajo znotraj njih kot transverzalne strategije. Ustvarjanje politike in produkcijo estetskega, interese urbanistov in voditeljev skupnosti, ekonomske razmere in vključenost civilne družbe ženejo povsem drugačni interesi in kljub uporabi podobnih izrazov ne govorijo v istem jeziku.

Na tak način urbano kuriranje predstavlja transverzalno prakso komunikacije in prevajanja, dopuščanja razlik in konfliktov ter srečanj. Širok spekter različnih dolgoročnih umetniških projektov si je konceptualno prilastil zgodnejše oblike javnega, kot so muzej ali vrt, knjižnica ali hotel, da bi spodbudil zavest skupnega urbanizma. Do te mere spominjajo na zgodnejše konfiguracije javnih prostorov srečevanja, ki jih utelešajo muzej ali park, knjižnica ali kinematograf, kot bi bili prostori, kjer lahko porajajoča se javnost opazuje in srečuje lastno nastajanje.

Angažirana multidisciplinarna praksa urbanega kuriranja, ki med drugimi vključuje arhitekte in urbaniste, kulturne producente, izvajalce kulturnih študij in organizatorje skupnosti, zaznamuje dolgoročne projekte, pri katerih nastaja zapletena mreža kulturnih praks. Tak je na primer Soho in Ottakring na Dunaju, ki poteka v obliki vsakoletnega festivala. Pred več kot desetimi leti ga je začela Ula Schneider, vanj je vključenih do 200 umetnikov, ki sodelujejo pri prilaščanju urbanega prostora v dunajski četrti, zaznamovani z migracijami, heterogenostjo in revščino. Soho je pripeljal galerije in muzeje, sodobne umetniške prakse in udeležbo javnosti na območje, ki je bilo prej brez slehere kulturne produkcije. V obdobju desetih let je vibracija umetniške in kulturne produkcije postala nekakšen zaščitni znak območja ter pritegnila pozornost mestne oblasti in urbanistov, zainteresiranih za uporabo umetnosti kot dejavnika preobrazbe. Zahteve in interesi različnih vpletenih skupin se močno razlikujejo, kar vodi v vrsto nesporazumov in potencialnih konfliktov. Kljub temu je v obdobju dobrih desetih let sodelujočim skupinam uspelo označiti svoje ciljno območje in pri tem skozi proces preobrazbe, delno sprožen preko umetniške prakse urbanih intervencij, ki so se začele s preobrazbo opuščenih izložbenih oken v galerije in miniaturne muzeje, postati dejavniki lokacijskosti pri oblikovanju in porajajoči se identiteti. Čeprav so interesi različni, ta hibridnost doslej še ni privedla do konflikta med udeleženimi skupinami in kulturami, ampak prej k spodbujanju urbanih

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interesov, umetniške in ustvarjalne samoorganizacije ter vključevanja gospo-
darstva, četrti in mesta.

Doina Petrescu in Constantin Petcou se kot L'Atelier d' Architecture
Autogérée iz Pariza ukvarjata s projekti, kot je ECOBox 2002–2004 ali Projekt
Espaces vacants du 56, rue Sainte-Blaise transformés à l'aide des voisins,
2007–2008. Da bi spodbudila investicijo same skupnosti v porajajoči se skupni
prostor, kar bi postopoma pripeljalo do samo-organiziranega in odgovornega
prevzema s strani skupnosti, uporabljata preostanke mestnega prostora ali
medprostor v pravem pomenu besede. V nasprotju s standardno arhitekturno
prakso, delo Doine Petrescu in Constantina Petcouja zaznamuje spodbujanje
samoorganizacije in gradnja komunikacijskih mostov med ljudmi z zelo
različnimi družbenimi zaledji in dediščinami. Na podlagi ideje množtva, ki sta
jo razvila Hardt in Negri, spodbujata prostore srečevanja javnosti, ki nasprotu-
jejo trenutnim neoliberalnim silam urbanega razvoja in nagovarjajo meščane
k sodelovanju pri oblikovanju lastnih sosesk ter ustvarjanju vrtov srečevanj.
Tam se porajajo nadaljnje družbene aktivnosti kot na primer organizirana
delitev organsko pridelane hrane s kmetij v bližini Pariza.

Umetnica Jeanne van Heeswijk je na umetnem otoku Ijburg v
Amsterdamu obstoječo hišo predelala kot koncept, v idejo, v Modro hišo.
Konceptualizirala je kobaltno modro mestno hišo Het Blauwe Huis, ki je bila
na umetničino pobudo umaknjena s stanovanjskega trga ter je med letoma
2005 in 2009 delovala kot center za umetniško in kulturno produkcijo ter
raziskave, namenjene proučevanju radikalnega pristopa k porajajočemu se
mestu, utelešenemu v študiji primera na otoku Ijburg. Navdihujoča modela za
»Blue House« na Ijburgu sta bili Rumena hiša Vincenta van Gogha v Aarlesu,
ki je nudila gostoljubje umetnikovim prijateljem, ter »Casa Azul« Fride Kahlo
in Diega Rivere. Ena od dolgoročnih rezultatov projekta je bila namestitev
otroške knjižnice v stavbo, iz katere se bo Blue House preselila v drugo mestno
institucijo na Ijburgu. Pri načrtovanju stanovanjskega otoka so predvideli
vse, toda načrt ni vseboval nikakršnih javnih prostorov kot so muzej, park,
knjižnica ali kinematograf. Projekt »Blue House« je bil kulturno sidro za
lokalno prebivalstvo pa tudi center gostoljubja za mednarodne umetnike, ki
se ukvarjajo s participativnimi praksami, urbano preobrazbo in ustvarjanjem
urbane identitete na zgodnji razvojni stopnji. »Tu ne gre za odnos ena na ena
kot v tradicionalnih modelih »'umetnosti skupnosti« ali odnos med umet-
nikom in naročnikom, ampak za dinamičen večplasten proces, pri katerem
se novi odnosi vzpostavljajo skozi hišo. (…) Kot novo mesto je bil Ijburg
načrtovan do zadnjega milimetra – nič ni bilo prepuščeno naključju. Glede na
to sem se spraševala, kaj preostaja nenačrtovanemu, stvarem, ki jih ni nihče
predvidel. Blue House je bil na neki način »objet trouve« sredi kareja. Čutila
sem, da bomo s svojo prisotnostjo in kolektivno naselitvijo hiše lahko posegali
v porajajočo se skupnosti, se odzivali nanjo in komunicirali z njo. Projekt smo
zasnovali kot združenje za nastanitev duha.

Projekt Community Museum v Hongkongu je bil ustanovljen leta 2002.
Howard Chan (umetnostni kurator), Siu King-Chung (oblikovalec pedagog)
ter Tse Pak-Chai in Phoebe Wong (kulturni raziskovalki) so uporabili muzej
kot metodo vzpostavljanja odnosov v skupnosti, raziskovanja zapostavljenih

zgodovin in oblikovanja novih lokalnih identitet. To, kar imenujejo socialno kuratorstvo, je zelo podobno metodologiji urbanega kuratorstva. Pri projektu Community Museum ne gre za fizičen prostor muzeja na določeni lokaciji, ampak za strategijo uporabe muzejskih metod, kot so zbiranje, inventarizacija, razširjanje znanja in izobraževanje javnosti, znotraj specifičnih razmer v skupnosti.

Ni potrebno, da je muzej zastrašujoča in elitistična institucija. Projekt Community Museum zastavlja muzej kot način predstavitve vsakdanjega življenja in vrednot. Z zbiranjem in interpretacijo artefaktov ter vizualnega gradiva lahko raziskujemo avtohtono kreativnost, vizualno kulturo in kulturo javnosti. (…) Skozi ta proces želi projekt Community Museum vzpostaviti platformo za artikulacijo osebnega izkustva in zapostavljenih zgodovin. Lahko deluje tudi kot priložnost za poenostavitev participacije javnosti in interdisciplinarno sodelovanje. Besedo »skupnost« razumemo v treh pomenih: subjekt, okolje in ustvarjalen javni vmesnik.

Leta 2002 sta začeli v okviru Mobile Office OpTrek v Transvaalu, četrti Haaga, kjer se trenutno odvija intenzivna preobrazba, sodelovati Sabrina Lindemann in Annechien Meier. V sklopu načrta mestne prenove mestne oblasti rušijo četrt in jo nameravajo radikalno prestrukturirati. »Mestni načrti za območja urbane prenove, kot je Transvaal, so del razvojnega procesa, ki se trenutno odvija ne samo na Nizozemskem, ampak tudi v drugih evropskih mestih. Gre za dinamiko, ki jo spodbuja proces globalizacije. Mesta tekmujejo s svetovnim trgom. Ideja ustvarjanja blagovne znamke mesta vključuje stopnjevanje moči podob in ustvarjanje mesta, ki bo privlačnejše za določene ciljne skupine. Stanovalci z nizkimi dohodki, ki prebivajo v starih mestnih četrtih, kjer so zemljišča zelo draga, ker se nahajajo v bližini mestnih središč, se morajo umakniti bogatim vlagateljem, ki si lahko privoščijo nove hiše, kakršne postavijo po velikopoteznem rušenju starih četrti. Zanimivo je, da so mestne oblasti v sklopu politike prenove v vmesnem obdobju med rušenjem in gradnjo k sodelovanju namensko pritegnile domače in tuje umetnike, da bi izboljšali stanje v četrti. Namen takega delovanja je odlog zatona četrti, vzdrževanje življenja in varnosti na ulicah ter pritegovanje pozornosti potencialnih kupcev z umetniškim vzdušjem. Umetnost bo torej uporabljena za poživitev težavnega obdobja med rušenjem in gradnjo novih zgradb, za pomoč pri blaženju učinka na ljudi, ki se bodo prisiljeni odseliti iz svojega okolja.« Prostorski model Op Trek je predstavljal hotel, mobiliziran kot konceptualna ideja in orodje sodelovanja pri izpogajanju transverzalnosti v procesu njenega nastanka. Celotna četrt je bila podvržena prostorskemu in socialnemu povezovanju in aktivaciji zamisli o horizontalnem širjenju idej po četrti, ustvarjanju navezav in priložnosti za lokalno prebivalstvo ter hkrati vabljenju drugih k preživljanju časa v Transvaalu, območju, ki tradicionalno ni veljalo za vredno ogleda med obiskom Haaga. Horizontalni hotel uteleša idejo transverzalnosti na številnih ravneh: prostorsko kot hotel, sestavljen iz posameznih elementov, povezanih skozi dano urbano strukturo in organiziranih skozi povezovanje različnih akterjev iz različnih mestnih uradov, institucij ter fundacij s področij od turizma do umetnosti, pa tudi preko zaposlovanja lokalnih sodelavcev, lastnikov trgovin, umetnikov… Hibridnost povezovanja izpostavlja temeljno

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različnost v konceptualizaciji, hkrati pa tudi omogoča ustvarjanje prevodov in premoščanje razlik, ki, vsem protislovjem in nasprotjem navkljub, omogočajo sodelovanje. Op Trek je ustanovil Hotel Transvaal: ulice četrti so postale hotelski hodniki, lokalna turška restavracija preddverje in obedovalnica, sobe so oblikovali umetniki pa tudi lastniki lokalnih trgovin. Hotel Transvaal je postal večplastna strategija urbanega kuriranja.

Vezni členi »On Earth«

Poglobljeno branje dolgoročnega projekta »On Earth« v izvedbi Cabula6 bo razkrilo transverzalne povezave in poetiko ter mikropolitične dimenzije prakse te mednarodne skupine uprizoritvenih umetnikov in filmarjev.

V vmesnem prostoru je še vedno prostor za različnost. To je poetika in porozni medprostor, Maconda, kjer so člani Cabule6 prebivali, kraja, katerega imena še vedno ni najti na zemljevidu mesta Dunaj, čeprav obstaja že desetletja in bi lahko bil jasno vidno znamenje, ki uteleša prihodnost miroljubnega sobivanja različnosti. V umetniškem projektu »On Earth« je skupina Cabula6 na več ravneh združila sile in interese z »Macondom« kot prizoriščem, zgodovino, situacijo in metaforo. Čeprav so se člani skupine pri delu gotovo več kot enkrat znašli v zagati, niso nikdar dopustili, da bi se arterije možnih povezav zamašile. Prav metaforika je tisto kar odpira druge kanale za sporazumevanje, druge verige prenosa iz enega sveta v drugega. Pripoved ima toliko začetkov in toliko odprtih koncev, da se je težko odločiti, kje začeti njeno ponovno pripoved. Dobra stara linearnost ne bo zadostovala za pripoved zgodbe o stičiščih poti z vsega sveta. Enega od možnih začetkov predstavljajo strehe. Claudia Heu je želela izvesti performans na strehi ene od kulturnih institucij v središču mesta. Obupno je iskala pot navzgor. Tedaj so ji nenadoma predstavili nekoga, ki jo je povedel v nepredvideno smer. Ko je dosegla vrh, je spoznala, da v svoji želji po dviganju s tal ni bila sama. Pred njo so bili drugi. Ti drugi so pustili svoje sledi v ukradenih trenutkih skrivnega praznovanja na meji dovoljenega: nekaj praznih kozarcev za šampanjec, zamaške. Vse to se je dogajalo leta 2006. Umetnica Claudia Heu je sklenila prijateljstvo z nočnim čuvajem Ramonom Villalobosom. Navdihujoče srečanje je vodilo v zaporedje povezovalnih niti, ki so kot osnova in votek stkale različne strukture urbanih predstavitev in biografskih postaj. V dveh tednih trajajočem obdobju so člani skupine Cabula6 obiskovali čuvaja v njegovi vratarski lopi. Tam so poslušali. Slišali so skoraj neverjetno zgodbo o možu, ki je bil v sedemdesetih letih prisiljen zapustiti rodni Čile, prišel je na Dunaj in zdaj živi v kraju, ki ga skoraj ni na zemljevidu. Imenuje se Macondo in ni brez podobnosti s fiktivno vasico iz knjige »Sto let samote« pisatelja Gabriela Garcie Marqueza. Kar so slišali, je daleč preseglo njihova pričakovanja, zato so se, da bi preverili, če se lahko dejstva v tej neverjetni življenjski zgodbi sploh ujemajo z realnostjo, zatekli k internetu. Njihovo poslušanje je privedlo do radikalnega performansa pod naslovom »Asi es la vida«. Šlo je za solo performans v pravem pomenu besede. Brez poveličevanja individualizacije je »Asi es la vida« obrnil pozornost k daljnosežnim implikacijam možnih pomenov življenja. Obe udeleženi strani – tako pripovedovalci kot poslušalci, so morali razgrinjati kompleksnost bivanja. Po enega obiskovalca so povabili, naj sede

na Ramonovo mesto v lopi in opazuje nadzorne kamere. Kadar so dvignili telefonsko slušalko, so slišali Ramonovo življenjsko zgodbo. Povezave preko infrastrukturnih linij, telefonov, avtobusov, kamer, letal in ne nazadnje majhnih vrtov, ki označujejo našo policentrično in poliaksialno eksistenco, predstavljajo nenehno razpadajoče se ozadje trilogije »On Earth« v izvedbi Cabule6. To, kar lahko vidimo kot kolektivno skozi kartiranje sveta v projektu »On Eart«, lahko razumemo v širšem filozofskem kontekstu. Bruno Latour temu pravi kolektiv, ki vključuje tako ljudi kot neljudi. Mednarodna umetniška skupina se je podala v zgodbo, ki raziskuje naravo potovanja. S skrajno intenzivnostjo je priklicala dvojni vzrok poetike in politike, mikro-povezljivosti in makro-problematike, premičen poudarek med mestom in periferijo, med ozadjem in ospredjem.

Skupina Cabula6 se je iz samega središča Dunaja podala na poetično popotovanje »On Earth«, ki se dotika tržno gnane privatizacije avtobusnega sistema v Santiagu de Chile in se razvije v skoraj nepredstavljivo performativno življenjsko pot. Skupina je nato vrgla umetniško sidro v počastitev zadnjega rumenega avtobusa, *Amarilla,* ki je razprl povezovalni medprostor med študenti umetniških smeri in periferijo. Ramon je iz Čila prišel v Avstrijo. Člani Cabule6 so iz Avstrije potovali v Čile. Po povratku na Dunaj je skupina ponovno prodrla v metafore in jim vdahnila umetniško življenje. V sodobni grščini beseda metafora pomeni transport ali prenos. Avtobusi v Atenah se torej imenujejo metaphorai in so vozila za prenos z ene točke na drugo. Cabula6 je potovala z dunajskim javnim avtobusom in popeljala tipično umetniško občinstvo vse do kraja, kjer je Ramon na Dunaju našel svoje prebivališče. Prebivalci Maconda in ljudje iz mestnega središča so skupaj proslavljali, kozarci so bili spet polni šampanjca, da so nazdravili krhki proslavi na meji verjetnega. Skozi medprostor v rumeni steni, ki označuje to področje kot del jasno prepoznavnega komercializiranega območja – prav ta rumena barva označuje blagovno znamko prodajalca na drobno Metro – skozi ozko režo v rumenem zidu, ki je dovolj široka, da lahko skoznjo prehajajo ljudje, a preozka, da bi skozi prenesli nakupovalne vozičke, je Macondo sprejel obiskovalce iz mestnega središča. Prinesli so vino in hrano ter se seznanili s skoraj pozabljenim svetom drugačnosti.

Dunaj je drugačen. Ta uradni mestni tržni slogan je že precej star. Čeprav se upi o nastanku paradiža za ljubitelje drugačnosti morda niso razvili ob tržno najugodnejšem trenutku, slogan sam po sebi izraža močno protislovnost kritičnosti. Ne da bi se kdaj povsem zavedala, kako blizu gojenja filozofske in politične debate o sodobnem položaju v policentričnih urbanih identitetah je ta stenogram marketinškega ekspresionizma, bi rada slogan obrnila naokoli ter poudarila mnogoterost urbanih različnosti, individualnosti in morda prvih od umetnosti spodbujenih nežnih sledi neotradicionalnega kolektivizma. Če bi mestni slogan opustil svoj široko uporabljan in skoraj izključno turističen pomen aktiviranja potenciala določenega niza historičnosti kot mestne zgodovine, bi lahko kategorija drugačnosti postala gonilna sila sprejemanja razlik. Inkluzivnost bi lahko postala preizkusni kamen različnosti.

Trajni opomniki – katedrala sv. Štefana in zabaviščno kolo Reisenrad, lipicanci in sacherjeva torta, centralno pokopališče in kapucinska grobnica

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– trdno vklepajo Dunaj v njegovo na zgodovini utemeljeno podobo nespremen-
ljivosti kot enostaven način razlikovanja stanja tega mesta od drugih mest.
Razlika je torej skrčena na nostalgično in v turističnem smislu dobičkonosno
odpornost na spremembe. Če sledimo predlogu drugačnega branja
drugačnosti, lahko pridemo do povezave med tukaj in tam, zdaj in takrat,
protislovji in povezovanji.

Sodobna dunajska prizorišča drugačnosti so povsem drugačna od začetka
zgodovine prostorov, ki jih zasedajo, ter omogočajo sobivanje nasprotij.
Prihodnosti so se že začele, so tukaj in zdaj, spregledane, omalovaževane,
prezrte. Toda prav ta prizorišča bi lahko privedla do razkritja, kako drugačna
od Dunaja so po atmosferi in videzu, čeprav so še zmeraj njegov del, kar nas
pripelje nazaj na izhodišče – Dunaj je drugačen … To lahko uporabimo tudi
kot izhodišče za presek realnosti med resničnim in izmišljenim, med konflikti
in harmonijo, med srečanji in naključji. Zgodba o Macondu/Dunaju je zgodba
magičnega realizma z globokimi zasilnimi izhodi v omogočanje drugačne
realnosti preko skromnih sposobnosti preizpraševanja lepote povezav v
krhkih razmerah. Če vzamemo metaforično zares, nas pripelje naravnost
do infrastrukture delujoče (mikro)skupnosti, ki kaže bodoči obraz mesta v
središču Evrope. To je zgodba o »metà phérein«, o prenosu stvari drugam, na
drugo raven. Sistemi transporta in medčloveške vezi pokažejo svojo moč pri
povezovanju sil, ki omogočajo, da se močan občutek domišljijskega doživetja
spusti na luknjasta tla realnosti, ne da bi treščil ob njih. Kjer poezija vliva poro-
znost v vsakdan, postanejo srečanja ljudi spet mogoča. Delo Jeremyja Xida
in Claudie Heu, umetniških vodij uprizoritvene in filmske skupine Cabula6,
izvira iz globine poetičnega bivanja kot sile, ki omogoča spremembe in je
daleč od obrabljenega in trivializiranega voajerizma trenutnih tržnih vrednosti
poudarjene umetniške intenzivnosti pri samooskrbi kulturne in družbene
drugačnosti kot bogatega obroka lahko prebavljivih hibridnih zakusk. Enako
osvobajajoče je dejstvo, da delo Cabula6 kljubuje tesnim omejitvam sindroma
karizmatičnega pomočnika, ki je del številnih aktualnih družbeno angažiranih
umetniških praks, tako da zavrača sleherno povezavo s slabo vestjo bogate
družbe Zahoda. Kadar kritična umetniška praksa razvije zavest o lastnih
omejitvah, lahko te omejitve omaja. Samo modernistična vera v nenehno
preobražanje, v progresivno, preko inovacij razvijajočo se družbo, lahko
privede do napačnega, a globoko ukoreninjenega prepričanja o napačnem
razumevanju lastnega položaja umetnika kot neomitskega namestnika pri
ustvarjanju še boljšega sveta. Pogosteje kot ne se prav ta ideologija pristopa k
navideznemu svetu izrodi v postan okus neizpolnjene obljube ali, v skladu s
sodobnejšo formulacijo, v plitev odtis samooklicanosti, proslavljeno študijo
izvedljivosti inovativnosti in začinjanja danega z ojačanim okusom logike
pološčenih ploskev.

Macondo vleče na dan drugačno logiko in druga hotenja. Nahaja se v
Simmeringu. V tej skupnosti, ki spominja na vaško in katere ime bi zaman
iskali na vsakem zemljevidu Dunaja, najdemo heterotopično okolje, zaznam-
ovano s prostorsko logiko vključenosti, izključenosti in nekrajev. Ta kraj,
obdan z avtocestnim viaduktom, vrtičkarskim območjem »Schrebergärten«
in golim območjem Simmeringer Haide z dolgo zgodovino različnih rab – od

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vojaškega poligona za vaje streljanja s topom preko prvega letališča iz leta 1908 do današnje sežigalnice nevarnih odpadkov in blata iz čistilnih naprav – bi gotovo vzbudil zanimanje Michaela Foucaulta in Marca Augéja. Neopažen v bližini leži poslednji konec otoka Donauinsel pa tudi pristanišče Alberner Hafen in Pokopališče Brezimnih nista daleč. Zgornja litanija imen kaže na topografijo drugačnosti. Vrnimo se k vrzeli v rumenem zidu, ki odpira pot v enklavo sodobne zgodovine, kot izhodišču za pisanje zgodovine Dunaja, ki se razlikuje od prevladujoče brezbrižne hegemonistične zgodbe. Na povabilo Tanzquartier iz Dunaja so ljudje iz mestnega središča obiskali Ramonov vrt. Njegov vrt je bil in je še vedno del neformalne vrtičkarske kulture, ki jo je Ramon prinesel na Dunaj. Majhni in tihi neformalni vrtovi so del širšega zgodovinskega ozadja, političnih prevratov in revolucij, gospodarskih stisk in migracij. Območje, kjer so se razvili ti vrtički, navdihnjeni s čilsko kulturo vrtov, je zaznamovano z več plastmi historične preobrazbe.

Kaiser Ebersdorfer Landwehr Artilleriekaserne so bile nekoč zadnje vojaške barake, zgrajene na avstrijskem ozemlju za časa habsburške monarhije leta 1915, danes pa tam prebiva okoli 3000 ljudi. Po prvi svetovni vojni so barake uporabljali za skladišče, med drugo svetovno vojno so gostile nemške oborožene sile, po drugi svetovni vojni pa Rdečo armado. Leta 1956 se je s prilivom beguncev iz Madžarske začela sodobna zgodovina. Prvemu plimnemu valu imigracije je sledil priliv iz drugih držav: od leta 1974 iz Čila, potem pa nelegalni priseljenci iz Vietnama. Nastanitvene zmožnosti nekdanjih vojaških barak so bile kmalu izkoriščene. Za nastanitev novih prišlekov so postavili bungalovom podobne zgradbe. Priseljenci so postali del tega kraja, z neformalno kulturo vrtičkarstva, ki so jo Čilenci delili z ostalimi, so se seznanili s svojim okoljem in drug z drugim. Leta 1988 je tako imenovani Integracijski fond (Integration Fund) na tem kraju postavil velik kompleks socialnih stanovanj, imenovan Kardinal König Integrationswohnhaus. Trenutno v njem prebivajo ljudje iz 22 različnih držav, ki so tam našli dom za prehodno obdobje največ petih let. Največ jih prihaja iz Čečenija, Somalije in Afganistana. Januarja 2009 so postali začasni prebivalci tudi člani Cabule6. Vselili so se v prostore, namenjene bivanju beguncev. Na Republiko Avstrijo so naslovili formalno prošnjo za dovoljenje, da postavijo tabor v več različnih pomenih. Družba Bundesimmobiliengesellschaft jim je dovolila, da del prostora uporabijo za lastne dejavnosti.

Tako so po eni strani postali del tega kraja z vse prej kot enostavnim aktom prebivanja v njem na način, kot to počno ostali pripadniki krhke in raznolike skupnosti, po drugi strani pa so tam na delu zemljišča postavili kontejner, ki predstavlja lokalno bazo za kulturno produkcijo in komunikacijo.

Prizorišče na samem robu mesta, ki nosi magično ime Macondo, je pribežališče beguncev. Za Jeremyja Xida, ki je odraščal v Detroitu, je Macondo prav posebna redkost. Glede na to, da je bil kraj več desetletij prepuščen samemu sebi, se je lahko tam razvil enkraten mikrokozmos. Entiteto, zaznamovano s kulturno raznovrstnostjo in množtvom, bi lahko razumeli kot enklavo preživetvenih strategij, ki pričajo o življenju danes in v prihodnosti. Jeremy Xido pravi Macondu »krona v dragulju«. Tok časa skozi dvajseto stoletje je

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v Macondu zgoščen na enem prostoru. To specifično območje na obrobju Dunaja predstavlja izjemen študijski primer za prihod, sprejemanje prihoda v prej tujo in včasih negostoljubno novo deželo ter za življenje v raznoliki skupnosti. Begunci iz Čila so se pri ustvarjanju doma na tujem teritoriju zanašali na svojo tradicijo kulture neformalnih vrtov. Kolektivna zavest, utelešena v skoraj osemdesetih neformalnih vrtovih, je del avtonomno razvite strategije spopadanja s travmami preteklosti, s katerimi so zaznamovane biografije številnih prišlekov. Trenutno je ostala nedotaknjena samo peščica teh izjemnih neformalnih vrtov, saj so se pravila in določbe, pogojene z lastništvom in ceno, od vzpostavitve vrtičkarskega območja do danes spremenile.

Krhko ravnovesje, ki je nastajalo desetletja, je zdaj resno ogroženo. V tem trenutku krize in preobrazbe so člani Cabule6 v svojih poetičnih raziskovanjih združili sile z drugačnimi skupinami, ki želijo prispevati k razumevanju in nežni redefiniciji obstoječega reda z vzpostavljanjem zavesti nove kolektivnosti. Arquitectos, Heidi Pretterhofer in Dieter Spath so se lotili urbanističnega kartiranja danega prostora z vizualno interpretacijo različnih strategij rabe prostora. Skupina Cabula6 je začela z recikliranim vrtom in se pri tem priključila skupinskemu vrtnemu polilogu, da bi ustanovila vrt skupnosti. Priročnik Macondo bo kot vir navdiha služil sporočanju potencialov samoorganizacije, vrtnarjenja in kolektivnosti. Učiti se od Maconda pomeni ozaveščati posebno mešanico dejstev in domišljije, poetične lastnosti in samoorganizacije, premagovanje travm in potenciale neformalnega vrtnarjenja ter vrtnarjenja kot kolektivne prakse. Prihodnost naše zgodovine leži v pluralnosti. Prihodnost se v Macondu že dogaja. Cabula6 verjame v nepričakovane obrate krhkih in negotovih možnosti raznolikosti v smislu prostora. Projekt »On Earth« govori zgodbo, ki postavlja moč dejanskega pri poganjanju izven ozkih omejitev preveč reguliranega pod vprašaj. Poetično preseganje se tu srečuje z neformalnim kolektivizmom, magični realizem s samoorganiziranim reševanjem konfliktov, smisel prostora z željami po pripadnosti: to je lekcija o pluralnosti, ki se jo lahko naučimo na primeru Maconda.

IMAGE 1
One of the last informal gardens left in Macondo, 2009
Fotocredit: Elke Krasny

IMAGE 2

**Entering Macondo, big enough for humans,
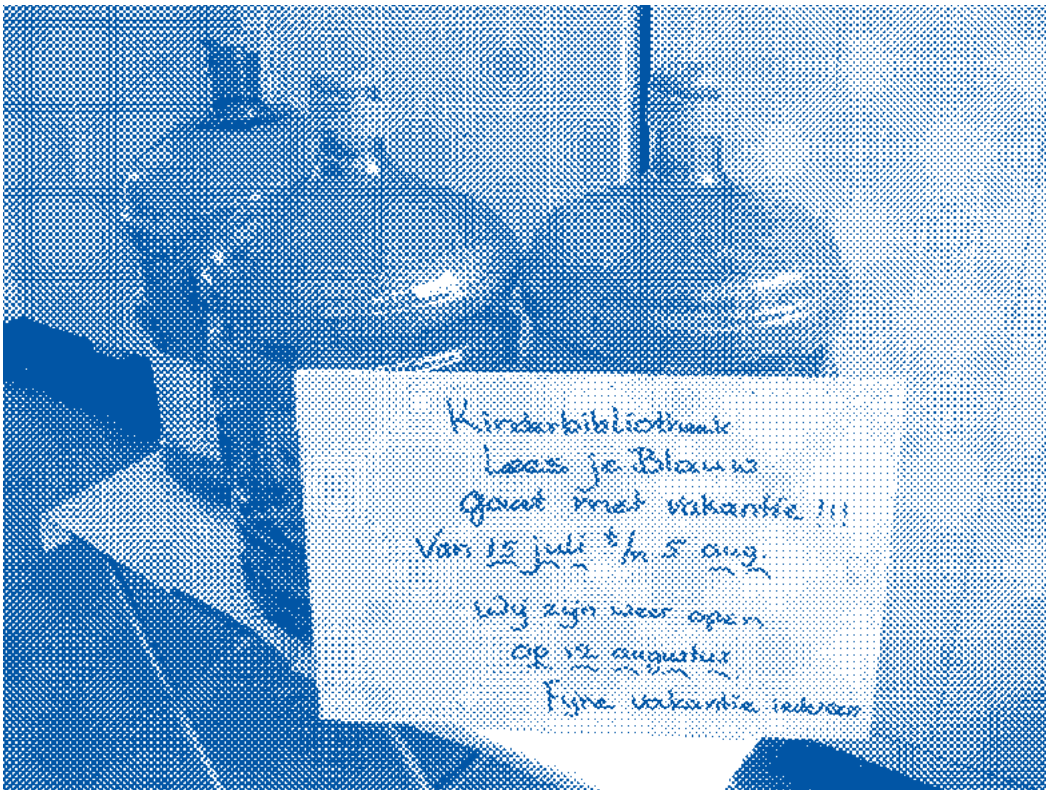too small for shopping carts, 2009
Fotocredit: Elke Krasny**

IMAGE 3

Inside the Blue House. Sign giving information about the Childrens' Library Fotocredit: Elke Krasny

IMAGE 4

Out of The Blue: An international symposium on Instant Urbanism, Hospitality and Accelerated History. August 2009, hosted by the Blue House Fotocredit: Elke Krasny

IMAGE 5

**Hong Kong Lee Tung Street, The Street as Museum,
Community Museum Project
Installation at the Wien Museum, March 2009
Fotocredit: Tse Pak-chai, Community Museum Project**

TRANSVERSALITY:

URBAN CURATING
AND THE MICROPOLITICS OF
APPROPRIATING SPACE AND
CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES

Elke Krasny

Under Construction: the built, the image, the words
Locational identity is a contested territory. The way we as urban citizens can partake in and identify with the making of our cities is a highly challenged territory. Thinking along the lines of Edward Soja's "spatiality", "historicality" and "sociality" leads to the current issues of imaginability, visibility and transformabilty. Identity is not a fixed state, but a permanently unfolding process of becoming. Identity is under permanent construction. Using construction as a metaphor leads to the very real challenges of fragmented urban conditions revealing their transitionality as a construction of the physical urban space, a construction of urban image production as well as of urban narratives (too often shortened to marketing enhanced urban rhetoric).

In this sense "Having Words", as architect and planner Denise Scott Brown titled her latest book, takes on a criticality much needed to explore the interstitial spaces of a communal urbanism not only in the sense of left over or underregulated spaces which could become of public interest, but also in the sense of probing and establishing interstices between the physical space, the space of images and the space of words. As urban citizens we share the contested territory of these three realms: the built, the image and the words. In trying to make sense of how a new sense of collectivity nurturing the construction of a multitude of identities can produce the being of a place rather than being in a

place via a critical artistic practice. What used to be the challenge of the vacant or underused lot to be cleaned out of rubbish and re-used by a self-organised community as the examples of the first community gardens in New York in the 1970s demonstrate, is now the underused interstice between physical places, their possible collective/individual imaginary and their collective/individual narratives. In joining forces between these three formations, the built, the images and the words, urban curating can take on the role of instigating the abandoned public interest in what the public realm of the urban could be in the beginning 21st century.

In times of an increasing privatization of interests, German artist Stephan Dillemuth speaks of a corporate public, it is crucial to overcome the strong belief into corporate streamlining of public space and the production of the urban. The abandoned lots of the 1970s were a specific spatial practice, in their wake the self-organisation and long term commitment of communities followed. The abandoned lots of the first decade of the 21st century are equally spatial and mental. The idea of a possible collectivism emerging as a critical practice is located in the lack of solidarity in the making of place and a lack of identification with alterity and difference, diversity and heterogeneity as the driving forces of urban reality. What remains is the challenge of the interstice and the opened-up vacancy calling for action, calling for the practices of urban curating not so much only when it comes to the underused space as such, but when it comes to the underused sense of collectivity. What is at stake in urban curating is how to come to terms with urban transformation processes, not in a shallow treaty of superficial peacemaking, but through a profound and collectivized urban knowledge production of how to participate in one's city in the making.

How to construct locationality, how to think of spaces as evolving processes of collective action has become a methodological, strategical, tactical and semantic quest of long-term and engaging art practices. Transcending the demands of site-specificity by becoming truly site-time-community-specific as well as transformational through long-term engagement these practices walk a fine line between aesthetics, pragmatics, collectivity building, image politics and city policies. Conflicts are part of the everyday of urban acting. Desire

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for change drives the various actants. Activation and participation are key to many of the practices and open up the urban territory as a question of democracy. Rather than the clear boundaries of top-down and bottom-up, I wish to pursue readings along the spatial and semantic configuration of transversality and collectivity. Both of these figures are part of a history of ideas of space that pertain to a certain concept of how to imagine the public.

Thinking of the condition of urban in the state of challenging transitionality we are confronted with the consequences of contemporary history: the turning point of 1989, the wars and armed conflicts of the 1990s, terrorism peaking in 9/11, in the London bombings in 2005, in the Mumbai bombings in 2006. Urban safety is one of the key figures to think the urban public of today. Surveillance and protection are the domineering constellations of governing citizens' self-interest in encountering public urban space. The other key figure of thinking the urban public is characterized by a touristification of the everyday. Enjoying one's own city like a commodity comparable to the desire machine set in motion by the image production of global travel brochures reigns in the interests of a globalized urban culture using the local as a special ingredient as location factor for locational branding strategies. Between safety and branding there is the need for critical interstitial practice to re-open the mindsets for the civil values and principles of what a public can be other than being permanently surveilled and experientially branded.

Safety and branding have governed the urban mental life of the first decade of the 21st century. In turning to the first decade of the last century we will discover reserve and anonymity as the state of the mental life of urban citizens. In "Metropolises and Mental Life" from 1903, German sociologist Georg Simmes describes at length the phenomenon and the consequences of reserve governing the social urban relations.

In re-reading reserve and joining it with safety/surveillance and branding/commodification it becomes apparent that there is a need to introduce the critical practice of communication. Many strategies of urban curating rely heavily on the instrument of communication. Be it aesthetic or social, or ideally both, overcoming anonymity, instigating discourse, fostering self-organisation, promoting the awareness on how locational identity

is constructed and how this process of construction can become a driving force in shaping micropolitics, in including heterogeneity and difference. According to Richard Sennett's "The Fall of Public Man", first published in 1977, the city offers a milieu in which strangers can meet. Under the prevalent conditions of surveillance and commodification governing all the urban relations, the concept of meeting has to be reshaped or refuelled in order to become an aesthetic strategy or an artistic practice.

Conceptualizing the public: the museum, the garden, the library, the hotel …Urban space is seen as a space of potential for collaboration and collectivity, for transformability on a micropolitical level and for new image production allowing for a richness of identity that is not reduced to the permanent reproduction of a hall of mirrors called self-identity. Interestingly enough it is a tradition of spatial configurations of the public that are appropriated and re-used conceptually, namely the museum, the garden, the park, the opera or the cinema, which is activated and recycled as artistic method, strategy or concept. The concept of govern-mentality/government-ality of Michel Foucault can be regarded as a model to theorize a history of ideas embedded in and realized through space to see the formations, configurations and concepts how the public constructs itself and at the same time is constantly constructed and re-constructed.

Places of the formation of the public, based on the art of the encounter were planned for in the urban planning practices of the 19th century. Museums and parks, libraries and public gardens, cinemas and hotels, streets and department stores were the spatial formations of the 19th century where a public in its relation to each other but also its constituent relations to culture, nature and economy was shaped. Tony Bennett's "The Birth of the Museum" offers an in-depth analysis of the relations of culture and government, public, space and public encounter. Rem Koolhaas explores the formative factors of the hotel as an organizational model shaping the encounter and self-representation of an emerging urban public in "Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan". These historical models of the spatial formation of shaping the public are re-activated today by practices of urban curating.

Considering the characteristic features of the condition of the urban,

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the anonymity and chance encounters, urban curating is grafted onto both of them by counteracting anonymity and banking on the productive consequences of the chance of meetings. Equally to be taken into account is French philosopher and anthropologist Bruno Latour's theorization of the public, especially his perspective on the collective and the political. The city as an organizing body of public zones has a rich history of making things public. In his introduction to the volume accompanying the exhibition "Making Things Public. Atmospheres of Democracy", Bruno Latour addresses the different sets of "interested parties" in the set of contemporary issues. "It's clear each object - each issue - generates a different pattern of emotions and disruptions, of disagreements and agreements. There might be no continuity, no coherence in our opinions, but there is a hidden continuity and a hidden coherence in what we are attached to. Each object gathers around itself a different assembly of relevant parties. Each object triggers new occasions to passionately differ and dispute. (…) In other words, objects - taken as so many issues – bind all of us in ways that map out a public space profoundly different from what is usually recognized under the label of "the political". Triggering chance and subsequently change is an aesthetic, but also a social and political strategy of urban curating. I am taking Latour's notion of how things can become public as a passageway to reading a set of historical spatial 'things' that enabled the urban public to create a collective portrait of itself based on the chance of encountering others as conceptual models of contemporary art strategies. These art practices re-enactivate existing structures that had very much to do with a 19th and 20th century history of organizing the public as a spatial and visual meeting ground. Governmentality studies in the wake of Michel Foucault have stressed the aspect of the organizing capacity of tecniques of commandeering the self. Personal autonomy and self-responsibility are conveyed to the individuals as an ongoing life-project. If projected onto the collective, autonomy as self-organization and responsibility as solidarity have much to do with a different outlook on belonging, on becoming part of the urban space.

Urban Curators: Transversal Acts
Spaces, such as the museum or the hotel, the garden or the library, are spaces

of collective conduct appealing to the cultural heritage of autonomy and self-responsibility in shared spaces. Many of the curatorial practices of urban curating harvest the fruits of self-institutionalization and self-responsibility, of organizing self-organization. These grand urban figures of collectivity and governmentality are represented spatially in the street, the museum, the cinema, the library, the guided tour, the park, the garden or the hotel. These spatial figures come to fruition as strategies in the practices of urban curatorship which I am going to examine in order to peel away these historical layers and see how using these spatial structures as strategies leads to an expanded notion of the public in public space by creating ad-hoc collectives that could potentially turn into longer lasting communities. At the core of these spatio-political practices is the strategy of transversality. Different actors engaged through the practices of urban curating are moving along a horizontal model of connectivity which I want to call transversal. This transversality is in itself, spatially and conceptually, challenging the traditional spatialisations of the relations of power and interactions shaped by verticality based on the marking confines of top-down and bottom-up. Even if bottom-up stands for grassroots or activist practices, the mere acceptance of a spatialisation based on top and bottom is in itself to be criticized. Far from the joyful relationality Nicolas Bourriaud celebrated in his "Relational Aesthetics", which never left the limiting boundaries of the art world and the art market, transversality on the contrary as a socio-aesthetic and political-poetic concept is very much involved with the real world. The constraints of the real world open up in the forces that affect and conflict within the practices of urban curating as a transversal strategy. Policy making and aesthetic production, the interests of urban planners and community leaders, economic conditions and civic engagement are by no means driven by the same interests or even speak the same language when using similar terms.

Thus urban curating is a transversal practice of communicating and translating, of allowing for difference and conflict and meeting. A wide range of different, long-term art projects conceptually appropriated earlier formations of the public such as the museum or the garden, the library or the hotel, in order to instigate a sense of communal urbanism. Insofar as they resemble the early configurations

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of public meeting grounds embodied in the museum or the park, the library or the cinema, they were spaces where a public in formation could observe and encounter its own formation in the making.

The engaged multidisciplinary practice of urban curating, involving, among others, artists, architects and urbanists, cultural producers, cultural studies and community organizers, and characterize long-term projects like SoHo in Ottakring in Vienna initiated by Ula Schneider more than ten years ago making a highly networked cultural practice of involving up to 200 artists for a festival like appropriation of urban space in a Viennese district marked by migration, hetereogeneity and poverty every year. SoHo brought galleries and museums, contemporary art practices and community involvement to an area formerly devoid of cultural production. Over the course of ten years, the vibrancy of artistic and cultural production has become somewhat a label of the area itself arousing increased interest of the municipality and urban planners as how to use art as a factor of transformation. The claims and interests of the various groups involved vary greatly leading to a wide range of misunderstandings and potential conflict. Nonetheless, over a time span of more than ten years, the groups involved have all mapped out their contested territory and by doing so became factors of locationality in the shaping and identity in the construction through a process of transformation partly triggered by the art of urban intervention that started out with turning abandoned store fronts into galleries and mini-museums. Even though the interests are not the same, this hybridity has so far not led to a clash of groups and cultures involved but rather to a stimulation of urban interest, artistic and creative self-organisation, economic as well as district and municipal involvement.

The practice of L'Atelier d' Architecture Autogérée in Paris, initiated by Doina Petrescu and Constantin Petcou, with projects such as ECOBox 2002 - 2004 or Projekt Espaces vacants du 56, rue Sainte-Blaise transformés à l'aide des voisins, 2007 – 2008 uses leftover urban spacs or interstices in the true sene of the word to instigate the community investing itself into a communal space in the making which eventually leads to a self-organised, responsible taking over of the community. Helping foster self-organisation and building bridges of communication between people with very different backgrounds and heritages characterizes the architectural practice of Doina Petrescu and Constantin Petcou differing widely from the standardized practice of architects. Based on the notion of multitude developed by Hardt and Negri, they instigate social meeting grounds to oppose current neoliberal forces of urban development and encourage citizens to participate in the shaping of their neighbourhood and in creating gardens of encounter to nurture further community activities like organizing distribution of organically grown produce from farms in the vicinity of Paris. On the artificial island of Ijburg in Amsterdam, artist Jeanne van Heeswijk turned an existing house into a concept, an idea, as a Blue House. She conceptualized Het Blauwe Huis, a cobalt blue town house, which following Jeanne's proposal was taken off the housing market from 2005 to 2009 to serve as a centre for artistic and cultural production and research to investigate and explore a radical approach to a city in the making as embodies by the case study of Ijburg. Vincent van Gogh's Yellow House in Arles offering hospitality to artists, friends and Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera's "Casa Azul" were the inspirational role models for "The Blue House" in Ijburg. One of the long-term results was a childrens' library set up by one of the residents. This library will now, after the end of the Blue House, be moved to another municipal institution on Ijburg. When the new residential island was planned, even though everything was planned for, no public urban spaces to meet and congregate such as a museum or a park, a library or a cinema were included in the planning. "The Blue House" served as a cultural anchor for locals but also as a centre of hospitality for international artists focussing on participatory practices and urban transformation and urban identity making in the state of taking shape. "This is not a one-to-one relationship as in traditional models of 'community art' or artist commissioning, but a dynamic and multi-layered process in which new relationships are formed through the house. (…) "As a new city, Ijburg has been planned down to the last millimetre – nothing is left to chance. Given that, I wondered what would be left over for the unplanned, the things no-one anticipated. The Blue House was a kind of 'objet trouve' in the middle of the block. I felt that by being there and inhabiting the house collectively we could intervene in, react to and interact with that community in growth. We've come to conceive of the

project as a Housing Association for the Mind."

The Community Museum Project is based in Hong Kong and was founded in 2002. Howard Chan (art curator), Siu King-chung (design educator), Tse Pak-chai and Phoebe Wong (cultural researchers) use the museum as a method to establish community relations and to research underrepresented histories and to shape new locational identities. What they call social curating bears a strong resemblance to the methodology of urban curating. The Community Museum Project is not a physical museum space or a specific location, but a strategy to use a museum's methodologies such as collecting, inventorizing or disseminating of knowledge and public education within specific community settings.

A museum need not be an intimidating and elitist institution. The Community Museum Project believes that a museum can be a means to represent everyday living and values. Through the collection and interpretation of artefacts and visual evidence, indigenous creativity, visual culture and public culture can be explored. (...) Through this process, the Community Museum Project aims to nurture a platform to articulate personal experiences and under-represented histories. It can also be an occasion to facilitate the participation of the public and cross-disciplinary collaboration. To us, the word "Community" has three connotations: subject matter, settings and creative public interface."

In 2002 Sabrina Lindemann und Annechien Meier began to collaborate as The Mobile Office OpTrek in Transvaal, a district of Den Haag currently undergoing a major transformation process. The municipality of The Hague is demolishing and radically restructuring this neighbourhood as part of an urban renewal plan. "The municipal plans for urban-renewal areas, such as Transvaal, are embedded in a development that is currently taking place not only in the Netherlands, but also in other European cities. It is a dynamic that has come about as a result of globalisation processes. Cities are competing with the international market. The idea behind city branding is to help hype up the images and make cities more appealing to certain target groups. Low-income residents who live in old city districts on expensive land which is close to city centres must make way for wealthy owners who can afford to buy the new houses that spring up

after the large-scale demolition of the old districts.

Remarkably, as part of municipal urban-renewal policy, artists are purposely being employed at home and abroad during this interim stage of demolition to new building to upgrade the districts. The aim is to delay the decline of the districts, to keep the streets liveable and safe, as well as to attract potential buyers through the artistic aura. In this way, art will be used to brighten the difficult period between demolition and new building, by helping to mitigate the effect on people who are being forced to leave their residential environments." The spatial model Op Trek mobilized as a conceptual idea and a collaborative tool of negotiating transversality along its making was that of the hotel. The whole district was spatially, as well as socially connected and activated via the idea of a horizontal idea spread out over the neighbourhood generating links and also working opportunities for locals but also inviting others to spend time in Transvaal, an area traditionally not considered worth going to when visiting the Hague. The horizontal hotel embodies the idea of transversality on many levels: spatially as a hotel consisting of single elements connected through the given urban structure and organizationally through connecting different players from various offices and institutions of the municipality and of funding bodies ranging from tourism to art, but also residents as employed collaborators, local store owners, artists ... The hybridity of connections brings out the underlying differences in conceptualization but also makes it possible to build translations and bridges over differences to make collaboration feasible even though there is ambivalence and contradictions. Op Trek founded Hotel Transvaal: the streets of the district became the hotel's halls, the local Turkish restaurant became the lobby and breakfast room, rooms were designed by artists but also local store owners. Hotel Transvaal served as a multi-layered strategy of urban curating.

Links "On Earth"
An indepth reading of the long term project "On Earth" by Cabula6 will reveal the transversal connections and the poetic as well as micropolitical dimension of the practice of this international performance and film group.

In between there is still room for difference. This is the poetic and porous interstice where Cabula6 dwelled in a

place called Macondo which still has not left itself as a traceable name on the city map of Vienna even though it has been in existence over decades and could be the very visible mark that embodies a future of differences in peaceful coexistence. "On Earth" as an art project by Cabula6 and "Macondo" as a site, a history, a situation and a metaphor joined their forces and interests in more than one point. Even though they might have found themselves more often than once in a predicament, they never let the arteries of possible connectivity be clogged. It is the metaphorical that opens up other channels of communication, other chains of transportation between one world into the other. The narration has so many beginnings and so many still open endings that it is hard to decide from where to actually start its re-narration. The good old linearity will not suffice to tell the tale of crossing routes running over the globe. One of the possible beginnings are the rooftops. Claudia Heu wanted to do a performance on top of the roof of one of the city's centrally located cultural institutions. She was desperately searching for a way up. Then, out of the blue, someone was introduced to her who could lead the way in an unforeseen manner. When she came to the top she realized that she was not the only one who had this very desire of leaving the common ground behind. There had been others before her. These others had left their traces of the stolen moments of a secret celebration at the verge of the legal behind: a few empty champagne glasses, corks. All this happened in the year 2006. It was the beginning of a friendship between the artist Claudia Heu and the nightwatchman Ramon Villalobos. This inspirational meeting led to a sequence of connective threads whose woof and worp are weaving a different texture of urban representations and biographic destinations. For a period of over two weeks, Cabula6 visited with the night watchman in his concierge booth. What they did, was listen. What they heard was an almost unbelievable story of a man who had been forced to leave his homecountry Chile in the 1970s, who came to Vienna and now lives in a place almost off the map called Macondo not unlike the fictitious village in "One Hundred Years of Solitude" by Gabriel Garcia Marquez. Since what they learned exceeded their imagination by far, Cabula6 resorted to the resources of the internet to do some fact checking if this remarkable lifestory could match reality at all. Their listening

led to a radical performance situation, "Asi es la Vida". It was a one person performance, in the true sense of the word. Far from celebrating individualization, "Asi es la Vida" paid heed to the far reaching implications of what a life can mean. Unfolding the complexity of being is what both parties involved have to do: speakers and listeners. The one-person audience was invited to take a seat in Ramon's place in his booth watching the surveillance cameras. When picking up the phone, the one-person public found herself/himself listening to Ramon's life story. The connectivities of lines of infrastructure, phones, busses, cameras, planes, last but not least small gardens, marking our polycentric and polyaxial existence are the constantly rumbling background of Cabula6's trilogy "On Earth". There is a larger philosophical affinity in what we can see as the collective through Cabula6's mapping the earth "On Earth". Bruno Latour calls it a collective, including both, humans and nonhumans. The international performance group Cabula6 departed into a tale exploring the nature of travelling. What they were evoking through their sheer intensity was the dual cause of poetics and politics, of microconnectivities and macroproblematics, of shifting emphasis between centre and periphery, background and foreground.

From the very heart of the city of Vienna Cabula6 embarked on a poetic journey "On Earth" touching the market-driven privatization of the bus system in Santiago de Chile resulting in an almost unimagineable performative lifeline. The group then threw as an artistic anchor to celebrate the very last yellow bus, the amarillo, opening up connecting interstices between art school students and the periphery. Ramon came from Chile to Austria. Cabula6 travelled from Austria to Chile. Upon returning to Vienna the group penetrated metaphors again and brought them to artistic life. In modern Greek, the word "metaphor" means tranport or transfer. Buses in Athens are thus called metaphorai are vehicles transferring you from one place to another. Cabula6 chartered a public Viennese bus and let the typical art audience travel to the very place where Ramon had found a place to live in Vienna. The residents of Macondo and the people from the centre of town celebrated together, again there were glasses of champagne to toast the fragile celebration on the edge of the possible. An interstice in a yellow wall (marking the

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territory as part of a distinctly recognizable commercialized zone since this very yellow is the brand colour of Metro, a retailer; the narrow gap in the yellow wall is wide enough to let people pass through, but narrow enough to prevent shopping carts from leaving the one side and being brought to the other, the Macondo site) let the people from the centre enter. They had brought wine and food and became acquainted with an almost forgotten world of difference.

Vienna is different. The city's official marketing slogan has been around for a while. Even though these hopes of being a different lover's paradise might never have reached its marketing peak time the slogan in itself expresses a strong ambivalence of criticiality. In never quite realizing how close this shorthand of marketing expressionism comes to fostering philosophical and theoretical debate of contemporary positions of polycentric urban identities, I would like to turn this slogan around in itself to stress the multiplicity of urban differences, individualities and, possibly, some first, delicate art-induced traces of neotraditional collectivism.

Were the city's slogan to leave behind its widely used and almost solely touristic implication of activating the potential of a certain strand of historicity as its city's history, then the category of difference could become a driving force of embracing differences. Inclusivity could become difference's touchstone.

The perennial evocation Stephansdom and Riesenrad, Lipizzan horses and Sachertorte, the Central Cemetery and the Capuchins' Tomb are doing the groundwork of firmly gripping Vienna in its history based imagery of remaining the same as an easy option of differentiating the state of the city from other cities. Difference is thus reduced to a nostalgic and touristically exploitable resistance to change. In proposing a different reading of difference it could lead us to the connections between here and there, now and then, contradictions and connectivities.

Contemporary Viennese sites of difference are completely different from their onset of histories and coexistence of contradictoriness. The futures have already begun, they are in the here and now, overlooked, disregarded, ignored. But it is exactly these sites that could bring out the revelation of how different it feels or seems than Vienna and still being part of it bringing us back to the very starting point that Vienna is different … Taking it from here, this is also the starting point into intersecting realities between fact and fiction, conflict and harmony, encounters and coincidence. The story to be told of Macondo/Vienna is a story of magic realism with its profound escape routes into making a different reality possible through the humble powers of re-thinking the beauty of connectivity in fragile conditions. If we are to take the metaphorical seriously, then it leads us straight to the very infrastructure of a (micro) society at work showing the future of face of a city in the middle of Europe. This is a story of 'metà phérein', of transporting things elsewhere, of taking them to another level. Systems of transport and human connections play out their strength in bringing together the power to let a strong sense of fiction experience touchdown on reality's bumpy ground without an immediate crashlanding. Where poetry instills porosity into the everyday, the meeting of people becomes a possibility again. Far from the trite and trivialized voeyurism of the current market value of enhanced artistic intensity of a self-serving cultural and social difference such as a rich meal of easily digested hybride appetizers, the work of Jeremy Xido and Claudia Heu, the artistic directors of the performance and film group Cabula6, comes from the depth of poetic being as a force of making a difference. It is equally liberating that the work of Cabula6 defies the tight confinements of the charismatic helper syndrome that has penetrated much of the current socially engaged art practices through rejecting any alliances with the Western bad conscience of the affluent society.

Where a critical practice of art develops an awareness of its own limitations, of its boundaries, it can subvert these very limitations. Only the modernistic belief of a constant makeover of progressive makeability through innovation could lead to the false, but firmly rooted conviction of misunderstanding one's own position of the artist being the neomythical stand-in of creating an ever better world. More often than not this very ideology of approaching the world of make-believe left in its wake the stale aftertaste of unfulfilled promise or, to follow a more contemporary wording, the shallow dent of self-proclaimed, celebratory feasibility studies of innovation and spicing up the given with the enhanced flavour of polished surface logics.

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Macondo brings out other logics and other desires. Macondo is in Simmering. The villagelike community whose name is not to be found on any map of Vienna is situated in a truly heterotopian environment marked by the spatial logic of inclusion, exclusion and non-spaces. Michel Foucault and Marc Augé both would have been intrigued to meet the site sourrounded by: the highway bridge, the "Schrebergärten" (allotment gardens) and the Simmeringer Haide with its barren ground and its long history of variegated uses serving as military practice ground of how to shoot cannons, the first airfield which opened in 1909 and today's hazardous waste and sludge incinerator. Unnoticed by all, the Donauinsel has its very last tip here, the Alberner Hafen (port) is not far and so is the Cemetery of the Nameless. The litany of the names suggests a topography of difference. Back to the interstice in the yellow wall that opens up to an enclave of contemporary history as a starting point into writing the future of Vienna other than the hegemonial indifferent master narrative. The people from the centre of the city, on invitation of the Tanzquartier Vienna, celebrated in Ramon's garden. His garden was and still is part of an informal garden culture which Ramon implanted in Vienna. These small and peaceful informal gardens are part of a larger historical background, political upheaval and revolutions, economic hardship and migration. The territory where these informal gardens, inspired by Chilenian garden culture had sprung up, is marked by layers of historical transformations. What used to be the last army barracks built for the Hapsburg Empire on Austrian territory in the year of 1915, the Kaiser Ebersdorfer Landwehr Artilleriekaserne, houses roughly 3.000 people today. After World War I the army barracks served as storage space, during World War II it housed the Wehrmacht, after World War II the Red Army. In 1956 today's contemporary history began, refugees from Hungary began to pour into Austria. This first tidal wave of immigration was followed by other countries of origin: Chile from 1974 onwards, then the Boat People from Vietnam. The housing capacity of the former army barracks were soon exhausted. Bungalow-like structures were set up in order to house the newcomers. They all become part of the site, familiarized themselves with the space and each other through the informal garden culture the Chilenians shared with the others.

In 1988 the so-called Integrationsfonds (Integration Fund) built a large social housing complex on the site, the Kardinal König Integrationswohnhaus. Currently there are people from 22 different countries who took up their residence for a transitional period of a maximum of five years, the majority of them coming from Chechnia, Somalia and Afghanistan. Since January 2009 Cabula6 have also became temporary residents and moved into an apartment normally reserved for refugees. They had sent a formal request to the Republik Österreich (Republic of Austria) to be allowed to set up camp in more than one way. The Bundesimmobiliengesellschaft gave them the permission to use part of the site for their activities.

On one hand they become part of the site through the not so simple act of just living there like all the others in that fragile and diverse community, on the other hand they used a plot of land to set up a container that served as the local base for cultural production and communication.

The site with the magical name Macondo situated at the very edge of the city is a site of refugees. For Jeremy Xido who grew up in Detroit, Macondo is an especially rare place. Since the has been more or less left to its own devices for decades a singular microcosm could develop. This entity marked by cultural diversity and multiplicity could be seen as an enclave of survival strategies of how to live together now and in the future. Jeremy Xido calls it "the crown in the jewel". The course of time of the 20th century is condensed in one site, the Macondo-site. This particular area at the periphery of Vienna is an exceptional case study of arriving, of coming to terms with arriving in a formerly strange, at times unwelcoming new country and of living together in diversity. The refugees from Chile relied on their traditional informal garden culture to make the new territory their home. The sense of collectivity embodied in the almost eighty informal gardens were part of an autonomously developed strategy to cope with the traumas of the past that many of the biographies arriving in a new place had been challenged with. Now only a small number of these exceptional informal gardens are still intact due to the fact that the rules and regulations of ownership and of costs involved have changed since the laws of allotment gardens have been implemented.

Now the fragile balance that has been worked out over decades is seriously

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endangered. In this moment of crisis and of transformation, the poetic exploration of Cabula6 joined forces with different groups interested to contribute to the understanding and gentle redefinition of the existing in order to instill a new sense of collectivity. The Arquitectos, Heidi Pretterhofer and Dieter Spath, are pursuing an urbanistic mapping of the given space through visually interpreting the various land use strategies. Cabula6 started a recycle garden and teamed up with the group garden polylog in order to establish a community garden. A handbook Macondo will serve as an inspirational resource to communicate the potentials of self-organization, gardening and collectivity. Learning from Macondo means to raise awareness for the special blend of fact and fiction, of poetic qualities and self-organization, of coping with trauma and the potentials of informal gardening and gardening as a collective practice. The future of our history lies in plurality. This future is already happening in Macondo. Cabula6 believes in the unexpected turns of fragile and precarious possibilities of diversity in a sense of place. "On Earth" tells a story that questions the power of the actual to propel it beyond the narrow confines of the overregulated. Poetical transcension meets informal collectivism, magical realism meets self-organized conflict management, the sense of place meets the desires of belonging: this is the lesson in plurality to be learned from Macondo.

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SOHO IN OTTAKRING

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Umetniški projekt v urbanem prostoru, Dunaj, Avstrija

Ula Schneider

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Soho in Ottakring bi lahko opisali kot edini umetniški projekt na Dunaju v obliki vsakoletnega festivala, ki se redno ponavlja zunaj dunajskega cestnega obroča in deluje kot konkretna urbana intervencija. Ena od prednosti tega projekta je njegova kontinuiteta, saj festival obstaja že enajst let. V tem času so se lahko izoblikovali prostori za diskusijo, kritiko in razmislek, praksa pa je bila spet in spet postavljena na preizkušnjo.

Prostor

Soseska Brunnen je zgoščeno urbano območje okoli tržnice Brunnen v četrti Ottakring tik ob zunanjem obodu cestnega obroča. Pokriva površino približno dvajset hektarjev. Kar 36 odstotkov od skoraj 8000 prebivalcev ima priseljenske korenine. Večinoma so potomci priseljencev iz Turčije in bivše Jugoslavije.

Tržnica Brunen se je začela spreminjati ob koncu devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja: nekoč zelo živahna tržnica se je soočila z upadanjem obiska, večina okoliških stavb se je izpraznila, postale so skladišča podjetij, ki niso imela nikakršne povezave s tržnico, na primer z lokali s stavnicami.

V mestnem urbanističnem načrtu iz leta 2005 je bila soseska Brunnen opredeljena kot območje, potrebno nujne prenove. V širši četrti Ottakring je bilo kot takih opredeljenih 27 odstotkov vseh ulic, v soseski Brunnen pa kar 45 odstotkov. Petindvajset odstotkov stanovanj v soseski je bilo opredeljenih kot podstandardnih.

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Početi je učiti se: zasnova in razvoj umetniškega projekta
Soho in Ottakring

Kot delujoči umetnici se mi je zdela privlačna ideja prirejanja začasnih razstav znotraj svojega neposrednega življenjskega in delovnega okolja. To bi lahko omogočila z vabljenjem umetnikov, da uporabijo (zapuščene) prostore, ki so na voljo, za razstavišča in improvizirana bivališča ter tako pomešajo umetnost in vsakdanje življenje.

Po treh letih takega delovanja je vse bolj intenzivno pritiskalo vprašanje: Kaj je pravzaprav vloga umetnosti v urbanem prostoru? Če njen namen ni zgolj dekoriranje, mora umetnost v urbanem okolju ustvarjati nasprotja. Generirati mora dogodke in gibanje ter se pri tem izogibati omehčanju podobe in harmonizaciji. Umetnost ima potencialno moč, da pritegne pozornost k obrobnim temam in razvije alternativna polja delovanja.

Po več letih je postal pri projektu Soho in Ottagring vse bolj pomemben njegov razvoj v projekt umetnosti v soseski, njegova osredotočenost na umetniške projekte, ki obravnavajo za sosesko pomembne teme, pa tudi fizične intervencije mestnih načrtovalcev (na primer prenova tržnice Brunnen) in njihovih učinkov.

zvajanju projekta Soho in Ottakring največje težave ne predstavljajo organizacijski posli, ampak kompleksna dinamika generiranja pozitivnih – pa tudi negativnih – stranskih učinkov. Prilagajanje strategij pomeni, da se je treba znova in znova pogajati, preizkušati, premišljevati in razvijati koncepte – in se učiti iz napak. Kljub temu v proces doslej še ni bila vpeljana stroga kuratorska linija, zaradi katere bi lahko iz projekta izpadli lokalni akterji, ker ne izpolnjujejo »nevtralnih« umetniških pričakovanj.

Strukture v ozadju in ospredju umetniškega projekta

Kmalu po ustanovitvi festivala Soho in Ottakring se je razvilo tesno sodelovanje z »Uradom za obnovo Ottakringa« , ki je prineslo podporo z vidika strukturnih potreb. Po drugi strani je Soho in Ottakring postal dobrodošel instrument v rokah urbanistov. Festivalu so pripisali funkcijo, podobno izvajanju naročila Oddelka za urbanizem: »Umetnost kot motor urbane prenove«. Z vidika urbanistov je umetnost dobrodošlo »navzoče merilo« izboljšanja vzdušja in atmosfere ter predvsem privabljanja mladega, dinamičnega občinstva v sosesko, v kateri se bo v idealnem primeru naselilo. Na tak način merila izboljšanja sovpadajo z družbeno dinamiko, kljub temu pa umetnost še ni postala konkretna manifestacija znotraj urbanistične prakse.

Tudi kompleksnost in moč lokalnega etničnega gospodarstva sta pogosto prezrti. Težavno je analizirati neformalne in tesno prepletene strukture, kljub temu pa so potenciali teh mikroekonomskih struktur v smislu lokalne ponudbe, družbene raznolikosti in kvalitete življenja pogosto podcenjeni. Z nezanemarljivim številom zaposlenih igrajo vlogo stabilizacije tudi majhna podjetja.

Meje

Pri vpletanju in izvajanju umetniškega projekta v lokalno tkivo je neizogibno zavedanje različnih interesov umetnosti, politike in sodelujočih

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partnerjev. Projekt Soho in Ottakring je vseskozi poudarjal pripravljenost sodelovanja z lokalnimi skupinami in institucijami, kot so Uprava četrti, Zveza trgovcev soseske Brunnen, popoldansko varstvo otrok, šole v soseski, podjetja in družbe, kot je Pivovarna Ottakring.

Skozi leta je postalo jasno, da mora praksa za zagotavljanje kontinuitete sprejemati tudi kompromise. Pri konceptu, v katerega so vključene različne skupine, kot so umetniki, arhitekti, trgovci, mladi in lokalne institucije, je »avtonomija« pogosto v družbi »omejitev«. Potrebna je velika »vzdržljivost«, da so lahko presežene administrativne ovire in so uspešna pogajanja o različnih interesih.

V kontekstu festivala leta 2003 je bil izveden projekt »Diana Travels«, v okviru katerega so potekali vodeni ogledi, med drugimi tudi v domove turških migrantov, kjer so bili gostitelji predstavljeni kot eksotični »drugi« v svojem okolju. Temu se v okviru izleta ni posvečalo posebne pozornosti. Samo v okviru enega takega izleta je en turško govoreči umetnik izpostavil problematičnost takšne zasnove v pogovoru z gostiteljem – po turško.

Projekt »Diana Travels« je sprožil prekinitev ritma vsakoletnega festivala. Leta 2004 je v času festivala potekalo obdobje »javnega razmisleka« v okviru organizirane javne diskusije o vlogi in odgovornosti umetniškega projekta v javni sferi. Na dvorišču turške restavracije je zaživela »Dnevna soba Soho«: dvotedenska diskusija na temo »Vzpostavljanje zavezništev med umetnostjo in antirasizmom: pristopi, preseki, strategije, premisleki«. Program javne diskusije se je razvijal okoli tem, kot so negotove delovne razmere, umetnost in socialno delo, strukture moči v javni sferi in migranti na področju dela v kulturi.

Ponoven »zagon« in ovrednotenje

»Uspeha« dolgoročnega umetniškega projekta ni mogoče izmeriti, saj ni merljiv z merami vrednosti, ki se običajno uporabljajo v ekonomiji. »Uspeh« je prej okrepitev in sprememba v komunikaciji, zavesti in izkustvu, pa tudi v vidnosti in izraženosti kritičnih tem v vsakdanjem življenju.

Številni projekti v sklopu festivala Soho in Ottakring uporabljajo umetnost za ustvarjanje začasnih prostorov za izražanje strukturno marginaliziranih migrantov. V mnogih primerih je utopični cilj umetnikov poskus, da bi omogočili vsaj začasen obstoj takih prostorov:

Projekt »Living books« (Žive knjige, 2007) ponazarja tovrsten poskus. Ljudi, ki so subjekti različnih projekcij – kot na primer zakrite muslimanke, policisti ali brezdomci – so si lahko mimoidoči izposodili za 45 minut kot »žive knjige«, ki pripovedujejo zgodbe svojega življenja. Vnaprej natančno strukturiran okvir, znotraj katerega je potekalo srečanje, je ustvaril prostor za poslušanje. Toga in formalna struktura je razveljavila »normalnost«.

Gledališko predstavo »Caught in the middle« (Ujeti na sredi) bi lahko razumeli kot poskus ustvarjanja novega začasnega prostora. Igro so pol leta ustvarjali mladostniki, ki so prišli v Avstrijo brez spremstva in imajo trenutno status prosilcev za azil. Sodelovalo je šest fantov, starih od 17 do 21 let iz Afganistana, Nigerije, Albanije in Uzbekistana ter 27-letna ženska iz Peruja. Večina ni imela igralskih izkušenj, zato je bilo razvijanje predstave precej dolgotrajno. Igro je režiral Charles Ofoedu, pisatelj in politični aktivist, rojen v

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Nigeriji. Projekt je zastavil kot del svojega političnega udejstvovanja.

Za vaje je bil na voljo prostor v izpraznjeni stavbi v soseski Brunnen, ki je bila čez leto dni predvidena za rušenje. Po pol leta vaj je nastala predstava, tesno povezana s težavami, s katerimi so se soočili njeni mladi ustvarjalci. Nekateri prizori so imeli humoren in ironičen pridih, na primer tisti, v katerem sta fanta iz Nigerije prevzela vlogi policistov, ki imajo pooblastila za aretacijo prosilca za azil. V občinstvu je sedelo veliko ljudi, ki so bili tudi sami prosilci za azil, in ob tem so se dodobra nasmejali.

Naslednji, šolski projekt se imenuje »Workshop for performance decrease« (delavnica za upad performansa). Projekt se nenehno odvija na dveh različnih osnovnih šolah znotraj območja *Brunnenviertel.* Projekt je začel umetnik migrant z idejo, da bi mobiliziral prezrte posamezne kreativne potenciale otrok ter v ta proces vključil učitelje in sčasoma tudi starše. Njegova metoda je bilo obiskovanje otrok v šoli dvakrat na teden v daljšem časovnem obdobju. Na obiskih so otroci sami izbirali in odločali o tem, kaj želijo početi.

Večina otrok v izbranih šolah prihaja iz zaledja migrantov. V javnih medijih so otroci migrantov pogosto označeni kot tisti, ki slabo obvladajo jezik in so manj sposobni za učenje. Njihova prihodnost, pravijo, so slabo plačana delovna mesta. Cilj projekta je krepitev samozavesti in samospoštovanja teh otrok, spodbujanje doživljanja njihovih lastnih kreativnih potencialov, s čimer spoznavajo, da lahko sami spremenijo svoj položaj in prevzamejo pobudo.

Projekt »Paradise garden – DO NOT ENTER« (Rajski vrt – NI VSTOPA) je med festivalom spomladi leta 2005 izvedla skupina krajinskih arhitektov. Na gradbišču tržnice so zasadili začasen ograjen vrt. To je bil urbani raj, kjer so rasle rože in zelenjava. Vsako soboto so vrt odprli, ljudi, predvsem otroke iz okolice, so povabili, naj tudi sami zasadijo razne vrste solate in paradižnika in zanje dva tedna skrbijo. Nastal je javni vrt na gradbišču sredi tržnice. Rajski vrt je simboliziral hrepenenje, znano številnim kulturam, in je bil zamišljen kot generator pozitivnih podob med problematično fazo gradnje. Bil je izjava o gosti zazidavi in pomanjkanju zelenih površin na tem območju. Ob koncu projekta so vrt odprli za javnost: ljudje so lahko pospravili pridelke in jih brezplačno odnesli s seboj.

V sodelovanju s skupino umetnikov in novinarjev, večinoma migrantov, je nastal majhen in barvit ulični časopis »Art in migration« (Umetnost v migraciji). Časopis se prodaja na ulici in v kavarnah ter poskuša širše občinstvo seznaniti s temami, ki zadevajo marginalizirane družbene skupine, in širiti znanje o medkulturni izmenjavi. Vsebuje članke o socialno angažiranih umetniških praksah po Evropi in odmeve participativnih projektov v sklopu festivala Soho in Ottakring.

Soho in Ottakring – vmesni povzetek

Pregledovanje enajstih let delovanja festivala Soho in Ottakring je povezano s številnimi odprtimi vprašanji. Začasni umetniški projekti v urbanem prostoru vsekakor ne morejo rešiti problemov ali zagotoviti trajnosti. Kljub temu je lokalni habitat izjemen kraj za eksperimentiranje, ki od umetnikov in sodelujočih zahteva odgovoren pristop, na primer pri sodelovanju z ljudmi in skupinami iz širokega spektra raznolikih življenjskih okoliščin.

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Kot tržnica Brunnen je tudi Soho in Ottakring precej podoben drobnemu lokalnemu ponudniku. »Celotna slika« je vsota vseh majhnih delov, ki sestavljajo celoten projekt. Na isti način je v dvotedensko festivalsko obdobje zajet diskurz celotnega leta.

Posebnost festivala Soho in Ottakring je pragmatičen pristop in fleksibilna, k praksi usmerjena strategija, kjer se izrazijo napake in nasprotja. Umetniki iz migrantskega okolja cenijo Soho in Ottakring kot edini festival na Dunaju, ki nenehno deluje kot rastoče omrežje in kot možnost izmenjave in sodelovanja.

Pri ocenjevanju razvoja festivala Soho in Ottakring v odnosu do »izboljševanja« soseske je pogosto težavno interpretirati projekt preko manjših delov celotne slike. Jasno je, da festival predstavlja pomemben impulz in odločilen dejavnik pri ocenjevanju soseske. Kritiki izpostavljajo »mehko« podporo procesa nadomeščanja, ki jo pospešuje vstop kreativnosti in temu primerno stopnjevana pozornost četrti.

Intervencije v soseski skozi umetnost moramo obravnavati in pazljivo razvijati znotraj parametrov umetniškega delovanja. Soho in Ottakring ni načrt, ki bi ga lahko reproducirali. Vsak kraj zahteva razvoj specifičnega koncepta, ki se bo nato tam razvijal. Pripravljenost vztrajati, razvijati različne ravni komunikacije, vzdržati in se pogajati v konfliktih – pa tudi malo sreče – so dejavniki, ki k uspehu takega projekta vsekakor prispevajo.

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IMAGE 1

The project "Living Books" (2007) is a library: instead of lending a book you can lend a person, sit at a table and talk to this person. (foto: G. Bury)

IMAGE 2

The theatre piece "Caught in the middle" was developed over a period of half a year with youngsters who had the status of asylum seekers 2004/05. (foto: G. Bury)

IMAGE 3

"Paradise garden - DO NOT ENTER" was realized by a group
of landscape architects during the festival in spring 2005.
On the construction site of the market a temporary fenced in
garden was planted. It was an Urban Paradise, where flowers
and vegetables grew. (foto: G. Bury)

IMAGE 4

**SOHO opening/ Brunnenmarkt
(foto: G.Bury)**

SOHO IN OTTAKRING

–

AN ART PROJECT IN
URBAN SPACE/
VIENNA, AUSTRIA

Ula Schneider

SOHO IN OTTAKRING could be described as the only regularly occurring art project and annual festival outside of the Vienna 'Belt' that acts as a concrete intervention in the city. One of the strengths of SOHO IN OTTAKRING is its continuity which now spans over eleven years. This means that spaces for discussion, critique and reflection could be created and that the practice would time and again be put to the test.

The Place
The Brunnen neighbourhood is the dense urban area around the Brunnen Market located in the district of Ottakring just outside of the 'Belt'. It has a surface area of approximately 20 hectares. With a population of nearly 8000 inhabitants, 36% of the inhabitants have a migrant background. The majority are of Turkish or ex-Yugoslavian descent.

The Brunnen Market underwent a change around the end of the 1990s: the once highly frequented market faced a continuous decrease in visitors; most of the bordering ground floor premises became vacant and were used for storage or occupied by businesses with no relation to the market, such as betting shops.

The Brunnen neighbourhood was categorised as needing urgent renovation in the 2005 city development plan. In the greater Ottakring district, 27% of the city blocks are considered as such, whereas it is 45% in the Brunnen neighbourhood. 25% of the apartments in the neighbourhood are labelled as substandard.

Doing is Learning: The Genesis and Development of the SOHO IN OTTAKRING Art Project
As a practising artist, it seemed an appealing idea to have temporary exhibitions within my immediate living and working area. This could be made possible by inviting artists to use the available (vacant) spaces for a show in an improvised setting and to mingle art with everyday life.

Underway for three years, a question was becoming more and more urgent: What actually is the role of art in urban space?

Art in an urban environment must create contradictions if the intention is not only to decorate. It must generate events and movement while avoiding image softening and harmonisation. Art has the potential to bring attention to marginalized themes and develop alternative fields of action.

After several years, it became increasingly important for the work of SOHO IN OTTAKRING, in its development as an art and neighbourhood project, to focus on art projects that deal with themes apparent within the neighbourhood and also address the physical interventions of city planners (like the redesign of the Brunnen Market) and their effects.

It isn't the organisational matters that pose the greatest difficulty in the realisation of SOHO IN OTTAKRING, rather it is more the complex dynamic generating positive – as well as negative – side effects. Adapting strategies implies time and again having to re-negotiate, try out, rethink and further develop concepts - and to learn from mistakes. However, up to this point, it has not meant the introduction of a strict curatorial direction which would risk the exclusion of local actors because they don't fulfil "neutral" artistic expectations.

Background and Foreground Structures of the Art Project
Soon after the establishment of SOHO IN OTTAKRING, a close collaboration with the "Urban Renewal Office in Ottakring"4 developed which offered support for structural needs. On the other hand, SOHO IN OTTAKRING was a welcome instrument for the city planners. In their arguments, the festival was attributed a function as if the Department of City Planning had contracted it: "Art as an Engine of Urban Renewal". From the city planners' point of view, art is a welcome "attendant measure" to improve the mood

and atmosphere and, above all, to draw a young, dynamic audience into the neighbourhood which will ideally settle there. In this way, upgrading measures go hand-in-hand with a social dynamic, but still art has not become a concrete manifestation within the practice of city planning.

Also the complexity and power of the local ethnic economy is often neglected. It is hard to analyse its informal, tightly knit structures but the potentials of these micro-economic structures for local supply, social diversity and quality of life are often underestimated. Small businesses also play a stabilising role given their not insignificant number of employees.

Limits
To embed and implement an art project in the local fabric, an ascertainment of the different interests of art, politics and cooperative partners is unavoidable.

SOHO IN OTTAKRING always stressed its willingness to cooperate with local groups and institutions such as the District Management, the Brunnen Neighbourhood Association of Merchants, the after-school youth supervision, schools in the neighbourhood, businesses and companies like the Ottakring Brewery.

Over the years, it became clear that the practice must also accept compromises to guarantee continuity. In a concept that involves different groups, such as artists, architects, shop keepers, youth and local institutions, "autonomy" is often accompanied with limitations.6 It takes a lot of "staying power" to overcome administrative constraints and to negotiate different interests.

In the context of the 2003 edition of the festival, a project called "DIANA Travels" was carried out offering guided tours, among others, through the homes of Turkish migrants where the hosts were perceived as the exotic "others" in their habitat. This situation was never reflected upon in the framework of the tour. Only a single, Turkish-speaking artist pronounced the problem of this setting to the host during one such tour – in Turkish.

"DIANA Travels" triggered the interruption of the rhythm of annual festival. During the 2004 festival period, a "public reflection" was offered in the form of panel discussions on the role and responsibility of art projects within the public realm. "Living room – SOHO" was set up in the courtyard of a Turkish restaurant: a

two week discussion room on the theme "Forming Alliances between Art and Anti-Racism: Approaches, Intersections, Strategies, Reflection". A program of panel discussions was developed around themes such as precarious work conditions, art and social work, power structures in the public realm and migrants within cultural work.

"Relaunch" and Re-evaluation
The "success" of a long-term art project cannot be measured. It is not oriented upon the measures of value commonly applied in economy. "Success" is rather the enhancement and change within communication, consciousness and experience, as well as a visualisation and articulation of critical themes amidst everyday life.

A considerable number of projects during SOHO IN OTTAKRING use art to create a temporary space of articulation for structurally marginalized migrants. In many cases it is the utopian objective of artists to attempt to enable such spaces at least temporarily:

The project "Living Books" (2007) illustrates such an attempt. People who are the subject of projections – such as veiled Muslim women, police officers, or the homeless – could be borrowed by passersby for 45 minutes as "living books" who tell stories from their lives. The highly pre-structured framework within which the encounter took place enabled a free space to listen. A rigid and formal structure suspended "normality".

The theatre piece "Caught in the Middle" could also be seen as an attempt to temporarily create new space. The play was developed over a period of half a year with youngsters who had come to Austria unaccompanied and who have the status of asylum seekers. They were a group of six boys between 17 and 20 years of age from Afghanistan, Nigeria, Albania, Uzbekistan, and one 27 year-old woman from Peru. Most had no experience as actors, and it took quite a long time to develop this play. Charles Ofoedu, who is a writer and political activist born in Nigeria, directed the play. For him, this was part of his political work.

For rehearsal there was a possibility to use space in an empty building situated in the Brunnen quarter, which was to be torn down a year later. So after half a year of rehearsing a play had been developed that closely related to the problems the youngsters were facing. Some scenes had a humorous and ironic touch, for instance

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when the two Nigerian boys slipped into the role of policemen with the power to arrest an asylum seeker. Many of the audience were themselves asylum seekers and had a great laugh.

Another project, a school project, is called: "Workshop for Performance Decrease" This project is continuously taking place in two different elementary schools situated in the area of the *Brunnenviertel*. The project was initiated by a migrant artist whose idea was to mobilize the neglected individual creative potentials of the children, to include the teachers and eventually the parents in this process. His method is to come to school twice a week over a longer period of time and to let the children choose and decide by themselves what they want to do.

Most of the children in these two schools have a migrant background. In the public media, migrant offspring are often being branded as having poor language skills and learning potentials. Their future lies in badly paid jobs, they say.

In this project the aim is to strengthen self-confidence and self-respect of the children, to make them experience their own creative potential, enabling them to realize that they themselves can change their situations and take the initiative.

"Paradise Garden – DO NOT ENTER" was realized by a group of landscape architects during the festival in spring 2005. On the construction site of the market a temporary fenced in garden was planted. It was an Urban Paradise where flowers and vegetables grew. Every Saturday the fence would be opened and people, especially kids from the area, were also invited to plant different kinds of lettuce and tomatoes and to take care of them during a period of two weeks. It was like a public garden in the middle of the construction site on the premises of the market. The Paradise Garden symbolised a longing known to many cultures and was also meant to evoke positive images during the somewhat problematic construction phase. It was a statement with regards to the urban density and a lack of green space in this area.

The Paradise Garden was opened to the public at the end of the project: people could harvest the vegetables and take them home for free.

A small and colourful street magazine called "Art in Migration" was developed in cooperation with a couple of artists and journalists, most of whom have experienced migration themselves.

"Art in Migration" is being sold on the street and in cafes and tries to reach a wider audience on issues concerning marginalized groups in society and to spread the knowledge on trans-cultural change. It offers articles on socially engaged art practice throughout Europe and reflects on participatory projects part of SOHO IN OTTAKRING.

SOHO IN OTTAKRING – An Interim Resume

Reviewing 11 years of SOHO IN OTTAKRING is connected with a number of open questions. Temporary art projects in urban space can certainly not solve problems or guarantee sustainability. However, the local habitat provides an exemplary place for experimentation that demands a responsible approach from the artists and participants in, for example, collaborations with people and groups from a variety of different living circumstances.

Similar to the Brunnen Market, SOHO IN OTTAKRING is a lot like a small-scale local provider. The "big picture" is the sum of all the small parts that constitute the whole project. In the same way, the two-week festival period comprises the discourse of an entire year.

The speciality of SOHO IN OTTAKRING is the pragmatic approach, a flexible practice-oriented strategy where mistakes and contradictions are articulated. Artists with a migrant background prize SOHO IN OTTAKRING for being the only art festival in Vienna continuously working on an expanding network and possibilities for exchange and participation.

Evaluating the development of SOHO IN OTTAKRING with relation to the "upgrading"[10] of a neighbourhood, it is often difficult to interpret the project by means of a reduced overall picture. It is clear that the festival has been an important impulse and a decisive factor in the re-evaluation of the neighbourhood. Critics point out the "soft" reinforcement of displacement processes, which are accelerated by the entry of creativity and the corresponding heightened attention for the district.

Interventions in a neighbourhood through art must be well considered and cautiously developed upon the parameters of artistic work. SOHO IN OTTAKRING is not a blueprint that can be replicated. Each place demands the development of a specific concept that will then unfold there. The readiness to persist, develop different levels of communication, endure

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and negotiate conflicts – as well as having
a spot of luck – are factors that definitely
contribute to the success of such a project.

PROGETTOZERO(+)

RESIDE.NTS: Vizualizirati transformacijo

METODOLOGIJA

Kulturna in umetniška dejavnost tandema progettozero(+) je posvečena vprašanjem iz sfere javne, družbeno-politične in relacijske modalnosti. Kreativni proces razumeva kot razširjeno horizontalno strukturo, ustvarjava odprt način sodelovanja z umetniki, intelektualci, skupnostmi in družbeno-kulturnimi realnostmi.

Najini projekti problematizirajo kompleksnost vsakdanjega življenja in so usmerjeni v iskanje drugačnih načinov socialne in politične interakcije.

Projekti so prilagojeni in kontekstualizirani v skladu z dinamiko odnosov znotraj vsakokratne situacije (fizične ali konceptualne), posebno pozornost namenjava kompleksnosti medčloveških odnosov, konceptu »javnega« in »teritorija«, politični in družbeni vlogi umetnika/kuratorja: izmenjevanje znanja in idej, odpiranje kritične perspektive in iskanje alternativnih rešitev.

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Uvod: Novi Beograd

»V Novem Beogradu je specifičnost bivalne funkcije sledila ideološki postavki, da kraj prebivališča oziroma stanovanje v socializmu ne predstavlja zgolj udobja, ampak ga njegova uporabna vrednost tudi definira. Predstavlja tudi odsev družbeno-političnega konstrukta pravice do prebivališča kot splošne pravice v okviru skupnega javnega dobrega, povezane z idealom pravične delitve dobrin, i. e. idealom brezplačnih stanovanj in brezplačnih socialnih storitev za vse. Posledično je bil Novi Beograd realiziran kot mesto v javni/skupni lasti in mesto, ki je skozi dolgo obdobje obstajalo brez notranje ekonomske dinamike. Mesto, v celoti odvisno od državnih (administrativnih) intervencij, je bilo povsem ograjeno od okoliščin lastne reprodukcije. Namesto da bi predstavljalo prostor sicer ključnih vitalnih urbanih funkcij, je središče Novega Beograda zato ostalo ekonomska, socialna in fizična vrzel. Integracija kolektivnega prostora socialnih stanovanj v koherenten urbani prostor je spodletela, namesto tega se je izoblikovalo prazno polje osamelosti. Danes, v sodobnih razmerah spreminjanja družbeno-političnih paradigem, se nedokončani odprti načrt Novega Beograda bliskovito zapolnjuje s tistim, česar je v skladu s popreproščenim razumevanjem v obdobju socializma najbolj primanjkovalo, torej s komercialnim in poslovnim programom na eni strani in pravoslavnimi cerkvami na drugi. [...]

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V Novem Beogradu lahko opazujemo vztrajen proces napredovanja razvoja, ki se polašča ulice za ulico, kareja za karejem. Po eni strani odprt javni prostor skupnosti, razvpito zanemarjene skupne površine stanovanjskih stavb, bliskovito podlega komercialnim težnjam privatnega kapitala, ki se razrašča čez zelene površine v javni/družbeni lasti. Skupni prostor sekularnega mesta se deli za namen posvetitve, za določene površine urbanizacija pomeni desekularizacijo. [...] Beograd trenutno dojemam kot mesto v vojni s samim seboj [...].«

—Ljiljana Blagojević: New Belgrade: The Capital of No-City's-Land

Projekt: koncept

Kurator Marko Stamenković naju je povabil v Beograd v okviru umetniške rezidence Real Presence 2007 , da bi izvedla projekt o družbeno-ekonomskih spremembah v Novem Beogradu, ki velja za porajajoče se poslovno središče Beograda.

Projekt je bil posvečen raziskavi človeških in delovnih vidikov urbane in družbeno-ekonomske preobrazbe Novega Beograda po vzpostavitvi novega tržnega gospodarstva na območju postsocialistične Vzhodne Evrope, pri čemer je bila dinamika preobrazbe Novega Beograda obravnavana kot paradigmatski primer od kapitala generiranih mest jugovzhodne Evrope.

Projekt je specifično obsegal široko interdisciplinarno analizo, ki ji je sledila intervencija znotraj skupnosti iz Novega Beograda, s poudarkom na »vrednotah«, njihovem prevodu iz predhodnega sistema (socialistične družbe) v nov sistem vrednot (ki izhaja iz nove tržne logike). Osredotočila sva se na percepcijo in reprezentacijo preobrazbe z vidika prebivalcev: delavcev znotraj starega in novega sistema, novega razreda poslovnežev in ljudi, ki na tem območju prebivajo.

Projekt: raziskava in sprehod po mestu: srečanja s stanovalci

Po prvi fazi raziskav, srečanj s strokovnjaki, lokalnimi institucijami in drugimi subjekti družbeno-ekonomske in urbane preobrazbe (e. g., z mestnim arhitektom, arhitekturnim zgodovinarjem, nekaj predstavniki in delegati podjetij Agencija Siepa, Delta Holding in Banca Intesa in mestno upravo Novega Beograda) sva začela na sprehodih skozi mesto zbirati zgodbe, podobe, videe in intervjuje s prebivalci.

K pripovedovanju osebnih zgodb sva povabila skupino prebivalcev iz različnih družbenih okolij, spominjali so se in ustvarjali lastno podobo mesta, nekakšno javno samopredstavitev, ki je orisala nov portret mesta: študent, urbanist, stari novinar, bankir, mlad par, poslovna ženska, nezaposleno dekle, glasbenik, mlad učitelj zaposlen v Veliki Banki, itd.

Raziskave v okviru projekta niso bile zamišljene po premočrtnem načrtu, ampak so bile strukturirane kot delo v nastajanju, kot »živ proces«, ki je potekal med enomesečnim prebivanjem v Novem Beogradu (v treh ločenih obdobjih v letih 2007 in 2008) ob srečevanju številnih ljudi, vpletanju ljudi v raziskave, preživljanju časa z njimi, poskusih, da bi vzpostavili notranje, intimno sodelovanje… in včasih tudi (zakaj pa ne?) ob sklepanju prijateljstev. Zbrala sva ogromno fotografij, posnetkov, obiskala mnogo domov, spoznala starše, si delila določene prostore, spomine, občutja in razmišljanja. Bil je nekakšen »sprehod skozi skupnost«.

Osrednja pozornost je bila namenjena »spreminjanju vrednot«. Začela sva s simbolično/čustvenim »prostorskim prepoznavanjem« mesta: »Kaj/kje je bil zate center?«, »Kje je zdaj?«, »Ali obstaja Center?«, »Kaj so bili javni prostori, prostor, ki ste si ga delili?«, »Kje je danes?«, »Kaj je bilo zasebno?«, »Kje je bila Moč? In zdaj?« … in tako naprej. Vse se je vrtelo okoli preobrazb mesta in novega tipa odnosov med pozicijo gospodarske moči in družbo.

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Projekt: vodič po mestu, ki so ga ustvarili prebivalci

Oblika, ki sva jo izbrala, da bi »naredila transformacijo vidno«, je bil potovalni vodič po Novem Beogradu. Vodič je ustaljen pristop k predstavitvi mesta, opisu njegove kulture, zgodovine in družbenih sprememb. Ustvarjanje vodiča, spodbujanje prebivalcev k njegovi izdelavi bi lahko postalo izhodišče za vzpostavljanje dialoga med ljudmi in prostorom, v katerem živijo, njihovim mestom. Hkrati je to način vzpostavljanja neke vrste dialoga med ljudmi, ki v mesto vstopajo od zunaj in bodo »vodič« uporabljali kot običajen vodič po mestu, in spremembami »od spodaj«: s stališča prebivalcev.

Nazadnje sva se namesto za tiskano izdajo vodiča na papirju odločila za uporabo običajnega spletnega orodja web 2.0 kot GoogleMaps. Na Googlu ustvarjava več zemljevidov, ki vsebujejo zbrano gradivo, fotografije in posnetke intervjujev s povezavami na kraje, na katere se nanašajo. Na spletu je dostopen tudi kratek dokumentarni film z izborom intervjujev.

Razvoj projekta vključuje razvoj več potovalnih poti, ki vodijo ljudi po poteh odkrivanja nove »monumentalnosti« , povezane z nedavnim procesom preobrazbe: različne začrtane poti bodo označevale in vizualizirale »Pot moči«, »Pot gospodarstva«, »Pot skupnosti«, itd. Projekt bi lahko kot »participatorno orodje« nadaljevali in implementirali tudi sami prebivalci.
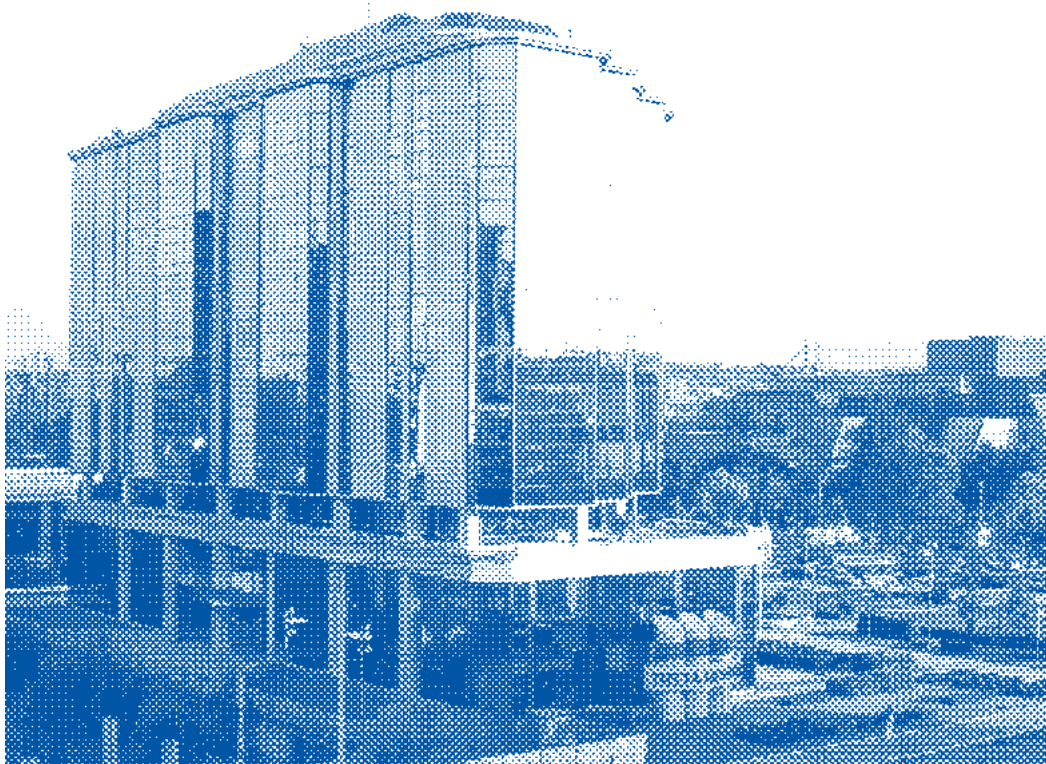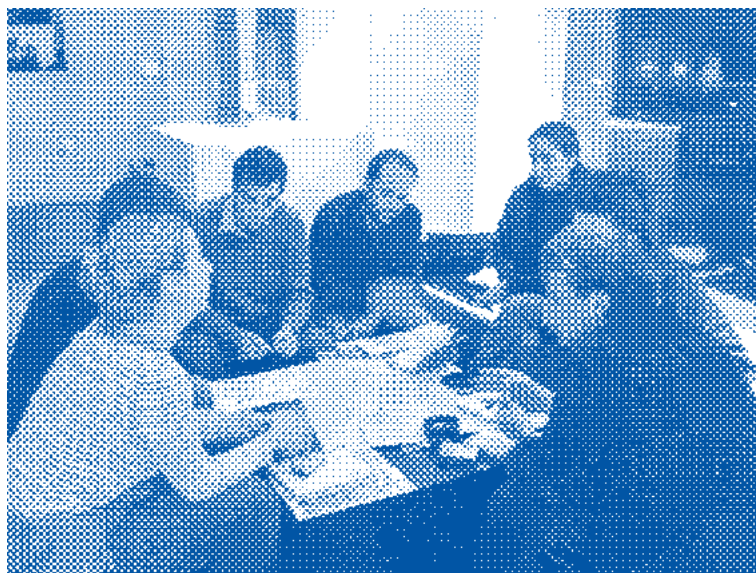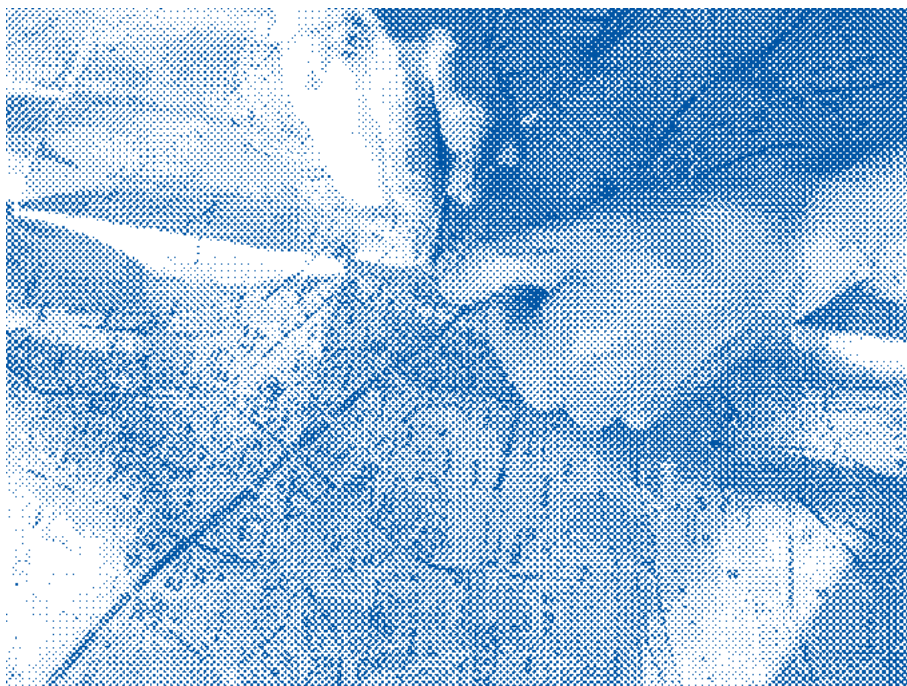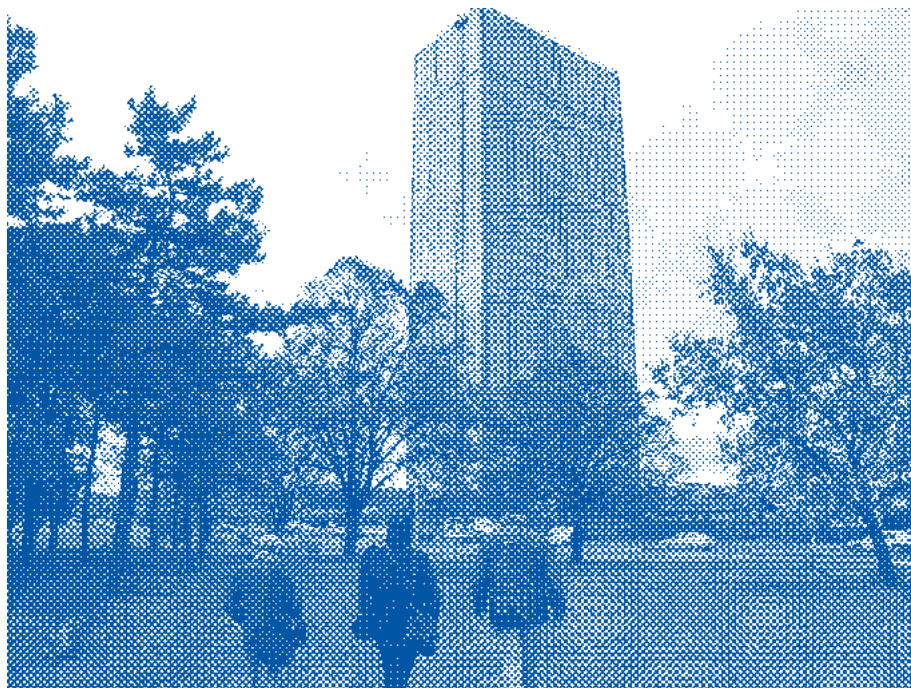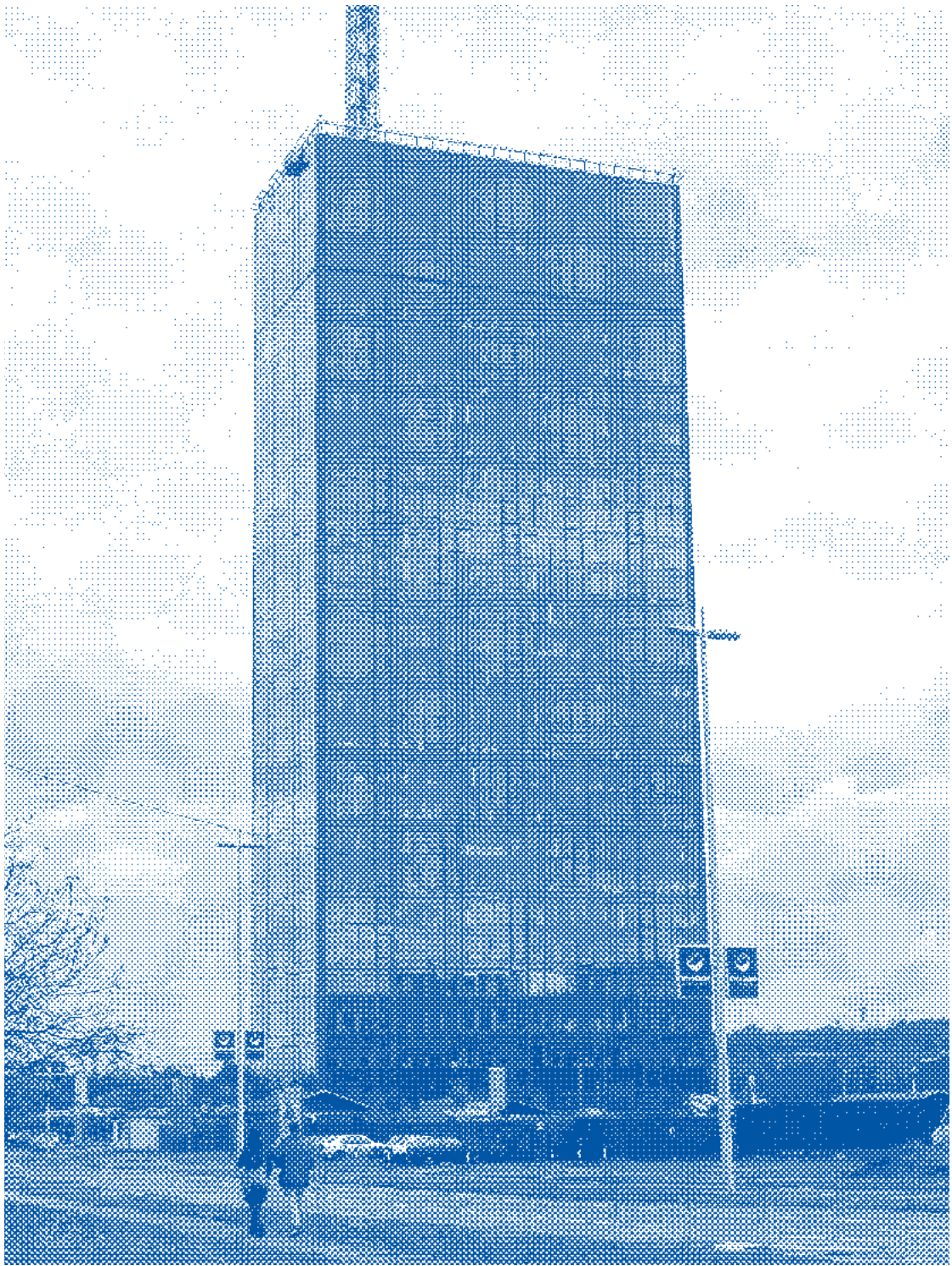
PROGETTOZERO(+)

RESIDE.NTS: Visualizing the Transformation

Methodology

Progettozero(+) cultural and artistic activity questions issues related to public, socio-political and relational modalities, focusing on the idea of the creative process as a horizontal and expanded structure, creating an open collaboration with artists, intellectuals, communities and socio-cultural realities. Our projects deal with the complexity of everyday life, looking for different ways of social and political interaction.
Our projects are adapted and contextualised following the relational dynamics of the situations (physical or conceptual) we work on and paying attention to: the complexity of human relations, the concept of "public" and "territory", the political and social role of the artist/curator: sharing knowledge and ideas, opening critical perspectives and looking for alternative solutions.

Introduction : Novi Beograd
"In New Belgrade, the specificity of the housing function followed the ideological premise that a place of residence/apartment in socialism is not only a commodity, but that it is its use value which defines it. It reflected another socio-political construct of the right to a residence as a universal right to the common public good, and related to the ideal of the just distribution, i.e. the ideal of free apartment, and free social services for all. As a consequence, New Belgrade was realized as a city in the public/common property, and, over a long period, a city with no internal economic dynamics. Depending entirely on the state (administrative) intervention, it was totally cut off from the conditions of its own reproduction. Instead of harbouring otherwise much needed vital urban functions, the centre of New Belgrade, thus, remained an economic, social and physical void. Failing to integrate collective social housing into a coherent urban space, it actually became an empty field of disjunction. Today, in the conditions of contemporary change of socio-political paradigms, the unfinished open plan of New Belgrade is being rapidly filled by what is simplistically understood to have been lacking in the socialist epoch, namely, commercial and business development on the one side and orthodox churches on the other.[...] What is seen on site of New Belgrade, is persistent, street by street, block by block advancement of new development. On the one side, the open non-private space of community, that notoriously not-cared for common space of the housing blocks is rapidly being consumed by the commercial drive of the private capital expanding its boundaries into the green areas in public/social property. The common ground of the secular city is being partitioned off for consecration of sites where urbanisation means de-secularisation. [...] I would argue that New Belgrade is now a city at war with itself [...]."
Ljiljana Blagojević: New Belgrade: The Capital of No-City's-Land

The project : concept

During the artist residence in Belgrade Real Presence 2007 , we have been invited from the curator Marko Stamenkovic to realize a project about the socio-economic changes in New Belgrade considered as the emerging business zone of the city of Belgrade.

The project intended to investigate the human and working aspects of urban and socio-economic transformation in the post-socialist Eastern Europe, after the establishment of the new market economy in the region, considering the dynamics of New Belgrade transformation as a paradigmatic case for the capital cities in the South-East of Europe.

In particular, the project proposed a wide interdisciplinary analysis and a following intervention within the community of New Belgrade, focusing on the changes of "values", their translation from the previous dominant system (the socialist society) into a new system of values (pertaining to the new market logic). We focused on the perception and the representation of this transformation from the point of view of the inhabitants: old and new workers, the new business class as well as the ordinary people living in the area.

The project : research and city walk-through : meeting the residents

After a first phase of research, meeting experts, local institutions and other subjects of the socio-economical and urban transformation (e.g. the City Architect, an architecture historian, some representatives and delegates of Siepa Agency, Delta Holding and Banca Intesa, the Municipality of Novi Beograd) we started a walk-through the city collecting stories, images, videos and interviewing people living there.

A group of inhabitants, who came from different backgrounds, has been invited to tell their stories, to remember, to create their individual image of the city, a sort of public self-representation to define a new portrait of the city: the student, the urban planner, the old journalist, the baker, the young couple, the businesswoman, the unemployed girl, the musician, the young teacher working for the Big Bank, etc.

The project had not a "straight" plan in the research, but it was structured as a work in progress, a "living process" realized living for about a month in New Belgrade (in three different reprises between 2007 and 2008), meeting lots of people, involving people in the research, asking for having time together, trying to create an inner, intimate participation... and becoming sometimes (why not?) friends. We collected tons of photos, shootings, we visited lots of homes, met the parents, shared particular places, memories, emotions and reflections. A sort of "community walk-through".

The main focus was the "changing of values". We started with a symbolical/emotional "spatial recognition" of the city: "What/where was the centre for you?", "Where is it now?", "Is there a Centre?", "Which were the "public spaces", the shared space?", "Where is it now?", "What was private?", "Where was the Power? And now?"...and so on. All about the transformations of the city and the new type of relations between economic power and society.

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The project : the residents' participated city guide

The form we finally choose to "visualize the transformation" was the tool of a travel guide of New Belgrade. The guide itself is a common device to represent a city, to describe its culture, its history and the social changes. Creating a guide, inviting the residents to do it, could become a platform to establish a dialogue among people, and between people and the place they live, their city. And it is a way as well, to build a sort of dialogue with the people coming from outside that will use this "guide" as a common guide which tells the city and its changes from "below": the residents point of view.

At least, instead of printing a paper guide we decided to use a common tool of web 2.0 as GoogleMaps. We're creating several maps on Google which contain the documents we collected, photos and video interviews, linked to the places they refer to. A short documentary with a selection of the interviews is available on line too.

The development of the project includes the creation of several tour itineraries that drive people to discover a new "monumentality", connected with the recent transformation process: the tour itineraries should indicate and visualize the "Power tour", the "Economy tour", the "Community tour", etc...The project, as a "participated tools", could be continued and be implemented by the residents themselves.

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MASTER PLAN

Yane Calovski

OPOMBA AVTORJA:

**V pričujočem prispevku je predstav-
ljeno gradivo iz knjige »Master Plan«
avtorja Yaneta Calovskega, ki je bila
zasnovana kot spremljevalna izdaja
istoimenske instalacije, naročene in
izdelane za razstavo kuratorjev Raqs
Media Collective z naslovom »The Rest
of Now« v sklopu Evropskega bienala
sodobne umetnosti Manifesta 7 na
Južnem Tirolskem v Italiji med julijem
in novembrom leta 2008; ter iz zvezka
»Book 3« iz serije publikacij urednika
Basake Senove, pripravljene za Turški
paviljon na 53. Beneškem bienalu leta
2009.**

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Uvod:
Basak Senova o projektu Master plan (2008)

Raziskovalni projekt »Master Plan« (2008) se je začel s pobudo, da bi si podrobno ogledali nikoli uresničeni urbanistični načrt za razvoj Skopja, ki so ga po uničujočem potresu leta 1963 zasnovali Kenzo Tange in sodelavci. Yaneta Calovskega je sprva zanimala poznomodernistična tradicija oblikovanja, ki jo je mogoče analizirati v okviru razvoja urbanističnega načrta, ter hipotetični in realizirani razvojni scenariji.

Glede na to, da je »Master Plan« delo v nastajanju, je Calovski predvidel daljše obdobje za raziskave v raznih arhivih, vključno z Arhivom mesta Skopje, Nacionalnim arhivom Republike Makedonije, Arhivom društva arhitektov ter drugimi javnimi in zasebnimi zbirkami. Zaradi tega delo vsebuje raznolik sklop segmentov gradiva, zbranega med vrsto stopenj načrtovanja znotraj procesa rekonstrukcije.

Da bi razumel pomen urbanističnega načrta Skopja Kenza Tange, je Calovski začel proces ponovne dokumentacije samega načrta, lotil pa se je tudi analize zasebnih arhivov. Rezultati raziskav so pripeljali do spoznanja, da je bil zmagovalni načrt Kenza Tanage sprva deležen izjemne hvale, kasneje pa so se mu povsem odrekli.

Yane Calovski
Predlog Kenza Tangeja

Osnovni koncept pričujočega besedila temelji na: (a) kontrastu med notranjim mestnim jedrom in preostalim delom mestnega središča; (b) intimni obravnavi mestnega jedra in njegovega oboda iz velikih stanovanjskih zgradb, ki oblikujejo mestno obzidje; (c) impozantnem stavbnem kompleksu s cestno zanko, zamišljenem kot glavna mestna vrata in lociranem na osi centralne urbane kompozicije v smeri vzhod - zahod; (d) povezavi levega in desnega brega Vardarja z nizom javnih zgradb, trgovin, mostov ter trgov in ploščadi za pešce; (e) pripojitvi hriba Kale v kompozicijo mestnega središča; (f) poudarku dediščine v kompleksu Čaršije z obodom struktur v kontrastnem merilu.

Rešitev, ki vsebuje zgostitev prometnih komunikacij vzdolž ene same prečnice namesto urejanja v skladu s kulturnim sistemom, je vredna pozornosti, pri čemer pa je izražen dvom o zaželenosti tako velike koncentracija na enem prostoru. Znotraj mestnega jedra rešitev ohranja večino obstoječih cest, drugje pa je bila na območjih, kjer se nahaja večje število zgradb, predvidena odstranitev številnih cest. Cesta na desnem bregu Vardarja zmanjšuje pomen povezave bregov, namenjene pešcem. Na splošno je za gibanje pešcev dobro poskrbljeno na več ravneh, omogočene so povezave med pomembnejšimi območji in stavbami v mestnem središču.

Rešitev s podzemno železnico ni ne prepričljiva, ne upravičena z ekonomskega vidika, posebno glede na to, da je speljana tudi pod reko, zaradi česar bi bila izvedba ob upoštevanju nivoja podtalnice in seizmičnih značilnosti območja izjemno težavna.

Predlog premika severne obvoznice in prečenje hriba Kale z odprtim vkopom namesto s tunelom si zasluži temeljito obravnavo.

Razporeditev glavnih funkcij mestnega središča vzdolž osi skozi središče je v smislu merila in oblikovanja mojstrsko izvedena, a umestitev univerze omejuje možnosti njene širitve in ne upošteva obstoječih ustanov.

»Mestna vrata« so v razmerju do mesta pretirano velika. Koncentracija aktivnosti v tem kompleksu bi povzročila nastanek intenzivnih prometnih tokov.

Nove kulturne ustanove in spomeniki so dobro umeščeni in prepričljivo integrirani v urbanistični načrt. Nekateri historični spomeniki niso predstavljeni v ustreznem odnosu s predlaganimi stavbami v bližini, na primer območje v okolici stolpa z uro. Visoki bloki na severnem bregu niso skladni z obliko doline med hribom Kale in Gazi Babo.

Arhitekturna interpretacija večjih struktur, načrtovanje in oblikovanje urbanih sklopov so zelo kvalitetni. Manj sprejemljiva je velikost nekaterih impozantnih struktur, na primer univerze, Centralnega komiteja komunistične partije, skupščine in kompleksa »mestnih vrat«.

Predlog vključuje velike odprte površine v okolici mestnega središča, za kar bi bilo potrebno uničiti pomembna stanovanjska in industrijska območja, znotraj mestnega jedra pa ohranja večino obstoječih zgradb. Predlog obravnava številne vidike načrtovanja mesta na resen, izviren in navdahnjen način, zato zasluži posebno omembo.

Odlomek iz Priloge IV: »Poročilo mednarodne komisije o rezultatih natečaja Mestno jedro« za obnovo Skopja: The Story of the United Nations Special Fund Town Planning project, izdala OZN, New York, 1970; str. 372–373.

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Master Plan

Glede na to da so bila srednja šestdeseta leta čas družbene in politične blaginje jugoslovanskega idealizma, ko sta se v skladu s Titovo ideologijo v celoti izvajala krepitev in razločevanje posameznih nacionalnih skupnosti, je načrt mesta Skopje predstavljal priložnost, s katero bi se mednarodna skupnost zavedela posebnosti makedonske nacionalne identitete in izjemnosti Skopja, »delujočega urbanega organizma, ki je v nekem trenutku obstal povsem izčrpan«. Posebni sklad Združenih narodov in arhitekti, ki so jih k projektu povabili, so se lahko prebijali skozi zapleteno mrežo družbenih in ideoloških odnosov, ki so obstajali med meščani Skopja, njihovim prilagajanjem prostora, zgodovino, modernostjo, pa tudi potencialom za nadaljnji razvoj ideje »družbe meščanov in oblik«. Tangejeva rešitev je bila izbrana kot osnova za »fazo razvoja načrta«, toda v letih po izboru so mestni uradniki in delovne skupine lokalnih strokovnjakov osnovni urbanistični načrt spremenili do te mere, da ga avtor ni več prepoznal kot svojega.

Zgodba o urbanističnem načrtu Skopja je dolga in zapletena. Skozi čas so jo analizirali, o njej debatirali, jo opazovali in interpretirali umetnostni in arhitekturni zgodovinarji, arhitekti, urbanisti, sociologi, okoljevarstveniki, politiki in študenti. Vsi so iskali sledi preteklih dogodkov in poskušali razkriti, kaj se je dogajalo in kaj je šlo narobe. Razlaga skrivnosti o tem, kako je po tako intenzivnih mednarodnih prizadevanjih in solidarnosti nastal nezavidljiv rezultat, je navdih za številne domneve in scenarije.

Sodobno Skopje bi lahko gledali kot rezultat serije političnih odločitev, ki niso imele ničesar skupnega z arhitekturno vizijo Kenza Tangeja. Če kaj, potem je Skopje danes arena, v kateri poteka nenehen boj za prevlado med lokalnimi in nacionalnimi političnimi silami. Vrednost intimne obravnave notranjega mestnega jedra, povezava levega in desnega brega Vardarja, spajanje historičnih struktur in tradicije postmodernizma, ki jih je predvideval Tangejev načrt, so zamenjale ideje, ki jih ni odlikovala ne prepričljivost ne kakršenkoli drug standard razen standarda vladajočih, seveda. Žal pa lahko med povprečnimi meščani Skopja še danes slišimo obtožbe »Japoncev, ki so v svojem častihlepju mesto zamenjali za videoigrico«.

ZAZNATI NAPAKE?
Kratek intervju z Yanejem Calovskim o lapsusih
v projektu Master Plan

Basak Senova:
    Kako bi v sklopu svojega dela definirali pojem »lapsus«?
Yane Calovski: »Master plan« se poigrava z idejo lapsusa v smislu
    brezpogojnega vračanja zgodovine v samo vase, da bi se pokazalo,
    kar je bilo zapostavljeno. Različna obdobja med preteklostjo in
    sedanjostjo znotraj procesa razumevanja postopnega pešanja
    ohranjanja, vzdrževanja in obnavljanja dediščine enega najbolj
    eksperimentalnih obdobij v zgodovini arhitekture in urbanizma
    v Makedoniji, pa tudi na Balkanu, so bila zanimiv označevalnik,
    s katerim je mogoče krmariti skozi okrnjeno logiko linearne
    pripovedi.

BS **Kako berete sam urbanistični načrt v odnosu do trenutnih**
    pričakovanj mesta Skopje?
YC Tange si je mesto zamislil kot svojim prebivalcem prijazno
    mediteransko središče. Glavni medij v njegovem predlogu je
    voda, reka. Premiki so bili umeščeni na oba bregova reke Vardar,
    ki so ju povezovali številni mostovi. Njegov oblikovalski pristop
    zaznamuje soobstoj megastruktur, povezanih z idejo simbolov
    (»mestno obzidje«, »mestna vrata«, itd.). Urbanistični načrt
    sestavljajo jasno razmejena območja (»središča s središčem«
    – na primer mestno obzidje, republiško središče, kulturno
    središče, glavni trg, univerzitetno središče, poslovno središče
    in prometno središče). Največje razhajanje med tem, kar je bilo
    načrtovano v šestdesetih, in tem, kar je bilo doseženo v nasled-
    njih dvajsetih letih, je vidno v današnji ureditvi Skopja. Morda
    je bilo uresničenih samo dvajset odstotkov zamisli (mestno
    obzidje in prometno središče). Glavni vidik odstopanja izvornega
    načrta od izvedenega so številni vplivi na oblikovanje končnega
    urbanističnega načrta, hitenje z gradnjo nedokončanih obliko-
    valskih konceptov znotraj urbanističnega načrta in pragmatična
    negacija celostnega konceptualnega diskurza.

BS **Bi lahko glede na to urbanistični načrt Skopja imeli za vizijo, ki**
    ima malo skupnega z realnostjo mesta?
YC Po mnenju Roberta Homa, profesorja prostorskega
    menedžmenta na Univerzi Anglia Ruskin, je urbanistični načrt
    Skopja »plod svojega časa«, problem pa je v dejstvu, da so mesto
    načrtovali arhitekti - urbanisti, ki so pripadali modernističnemu
    gibanju, in so »verjeli v svojo vlogo obnoviteljev povojnega sveta«
    ter »raje delali za državo kot za ljudi«, s čimer so omejili možnost
    sodelovanja javnosti v procesu. Pomanjkanje javne debate je
    danes očitno, saj se mesto čuti zlorabljeno od novih neoliberalnih

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načrtov politikov, ki svoj položaj zlorabljajo za manifestacijo idej, ki imajo malo ali nič skupnega z odgovornim urbanizmom. V Skopju smo priče stalnemu izginjanju javnega prostora, nenehnemu procesu brisanja ideje *agore*, javnega foruma, ter manifestaciji politično učinkovite arhitekture, ki meji na slab okus in provincializem. To postane očitno v načinu ravnanja s prostorom strogega mestnega jedra, kjer imajo namesto pazljivega ohranjanja območij in oblikovanja v najboljšem primeru prednost konfuzne trofejne zgradbe.

Ob vsem tem se človek sprašuje ali so težnje k podrejanju zgodovinsko pogojene. Tudi Home opaža, da je urbanistični načrt Skopja zapustil »*dediščino submisivne javne drže, ki je morda povezana s stoletji Otomanske nadvlade – in se kaže kot pričakovanje, da bo država s svojimi tehnokrati narekovala rešitve*«.

BS Kaj pa zgodovinske napake v odnosu do potresa?

YC Obnova Skopja je bila mednarodni projekt in se je odvijala kmalu po prvih posledicah krize zaradi strmoglavljenja letala z generalnim sekretarjem OZN v Kongu, v letih, ko je hladna vojna dosegla vrhunec. Leta 1963, ko se je v Skopju zgodil potres, je prišlo do kubanske raketne krize (grožnje z jedrsko vojno) in atentata na ameriškega predsednika Kennedyja. Med vsemi temi krizami in katastrofami pa so se konsolidirale pozitivno naravnane sile, ki so artikulirale nov optimizem in idealizem ter predstavljale priložnost za izgradnjo novega sistema vrednot. Skopje je postalo tako tesno povezano s pojmom solidarnost kot pozneje Pariz s študentsko revolucijo.

A tukaj prihaja do historične napake. Zdi se, so bili idealizem in možnosti, ki so se pojavile v šestdesetih - v času, ko si je postalo mogoče na novo zamisliti svet – kratkega diha in jih je kmalu nadomestila ideologija lokalno interpretiranega konformizma. To idejo je mogoče do neke mere razumeti kot poskus preloma z vrednotami modernizma brez popolnega soglasja o tem, v kateri smeri je treba nadaljevati. Danes nejasno ponovno artikulacijo zmagovalnega načrta razumemo kot odmik od modernistične tradicije in povratek k romantičnim tradicionalističnim težnjam in vrednotam, ki so jih nekoč povezovali s predkomunističnim obdobjem.

BS Ali je mogoče v toku izvajanja urbanističnega načrta zaznati prostorske lapsuse, ki so v mestu prisotni danes?

YC To je kakor potovanje v neznan kraj, dane in potem prelomljene obljube se pozabi. Skopje se zdi fragmentirano mesto, kraj, ki se je prepustil lastnemu »ustavljenemu razvoju«, ubadanju s kritiko neizpolnjene obljube in občasnemu uhajanju izpod nadzora … Rad imam to mesto v vsej sivi, z betonom utrjeni modernistični brutalnosti. V bledem odsevu možnosti je nekaj veličastnega.

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Ko so v šestdesetih letih otrokom iz Skopja, pričam tragedije ob potresu, naročili, naj pišejo na temo »Pomemben dogodek v življenju mojega mesta«, jih je 80 odstotkov raje kot potres izbralo urbanistični načrt.

Projekt Master Plan bi lahko razumeli kot obravnavo te ideološke napake. V Skopju bosta vedno vzporedno obstajali zamišljeno in realizirano, zaznati je mogoče neposredno nevarnost pozabljenja obljube, ki jo predstavlja obnova zamišljenega kot sistema kompleksnih odnosov, ki prispevajo k enoviti celoti. Zgodba urbanističnega načrta tako postane zgodba mnogoterih zgrešenih konceptov, priložnost sledenja viziji izvirnega načrta brez primere, namesto katere je bil izbran neroden prevod, in reakcija na urbanistično mojstrovino.

Obskurni viri, lapsusi v intervjuju
Yane Calovski

A: Vsaka zgodba potrebuje razširjanje. To velja, če verjamemo
v jezik, če prebiramo zidove okoli nas, prostore skozi katere
se premikamo, sporočila, ki se premikajo skozi nas in nas
nagovarjajo.

B: **»Pišem, a ne zapišem vsega.« (Hanne Darboven)**

A: Kako lahko vse skupaj sestavimo in kako pregledamo nastalo
škodo? Kako razpletemo zmešnjavo? Kako vzamemo nazaj izraz
»populraen« ali razločimo med popularnim in »privlačnim za
množice« pa med popularnim ter »ljudskim« ter tistim za in od
»ljudi«?

B: **Napaka kot oblika propada, odigravanje procesa izbrisa. Mnogo
reči ostaja nezapisanih, nedokumentiranih, razpršenih, ukrad-
enih, razdrtih, poškodovanih in zmaličenih.**

A: Zakaj delamo napake? Umrli bomo, če jih bomo delali prepog-
osto, prezgodaj.

B: **Morda zato, da bi ušli revoluciji. Ali zato, da bi se ji pridružili.**

A: Dobiva se v parku, pogovarjala se bova o drsenju, nezgodah,
postopnem padanju, deviaciji, pokončnosti, zaključku, privi-
legijih, zanemarjanju, degeneraciji …

B: **… filmskih festivalih, starinski pornografiji, obrabljeni
Ameriki, filmski glasbi, trans agresivnosti, ribolovu, potencialu
šokiranja, dobrih pogodbah, velikih zbirkah, neodvisnosti,
hudičevih advokatih, varovancih …**

A: Ampak kdo, kaj? Počakaj …

B: **Telo je določilo.**

A: Ampak kaj, komu, kdaj?

B: **To, kar je mogoče ustaviti, raniti, vsebovati, izpostaviti, skriti,
hraniti, ubiti ali česar se je mogoče polastiti.**

A: Ali lahko zares vplivamo na način lastnega poročanja o stvar-
nosti? Kakršna bi morala biti, kakršna bi naj bila, pa ni?

B: **Druga dimenzija.**

A: Ne sledim ti.

B: **Družbena, gospodarska, politična tranzicija brez konca.
Otopela za novice. Z madeži, ki jih ne moremo oprati.
Zastrupljeni smo.**

A: Vedno mi je bil ljubši Stalin.

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med A in B
*navdahnjeno
od* Sander in
Hunt, v *Valdez:
Anthology of
Revolutions*,
Centre d'Edition
Contemporaine,
Genève, str.
62–67; 2004.

Bilo je nekoč
leta 1964.
Japonski
arhitekt in
njegova žena
sta prispela v
Skopje, kjer ju
je na letališču
pričakal mlad
makedonski
urbanist (član
mednarodne
skupine za
obnovo mesta
pod okriljem
OZN). Odpeljali
so se v središče
mesta in se
pred urad-
nimi srečanji
odpravili na
dolg sprehod po
mestu. Hodili so
in žena je sledila
možu na razdalji
kakih desetih
metrov. »Pri nas
je to ustaljena
navada«
je pojasnil
Japonec.
Potem je dodal:
»Hodi za
menoj in opazi
vse, kar sam
spregledam.«
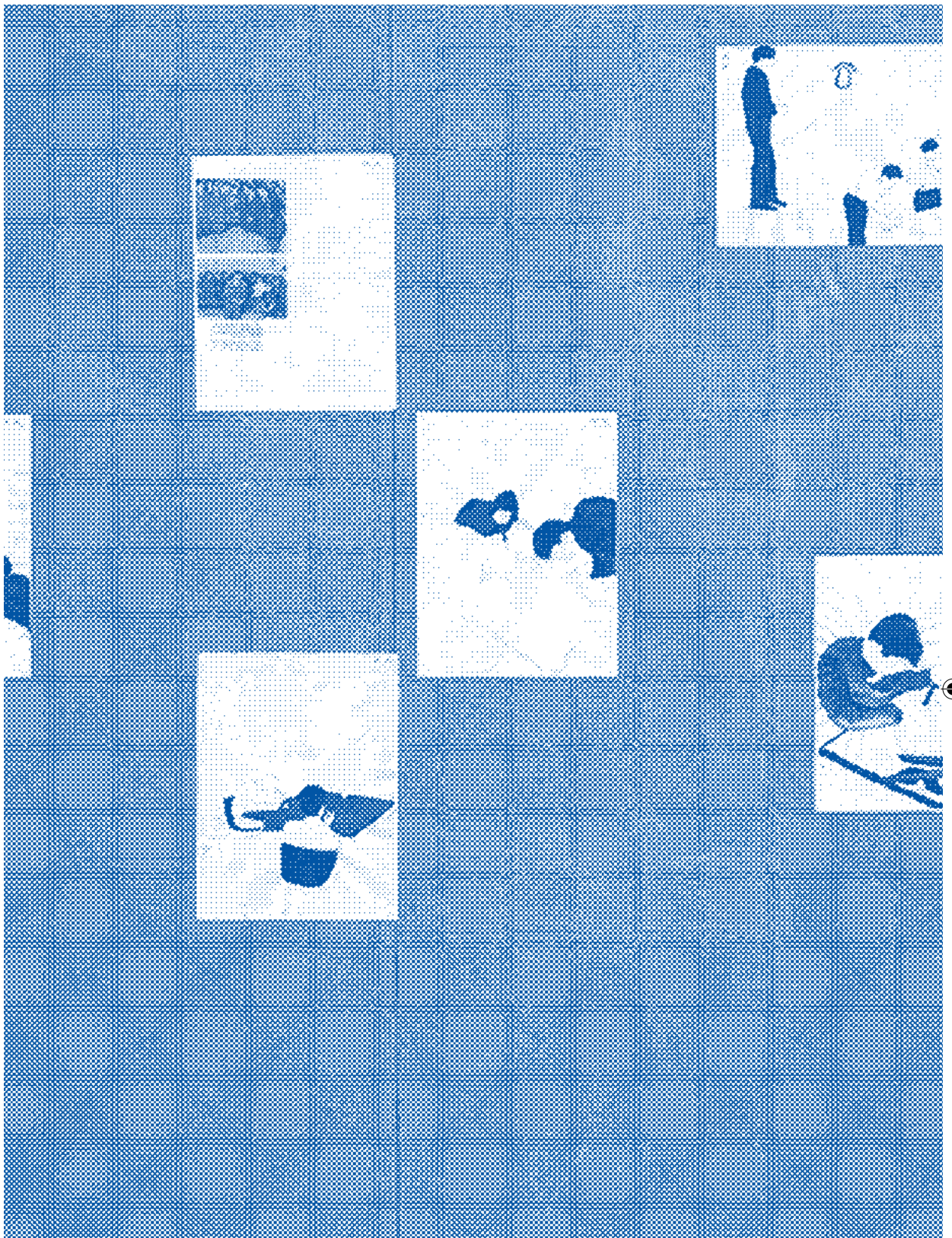
MASTER PLAN

Yane Calovski

Authors note:
This entry to the Reader is comprised of material that has appeared in the artist book "Master Plan" by Yane Calovski conceptualized to accompany the installation with the same title commissioned and produced for the exhibition "The Rest of Now" curated by Raqs Media Collective as part of European Biennial of Contemporary Art - Manifesta 7 held in South Tyrol, Italy, July – November, 2008; and also in the "Book 3" of the edition of publications edited by Basak Senova for the Pavilion of Turkey for the 53rd Biennale de Venezia, 2009.

Introduction:
Basak Senova on MASTER PLAN (2008)

The research project "Master Plan" (2008) started with an incentive to look closely at the unfulfilled plan for the design and development of Skopje's master plan designed by Kenzo Tange and his associates following the 1963 earthquake that destroyed the city. Yane Calovski's initial interest was in the design's late modernist tradition, which can be analyzed in the development of the master plan, the hypothetical and the actual scenarios.

Considering the fact that "Master Plan" is a work in progress, Calovski envisioned a longer period of research by probing into various archives, including The Archive of the City of Skopje, The National Archive of the Republic of Macedonia, and The Architects Association Archive, and other official and private collections. Therefore, the work contains diverse segments of the materials collected and produced over the course of various planning phases within the reconstruction process.

In order to understand the significance of Kenzo Tange's master plan for the city of Skopje, Calovski began a process of the master plan's re-documentation and started to analyze private archives. Yet, the results lead to a realization that Kenzo Tange's winning plan was, at first, highly celebrated and then fully denied.

**Yane Calovski
Kenzo Tange's proposal**

The main conception of this entry is based upon: (a) a contrast between the inner city core and the rest of the City Centre; (b) an intimate treatment of the inner core and its strong framing by large residential buildings which form city wall; (c) an imposing building group with transportation loop symbolizing the main city gate and located on the east-west axis of the central urban composition; (d) an integration of the left and right banks of the Vardar by their development with public buildings, shops, bridges and pedestrian squares and platforms; (e) the incorporation of Kale Hill into the composition of the centre; (f) an emphasis of the heritage of the Charshija complex by surrounding structures of a contrasting scale.

The solution involving the concentration of traffic movement along one cross route instead of by means of a cultural system merits attention, but doubts are expressed as to whether such a concentration at one entry point is desirable. Within of the core of the city the majority of existing roads are maintained, but elsewhere several roads where many buildings exist at present are eliminated. The road of the right bank of the Vardar river reduces the value of the pedestrian connection between the two banks. Pedestrian movement generally, however, is well developed on a multilevel basis and allows the more important areas and buildings within the City Centre to be linked together.

The solution of the underground railway facilities is neither convincing nor justified from an economic standpoint, particularly as it involves a crossing under the river and there are difficulties resulting from the water-table and the seismic properties of the soil.

The proposal to shift the northern highway and to use an open cut instead of a tunnel for the highway at Kale deserves detailed study.

The distribution of the main functions of the City Centre along the axis of its core is skillfully handled in design and scale but the location of the University limits the possibilities of its expansion and does not take into account the existing facilities.

The "city gate" is excessive in scale in relation to the city. The concentration of functions in this group would give rise to the generation of intense traffic volumes.

New cultural facilities and monuments are well sited and integrated into the plan in a convincing manner. Some of the historic monuments are not given an appropriate treatment by the adjacent development proposed, as in the case of the area around the Clock Tower. The tall blocks on the north bank are out of sympathy with the valley formation between Kale Hill and Gazi Baba.

The architectural interpretation of the larger structures and the planning and design of the urban ensembles are of high quality. Less acceptable are the size of some of those imposing features as for instance the University, the Central Committee of the League of Communists, the Assembly and the "city gate" complex.

The proposal includes large open spaces around the centre which involve the destruction of important housing and industrial areas. Within the inner core of the city, however, most of the existing buildings have been preserved. This entry has dealt with many aspects of the plan in a serious, original and inspired way. It merits particular acknowledgement.

Master Plan

Taking into account that the mid-60s were a time of social and political prosperity of the Yugoslav model of idealism, where Tito's ideology of strengthening the distinctiveness of individual nationalities was fully applied, the Skopje Urban Plan Project was a chance for the international community to become aware of the distinctiveness of the Macedonian national identity and especially of Skopje, "a functioning urban organism that was for the moment dead on its feet". The United Nations Special Fund, as well as the architects invited on the project, were able to navigate themselves through the intricate social and ideological relationships existing among the citizens of Skopje, their use and appropriation of space, history, modernity, as well as the potential for the future development of the idea of "society of citizens and forms". While Tange's entry presented the basis of a "stage development plan", in the immediate years that followed the city officials and the local team of experts that worked on the master plan changed and distorted the plan beyond the author's recognition.

The story of the Skopje Urban Plan Project is long and complex, and has been analyzed, discussed, observed and interpreted by art and architecture historians, architects, artists, urban planners, sociologists, environmentalists, politicians, and students over the years, with everyone always searching for a clue as to what went on and what went wrong. The mystery of how we ended up with an unremarkable result after so much international input and solidarity has inspired a great number of hypotheses and scenarios.

Contemporary Skopje could be seen as a result of a series of political decisions that had nothing to do with the architectural vision of Kenzo Tange, Skopje today, if anything, is an arena for the continuing power struggle among the local and national political entities. The value of intimate treatment of the inner city core, the integration of the left and the right banks of the Vardar river, the incorporation of the historic structures in the post-modernist tradition as suggested in the model by Tange, has been replaced by ideas that are neither convincing nor justified by any other standard than the standard of those on power. Yet sadly, the average citizen of Skopje could still be heard blaming that "Japanese" driven by ambition, who had mistaken a city for a video game.

Detecting Lapses

A short interview with Yane Calovski on Lapses through the Master Plan

Basak Senova: How do you define the notion of "lapse" in your work?
Yane Calovski: "Master Plan" plays with the idea of lapse in the sense of reverting history unconditionally back towards itself, to look at what has been celebrated in neglect. The various intervals of lapsed time between the past and the present in the process of understanding the gradual failure to preserve, maintain, and renew the legacy of one of the most experimental of times for architecture and urban planning in Macedonia but also in the Balkans, were an interesting denominator upon which one can navigate the discontinuity in logic of liner narration.

BS How do you read the Master Plan itself in relation to the current expectation of the city of Skopje?
YC Tange envision the city as a Mediterranean hub, friendly to its inhabitants. The main medium in his proposal is the water, the river. The movement was designed to take place on either side of the river Vardar with numerous bridges connecting the two riverbanks. His design articulates the co-existence of mega structures linked to the idea of symbols ("City Wall", "City Door", etc.). The clear delineation of areas ("centers with the center" – e.g. The City Wall, The Republican Center, The Cultural Center, The Main Square, The University Center, The Business Center and The Transportation Center) is what constitutes the Master Plan. The biggest discrepancy in what was planned in the 60s and what was achieved over the next twenty years is visible in the general organization of Skopje today. Maybe some 20 percent of the envisioned is articulated (The City Wall and The Transportation Center). The main aspects of disenfranchising the original plan with the reality of the executed are the numerous influences in the design of the final Master Plan, the hastening of the construction of unfinished design concepts within the final Master Plan and the pragmatic negation of the overall conceptual discourse.

BS **In that case, could the Master Plan be considered as a projection detached from the realities of the city?**

YC In the view of Robert Home, Professor of Land Management at Anglia Ruskin University, the Master Plan is a *"creature of its time"* and the problem is in the fact that the city was*"* designed by architect-planners of the modern movement, who were "confident in their role of remaking the postwar world" and who worked with "the state rather than with the people", thus limiting public participation in the process. The lack of public discourse is evident today, as the city feels abused by a new neo-liberal agenda of politicians who abuse their position in manifesting ideas that have little or nothing to do with responsible urban development. In Skopje one sees the continual disappearance of public space, the persistent process of erasure of the idea of the *agora*, of the public forum, and manifestations of politically potent architecture that borderlines bad taste and provincial attitude. This becomes obvious in the way the most central urban space is treated, where priority is given to, at best, confusing trophy buildings rather than careful area conservation and design.

One wonders is this tendency of public submissiveness has something of a historical context. Even Home observes that the Master Plan left *"a legacy of submissive public attitudes, possibly linked to centuries of Ottoman subjugation - an expectation that the state and its technocrats would dictate solutions."*

BS **How about possible historical lapses in relation to the earthquake?**

YC The rebuilding of Skopje was an international project-taking place right after the aftermath of the Congo crisis (when its United Nations Secretary-General died in a plane crash) and with the Cold War at its height. Furthermore, 1963, the year of the earthquake was the year of the Cuban missile crisis (threatening nuclear destruction) and the assassination of President Kennedy. Amid crises and disasters there was a consolidation of positive forces articulating a newfound optimism and idealism, an opportunity to build a new system of values. Skopje became associated with international solidarity as Paris became later associated with the student revolution.

Yet, there is a historical lapse. It seems that the idealism and the possibility in the 60's - a time when things could be imagined anew - were short lived and soon replaced by ideology of locally interpreted conformism. This notion to some degree can be seen as an attempt towards disassociation with the values of late modernism without fully agreeing which way to go. But today we understand the confusing rearticulating of the winning design as a move toward devaluation of modernist traditions and a return to romantic notions of traditionalism and the values once associated with the pre-communist era.

BS **In the course of the Master Plan, is it possible to detect spatial lapses in the city today?**

YC It is like travelling to an unfamiliar place, forgetting promises made and then undone. Skopje seems to be a fragmentary city, a place that has surrendered itself to its own "arrested development", dealing with the criticism of an unfulfilled promise, and at times spiraling out of control...I love the city in all of its gray, concrete-reinforced late modernist brutality. There is a sense of glory associated with its pale reflection of possibility.

One can argue that the Master Plan speaks of this ideological lapse. The imagined the realized are forever going to run parallel in Skopje, and one can sense the immediate danger of forgetting the promise made in the reconstruction of the envisioned city as a system of complex relations attributing to a unified whole. The story of the Master Plan thus becomes a story of multiple misconceptions, an unprecedented opportunity to follow through the vision of the original plan, but instead, opting to become a clumsy translation and a reaction to mastery in urban planning.

When Skopje schoolchildren, who bared witness to the tragedy of the earthquake, were asked in the 1960s to write an essay on 'A major event in the life of my town', 80% chose to write about the Master Plan rather than the earthquake.

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Obscure references, interview lapsing
by Yane Calovski

between A and B
inspired by Sander and Hunt, in
Valdez: Anthology of Revolutions,
Centre d'Edition Contemporaine,
Genève, p. 62-67; 2004.

A: Every story requires some kind of proliferation. This is true if we believe in language, if we read the walls around us, the spaces that we move through, the messages that move through us, address us.

B: **"I write, but I don't write anything." (Hanne Darboven)**

A: How do we put it all together and how do we look at the damage done? How do we untangle the mess? How do we take back the term "popular", distinguish between popular as 'widely appealing' and popular as 'of, for and by "the people"'?

B: **Lapsing as some form of decline, a downplayed process of erasure. There is much which remains unwritten, undocumented, scattered, stolen, disrupted, damaged, disfigured.**

A: Why do we lapse? We will die if we lapse too often, too soon.

B: **Maybe to escape the revolution. Or to join the revolution.**

A: Meet me at the park we will talk about gliding, slipping, gradually falling, deviation, rectitude, termination, privilege, neglect, devolution...

B: **...film festivals, retro porn, shabby bicoastal, sound tracks, trans aggression, fishing, shock value, good contracts, big collections, independence, devils advocators, protégé...**

A: But who, what? Wait...

B: **The body defined.**

A: But what, by whom, when?

B: **That which can be stopped, wounded, contained, exposed, hidden, usurped, nourished, or killed.**

A: Can we actually influence the way we report on reality? How it out to be, how it should be but it is not?

B: **The other dimension.**

A: I don't follow you.

B: **Social, economic, political transition that never ends. Numb to news. Stains we cannot wash off. We are poisoned.**

A: I've always preferred Stalin.

It was some time in 1964. The Japanese architect and his wife arrived in Skopje and were meeting at the airport by a young Macedonian urban planner (a member of the international UN lead team of the reconstruction of the city). They drove into the center and stopped for an uninterrupted walk through the city before meeting the officials. As they walked, the wife followed the man some ten meters behind. "It is our tradition and custom," explained the Japanese. He then added, "Walking behind me, she notices everything I miss."

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Javni prostor na vlaku za Disneyland

Aleksandar Bobić

IZVLEČEK

Globalne spremembe ekonomskih odnosov, pogojene s post-industrijsko dobo in z vzpostavljanjem korporativne kulture ter imperativov potrošniškega načina življenja, niso vplivale zgolj na življenje posameznikov, ampak so ponovno definirale tudi odnose v javni sferi in javnem prostoru, ki si ju prisvaja korporativna kutura. Z uporabo sodobnih tehnologij se je korporativno delovanje iz tovarniških hal preselilo v domeno medijev, kulture, umetnosti in medmrežja – javni prostor delovanja, ki postane sredstvo za kopičenje kapitala. Posledično so v kontekstu fizičnega odprti javni prostori prvič v zgodovini postali predmet resne obravnave kot način razporejanja dobrin in storitev. Tako je odprti javni prostor postal skonstruiran poligon za investicije zasebnega kapitala in interesov, prenatrpana turistična destinacija, poligon za zabavo, trženje in ustvarjanje potrošniškega načina življenja. Prav ta razčlovečeni javni prostor, kjer je javni interes odrinjen na obrobje in kjer zasebni interesi vzpostavljajo nadzor in diskriminacijska pravila, jezik in vedenja predstavljajo osrednje »bojišče« za preživetje svobodnih mest in urbanega načina življenja.

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Namesto uvoda

»Nekega dne je Walt Disney dobil vizijo. Zamislil si je prostor, kjer bi se lahko otroci zabavali s svojimi starši. Bolj ko je Walt sanjal o »čarobnem parku«, bolj domišljen in dodelan je postajal.« Ali je naša usoda res na poti v Disneyland?

Resnična ali navidezna resničnost

Disneyland in Disneyjev svet nista samo najbolj znana javna prostora druge polovice dvajsetega stoletja, ampak tudi konceptualna osnova za današnje družbene vrednote, ki uokvirjajo življenje sodobnih ljudi in ga postavljajo v kontekst. Disneyjevo podjetje je uvedlo revolucijo in vzpostavilo temelje za gospodarstvo tehnologije in zabave. Disneyjevi tematski parki se dvigajo nad etnične, razredne in regionalne identitete, v zameno pa ponujajo nacionalno javno kulturo, osnovano na *estetizaciji razlik in nadziranju strahu.* Disneyjev svet je ustvaril način nastanka neizogibnega, alter ega sodobnih zahodnih družb in kolektivnih fantazij, iz katerih izvirajo številni miti, na katerih sloni sodobna družba.

Splošno znana je domneva, da je, prej kot kultura, osrednja gonilna sila gospodarstva proizvodnja. Toda koncept Disneyjevega sveta zabave se naslanja na *obsežno delovno silo in rastoče omrežje materialnih virov.* To je gotovo spodbudilo urbani razvoj mest ter predramilo upanje, da je mogoče ustvariti drugačen svet. Vizualna

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koherentnost Disneyjevih tematskih parkov bo ustvarila javno kulturo in varnost, ki ju svet še ni poznal. Tako bo idealen svet brez orožja, brez-domcev, drog in vidnih znakov političnih avtoritet postal iluzorna realnost v Disneyjevem svetu do točke, ko bo močno vplival na sodobno družbo kot osnovni model, prototip odnosov, ki predstavljajo temelj vseh dominantnih gibanj v razvoju ter revitalizaciji sodobnih mest.

»*Nekega dne je Walt Disney dobil vizijo. Zamislil si je prostor, kjer bi se lahko otroci zabavali s svojimi starši. Bolj ko je Walt sanjal o »čarobnem parku«, bolj domišljen in dodelan je postajal.*« Ali je naša usoda res na poti v Disneyland?

Resnična ali navidezna resničnost

Disneyland in Disneyjev svet nista samo najbolj znana javna prostora druge polovice dvajsetega stoletja, ampak tudi konceptualna osnova za današnje družbene vrednote, ki uokvirjajo življenje sodobnih ljudi in ga postavljajo v kontekst. Disneyjevo podjetje je uvedlo revolucijo in vzpostavilo temelje za gospodarstvo tehnologije in zabave. Disneyjevi tematski parki se dvigajo nad etnične, razredne in regionalne identitete, v zameno pa ponujajo nacionalno javno kulturo, osnovano na *estetizaciji razlik in nadziranju strahu.* Disneyjev svet je ustvaril način nastanka neizogibnega, alter ega sodobnih zahodnih družb in kolektivnih fantazij, iz katerih izvirajo številni miti, na katerih sloni sodobna družba.

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Atmosfera Disneyjevega sveta, utemeljena na kompleksnem fizičnem okolju, tehnologiji in storitvah, na uporabnika deluje kot opij, tako da ustvarja iluzijo, da je mogoče ustvariti resničen svet, v katerem bo neizbežno prisoten Disneyjev zabavni svet. V skladu s tem zabaviščni parki različnim populacijam (od turistov do delovne sile, ki jih upravlja) ponujajo samo en tip iluzije – zablode - prevare - da se počutijo dobro samo zaradi tega, ker so natančno tam, obenem pa pošilja močno in jasno sporočilo, ki ga lahko razumemo samo kot lažno alternativo in zavetje za sodobnega človeka. Ta očitno hibridni svet pred-stavlja nekraj, prostor izvzet iz fizičnega in družbenega konteksta, antigeograf-ski prostor, nekaj, kar je samozadostno, kar je možno serijsko reproducirati ne samo v fizičnem smislu, ampak tudi, kar se tiče vsebine. Po drugi strani je Disneyjev svet fascinanten s svojo idealizacijo urbanega javnega prostora kot zadeve, osnovane na vizualni kulturi, varnosti in zasebnem upravljanju. To pomeni, da dobro urejen in vzdrževan javni prostor mesta brez brezdomcev in kriminala, z visoko estetiziranim okoljem predstavlja nove zahteve, ki jih je na novo vzpostavljena korporativna kultura vsilila mestnim oblastem. Lokalne

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oblasti, posebno v velikih mestih, nimajo možnosti, da bi dosegle tako visoke standarde, zato ustvarjajo predpogoje za vzpostavljanje partnerstva med javnim in zasebnim sektorjem kot podjetja za izboljšanje okolja (BID, *Business Improvement District*). Ta podjetja temeljijo na Disneyjevi izkušnji z vzpostavljanjem sinergije med različnimi investitorji, ki je bila model ustvarjanja novih ekonomskih odnosov, utemeljenih v ekonomiji medijev, nepremičnin in vizualne umetnosti v javnem prostoru. Ne glede na to, da gre za navidezno realnost, za iluzijo, je Disneyjev svet na novo definiral stare in ustvaril nove odnose znotraj urbanizma in upravljanja, sprva v ZDA in Evropi, kasneje pa po vsem kapitalističnem svetu.

Prvinska potreba človeka po skupnosti in stremljenje h kvaliteti in visokem položaju sta osnovni zahtevi globalne korporativne kulture, ki na sodobno družbo deluje kot opij in vzbuja iluzijo s tematskimi parki, kot so verige nakupovalnih središč. Ob zavedanju, da je nov simbol srečevanja in zbiranja trgovanje, zasebne korporacije ustvarjajo različne prostore za »javno rabo«, kot so atriji, plaze in dvorane s številnimi umetninami in razstavami ter družbenimi in trgovskimi storitvami. V skladu s tem bo pojavnost Disneyjevega sveta, kjer se javnost sreča s trgovanjem, postala osnovni in osrednji model zasebnih korporacij pri urbanističnem razvoju sodobnih mest, da bi tako zadovoljil naraščajoče potrebe korporativne kulture.

Resnična resničnost – *podjetja za izboljšanje okolja (BID)*

Ideja podjetij za izboljšanje okolja se je porodila v začetku šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, najprej v Kanadi in ZDA, pozneje pa se je praksa razširila še v Veliko Britanijo in Evropo. Praksa je najbolj razvita v strogo tržno naravnanih državah. V ZDA se BID ustvarjajo v mestih s približno 100.000 prebivalci, pri čemer ima več kot 25 odstotkov mest z BID več kot 700.000 prebivalcev. V ZDA obstajajo različno velika BID, največja obsegajo prostor 300 ulic in imajo več kot 150 zaposlenih za poln delovni čas. Struktura BID v ZDA je naslednja: 61 odstotkov sestavljajo neprofitne organizacije, 13 odstotkov javni sektor, 26 odstotkov pa sektor javno-privatnega partnerstva. V odvisnosti od velikosti mesta in števila ulic v sklopu BID se njihov proračun giblje med 8000 in več kot 15 milijoni dolarjev, v povprečju pa znaša okoli 200.000 dolarjev.

Osnovne vidike delovanja BID lahko pregledamo skozi promocijo »čistega in varnega«, skozi lobiranje na ravni lokalne politike. V tem smislu in sodeč po nekaterih indeksih več kot 75 odstotkov vseh BID spodbuja potrošništvo (organizira različne dogodke in oglaševanje prodajnih izdelkov), 50 odstotkov pa jih investira v urbano opremo in zelenje, torej v vzdrževanje, ter lobira pri lokalnih politikih in spodbuja javno politiko v lokalni skupnosti. Še najmanj se BID ukvarjajo s socialnimi dejavnostmi (približno šest odstotkov) kot so skrb za brezdomce, mladinski centri, razna usposabljanja.

Največje in najbolj kompleksno omrežje BID v ZDA se je razvilo v New Yorku (*Alliance for Downtown New York*), kjer trenutno deluje več kot 60 organiziranih BID s skupnim letnim proračunom, ki presega 80 milijonov dolarjev in več kot 70.000 podjetniki, ki delujejo v petih mestnih četrtih (*Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens and Staten Island*). Gotovo je eden od najbolj znanih BID v New Yorku trg Times Square, najbolj poznan kraj in javni

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prostor na svetu. Preobrazba se je na Times Squaru začela v zgodnjih sedem-desetih letih prejšnjega stoletja in se nadaljuje vse do danes. V preteklem obdobju so poceni restavracije, majhna podjetja in nizke stavbe nadomestile tematske restavracije, televizijski studii, hoteli in prostori zabave. Veliki zasloni iz tekočih kristalov in diod ter trgovine sodobnih blagovnih znamk in do podrobnosti načrtovana podoba so prispevali k temu, da je Times Square postal najbolj zaželen turistični cilj na svetu, ki jo vsak dan obiščejo milijoni ljudi. Preobrazba trga je bila izvedena s kombinacijo načrtovanja in spre-memb določenih predpisov, ki zadevajo javni prostor. Po vzoru Disneyjevega koncepta se je novi Times Square izoblikoval kot prototip korporativne kulture in novo branje mesta, ki bo sčasoma postalo svetovna ikona, pooosebljenje sodobnega ameriškega mesta. Ni naključje, da v tem največjem Disneyjevem svetu do danes stoji tudi studio Disney kot ena od vodilnih megakorporacij v celotni četrti. Poleg Disneya imajo pomemben vpliv na novem trgu Times Square televizijske mreže ABC, ESPN Zone, MTV, NBC in Viacom, ki so tudi največji lastniki zunanjih oglasnih prostorov.

Preobraženi novi Times Square je razen novih pravil vzpostavil tudi »novo« moralo, ki ni usmerjena k družinskemu in prijateljskemu psevdookolju, ampak je, prav nasprotno, postala prostor podob, ki izkoriščajo ženska telesa, in besedil z elementi nasilja. Preobrazba ni prinesla nove kakovosti za lokalno skupnost, javni interes je podrejen interesu velikega kapitala. Disneylandizacija, prihod velikih korporacij in ustvarjanje javnega prostora kot spektakel z namenom pritegniti čim več turistov in potrošnikov z ekskluz-ivno prednostjo korporacij brez ozira za osnovne principe ustvarjanja boljšega in varnejšega javnega prostora in z maksimalno uporabo umetnosti v javnem prostoru so povzročili opustošenje javne sfere. Komercializacija javnega prostora je neizbežno privedla do neformalne privatizacije, ki je povzročila razslojevanje javne sfere glede na ekonomski položaj posameznika. Tudi ideja *varnega in čistega* ne zgolj v smislu formalnih fizičnih lastnosti, ampak tudi v smislu uporabnikov uvaja diskriminacijo brezdomcev ter vseh potencialno sumljivih na kakršenkoli način, ki skoraj nikdar niso belci. Tako je na novem Times Squar-u po posredovanju BID in uvedbi posebnih pravil, ki jih izvajajo posebne zasebne varnostne službe, na voljo »sladko in udobno« življenje v izoliranem Disneyjevem svetu, ki pa je na voljo le višjim družbenim razredom.

Značilnost ZDA in še posebno New Yorka so javni prostori v zasebni lasti (*Privately Owned Public Spaces - POPS*), torej privatna lastnina prepuščena javni rabi, a pod določenimi pogoji in pravili, ki jih določa lastnik (nič nenavadnega ni, če imajo tako prostori odpiralni čas ali vanje ni dovoljeno pripeljati psa ali prinesti vrečke …). Na podlagi urbanističnega načrta (Zoning Resolution iz leta 1961) je investitorjem dejansko dovoljeno zgraditi dodatne prostore, če najprej na svoji zemlji ustvarijo in omogočijo uporabo javnega prostora. V prejšnjem obdobju je bilo ustvarjenih več kot 500 javnih prostorov na več kot 30 hektarjih površin z različnimi strukturami (arkade, plaze, parki, trgi in podobno), kar je omogočilo gradnjo več kot 300 zgradb. Profesor *Jerold S. Kayden* s Harvarda je v obsežni raziskavi, pri kateri so sodelovale mestne institucije in umetniška združenja, ugotovil, da je 41 odstotkov POPS v rabi le občasno, 16 odstotkov je v aktivni rabi kot prostor srečevanja in zbirališče

sosedov, 21 odstotkov kot prostor za počitek in oddih, 18 odstotkov zgolj kot pasaža, kjer se ljudje ne ustavljajo, 4 odstotke pa jih prenavljajo in na novo opremljajo. Gotovo so POPS neposredno povezani s stimulacijo prostorske conacije, z drugimi besedami, z BID, ki pogosteje delujejo v korist dobička korporacij kot v smeri izboljšanja javne sfere.

Različni primeri ravnanja z javnim prostorom so opazni v primeru BID-ov Madison Avenue, **Union Square, Columbus/Amsterdam in Bryant Park. Na območju omenjenih okrožij je neposredna korporativna eksploatacija manj prisotna in se manifestira drugače kot v primeru trga Times Square. V tem smislu je mogoče identificirati različne javne dogodke in dejavnosti v javnem prostoru, ki posledično vodijo v izboljšanje javne sfere in kvaliteto življenja. Seveda je, kot v vsakem BID, stopnja spontane javne aktivnosti, ki se kaže v prisotnosti grafitov in druge javne umetnosti v prostorskem in socialnem kontekstu, reducirana na najnižjo stopnjo in narejena za nevidno, da bi se ohranil ideal *čistosti*. Javno umetnost tukaj nadomeščajo umetniška dela v javnem prostoru, ki so najpogosteje v kontekstu kapitala – investitorjev in izpolnjujejo muhaste zahteve korporativne kulture, ki dojema javni prostor na sebi všečen način, in ne takega, kakršen je.**

V ZDA tudi javni sektor k javni sferi in opremljanju javnih prostorov ne pristopa nič drugače, posebno kadar gre za javne prostore pred državnimi stavbami in sedeži javne uprave. Najboljši primeri tega so Federal Plaza z ukrivljenim lokom (*Tilted Arc,* 1981 - 89), projektom znanega umetnika Richarda Serre, ki je leta 1979 predlagal novo definicijo javnega prostora in življenja. Serra je v skladu z lastnim predlogom sledil specifiki fizičnega pros- tora in naravnega okolja, upošteval pa je tudi političen in družbeni pomen tega prostora. Tak koncept lahko označimo za demokratičen prostor, kjer se godi demokracija. Osem let po premiku ukrivljenega loka je krajinska arhitektka Martha Schwartz predlagala in izvedla novo rešitev za trg Federal Plaza, s katero je povsem preuredila javni prostor. Z novo postmodernistično podobo trg ni dobil samo novega imena, *Jacob Javits Plaza*, ampak je tudi zadovoljil zahteve vseh vladnih sektorjev v smislu varnosti in nadzora nad uporabniki z uvedbo povsem novega jezika in pravil, ki niso daleč od filozofije Disneyjevega sveta. Z uporabo umetnosti je projekt uspel vsiliti restriktivno rabo prostora v nasprotju z ukrivljenim lokom Richarda Serre, skupaj s krajinsko arhitek- turo pa ponuja prijazen in neizzivalen ambient, ki pa kljub vsemu ni uspel vzpostaviti poprejšnje kakovosti in zadovoljiti visokih zahtev javne sfere v odnosu do javnega mestnega prostora.

Javna kritika in dialog o tej temi sta posledica redefiniranja položaja posameznika znotraj demokratične javne sfere v skladu z vzpostavljenimi pravili in odnosi, ki jih ustvarjata in vsiljujeta korporativna kultura in sfera zasebnega kapitala. Najpogosteje so predstavniki/zagovorniki javne sfere na tem področju nevladni sektor, akademska sfera, v nekaterih primerih pa tudi neodvisne javne institucije in službe. V takih situacijah je zasebni interes, ki je na absurden in logičen način tesno povezan z lokalno oblastjo in politiko, pogosto uporabljen za doseganje ciljev, pridobivanje podpore nevladnega sektorja kot dokazanega pooblaščenca javne sfere z naviznim vključevanjem v proces sprejemanja odločitev, z drugimi besedami, gre za

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posvetovanje z namenom pridobivanja podpore javnosti za realizacijo lastnih interesov, preden te potrdi politika. Tovrstno organiziranje javnega sektorja s pomočjo perfidnega skrivanja za nevladnim sektorjem jasno priča o pripravljenosti kapitala, da za zaščito lastnih interesov uporabi vsa možna sredstva. Po drugi strani obstajajo nekatere svetovno znane organizacije, kot so Projekt za javni prostor (*Project for Public Space – PPS*), znane kot veliki kritiki sodobnih oblikovanih javnih prostorov in podporniki ideje socialnosti, udobja in podobe javnega prostora, ki jo je mogoče ustvariti z uporabo koncepta PPS, znanega pod imenom »petunia«, za katerim se skrivajo različne komercialne vsebine (predvsem storitve), ki delujejo kot generator socialnosti, hkrati pa tudi kot ločevalni dejavniki na ekonomski ravni. Tako se sčasoma izgublja osnovna vloga javnega prostora kot kraja kamor lahko pridemo javno ali ga uporabljamo kot posamezniki ali kot skupnost in ga lahko prosto uporabljamo ne glede na svoj socialni in ekonomski položaj. Tako vlogo javnega prostora nadomešča nova vloga prostora možne diskriminacije na podlagi ekonomskega ali socialnega položaja; v skladu s tem je javni prostor postal osnovna učinkovita dobrina, orodje oziroma orožje rasti zasebnega kapitala. V tem smislu so za ustvarjanje navidezne filantropije in dobrobiti vseh uporabljena vsa sredstva, potencialnim uporabnikom je na voljo cenena zabava in ekskluziven videz javnega prostora vprašljive umetniške vrednosti, vse z namenom očaranja oči in čutov za spodbujanje hitre uporabe kreditne kartice ali bankomata.

Resnično navidezno

Določene skupnosti ali skupine aktivistov, ki delujejo na področju kulture, umetnosti in okolja, dokazujejo, da so mesta obdržala vlogo inovativnih krajev, kjer se kulturno življenje poraja z vidika kvalitete in odnosov ljudi do skupnosti in okolja. Eden od najočitnejših primerov bolj ali manj spontanega urbanega življenja, ki razglaša idejo svobode, demokracije, skrbi za družbo in naravo, je zagotovo skupnost Williamsburg iz vzhodnega dela Brooklyna v New Yorku.

Williamsburg zaznamuje močna umetniška skupnost (več kot 3000 ljudi), pretežno mlajša populacija, ki svojih vrednot ne deli s korporativno kulturo. Williamsburg je pravzaprav opuščeno industrijsko območje, ki so ga nato reciklirali v rezidence, kulturne in umetniške prostore. Umetniki so se v to okrožje priselili v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, priseljevanje se je nadaljevalo in stopnjevalo od devetdesetih let do danes. Nizke najemnine in ogromni prostori, primerni za ateljeje in galerije, ter dobre povezave z vzhodnim delom spodnjega Manhattna so razlogi za veliko priljubljenost in privlačnost okrožja. Nekoč je gentrifikacija prinesla visoko omikanost v Soho in East Village, danes pa se to dogaja v Williamsburgu. Znotraj ene večetnične skupnosti se je ustvarila sinergija, ki predstavlja alternativo komercialni sporočilnosti, katere fizično središče je na nasprotnem bregu. Williamsburg s svojim intelektualnim in mladim duhom ponuja odpor in distanco do sladkih korporativnih bonbonov za poneumljanje potrošnikov v okviru zabave in potrošništva, ki ju s trdo pestjo ponuja agresivni kapital v obliki urbanizma. Vsakdanje življenje ulice, nepopoln javni prostor, aktivizem na vsakem

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koraku in javna umetnost v obliki grafitov ali drugih kontekstualiziranih umetniških del so samo nekateri od elementov, ki pričajo o nas kot o ustvarjalnih, nepopolnih in šibkih bitjih, za katere ni prostora v Disneyjevem svetu. Kako zelo čarobna je javna sfera in življenje v Williamsburgu se pokaže ob primerjavi s pojavom »d*isneylandizacije*« tega okrožja pod rastočim pritiskom zasebnega kapitala in pobudami za gradnjo ekskluzivnih stanovanjskih sosesk ter komercialnih krajev. Splošno znana pobuda lastnikov majhnih podjetij za organizacijo in vpetost v BID bo zagotovo prinesla obsežne spremembe v delovanju in organizaciji območja in bo današnji način življenja v Williamsburgu najbrž odrinila v pozabo.

Ali je mogoče ustvariti in vzdrževati uspešen javni prostor tam, kjer javno življenje ustvarja trgovina? To na najboljši način prikazuje primer organizacije Reading Terminal Market v Filadelfiji. Neprofitna organizacija RTM združuje več kot 80 prodajaln v pokritem delu tržnice. To je najstarejša in najbolj znana tržnica v ZDA, ki izvira iz kolonialnega obdobja in neprekinjeno deluje od leta 1893. Tam je mogoče kupiti meso, ribe, zelenjavo, sadje, rože, knjige in oblačila, poleg tega pa tam poslujejo tudi številne restavracije z nacionalno kuhinjo. RTM predstavlja več kot 100 let spomina osebnih nakupov in nakupovanja znotraj skupnosti, saj ponudba zajema vse za vsakogar. Obilna ponudba blaga Amišev daje javni tržnici poseben pečat. RTM je kraj za zbiranje, nakupovanje sveže hrane, pogovore, odmore za kosilo, pa tudi pomembna turistična zanimivost. Konec tedna tržnico RTM obišče več kot 100.000 ljudi, kar jo uvršča med najbolj obiskane tržnice na svetu. Tako predstavlja pozitiven primer zasebne pobude usmerjene v izgradnjo skupnosti in kakovosti, ki nenehno ustvarja in izboljšuje ter plete tesne vezi, hkrati pa ima dolgo tradicijo ustvarjanja odnosov znotraj skupnosti in s skupnostjo.

Popolnoma drugačen kraj nekje med središčem in predmestjem Filadelfije je industrijski *Brownfield*, kjer je majhna skupina entuziastov ob koncu prejšnjega stoletja ustvarila kmetijo Greensgrow Farm. To neverjetno urbano kmetijo so ustvarili na površini ene ulice; na betonu in asfaltu so organizirali hidroponično pridelavo zelenjave in rož. Projekt ekološko in ekonomsko trajnostne pridelave podpira Koalicija soseske za urbano kmetijstvo (Neighbourhood Urban Agriculture Coalition) in Mestna podpora kmetijstvu (City Supported Agriculture). Kmetija Greensgrow Farm ne uporablja javnega omrežja oskrbe z vodo ali elektriko, ampak ju reciklira oziroma proizvaja za lastne potrebe. Tudi kmetijsko mehanizacijo in distribucijo pridelkov izvajajo s pomočjo biodizla, ki ga pridelujejo na kmetiji. Poleg aktivistov, ki tam delajo ves čas, je na kmetiji zaposlenih tudi veliko prostovoljcev iz soseščine in otrok, za katere so organizirani posebni izobraževalni programi. Ne preseneča, da je kmetija Greensgrow Farm ena od vodilnih na svojem področju v ZDA in da pogosto organizira seminarje in delavnice v ZDA in na tujem. Znana je po svojih pridelkih, poleg tega pa tudi po prodaji semen, kmetijskih in poljedeljskih proizvodov in dostavi zdrave hrane restavracijam v Filadelfiji. Kupovanje hrane na lokalnih kmetijah je smiselno zaradi številnih razlogov – je zdrava in kvalitetna, z nakupom podpiramo lokalne kmetovalce, razvoj skupnosti in večjo kakovost bivalnega okolja. Greensgrow Farm je klasičen primer zasebnega prostora in kapitala v službi skupnosti in soseske,

ki pošilja jasno sporočilo, da lahko tudi kopičenje kapitala služi dobrobiti ljudi. Na tak način zasebni kapital vzpostavlja marksističen model proizvodnje in razporejanja kapitala.

Sklep

»*Disneylandizacija*« trga Times Square predstavlja najboljši primer opuščanja mesta, kot ga poznamo oziroma smo ga poznali, in predstavlja resno grožnjo, da bo to prototip mesta prihodnosti. Pojava privatizacije in globalizacije brišeta družbeno in kulturno raznolikost, spomin nekega kraja in usode posameznika. Nedavni veliki dogodek v Pekingu je bil preizkus zmogljivosti ne zgolj v smislu arhitekture in gradbene tehnologije, ampak tudi političnih in gospodarskih zmožnosti. Dejstvo, da so zaradi izgradnje olimpijskih stadionov preselili na milijone ljudi ter uničili milijone spominov in usod, kaže, da je moč kapitala neomejena in neustavljiva. Nekaj podobnega se je zgodilo v Beogradu, ko se je mestna oblast zaradi Univerzijade čez noč odločila preseliti celotno romsko skupnost iz bližine športnih objektov. Razlaga, da želijo s posegom trajno rešiti problem težkih življenjskih razmer Romov, je prikrivala tipično rasno diskriminacijo, skrivanje »umazanih ciganov« kot jim pravijo, prebivalcev Beograda, ki se borijo s hudo revščino, pred pogledi turistov. Industrija zabave sodobnemu človeku ponuja alternativo idealom intelektualne in politične elite, ki je nezmožna ustvariti zdravo in trajnostno življenje. Do sedaj so mesta zaznamovala trenja med zasebnim in javnim, kar je javni sferi omogočalo družbene in kulturne inovacije. Danes je po zaslugi korporativnega globalizma in potrošniške kulture potihem prevladalo zasebno, ki se javnosti predstavlja kot javno, a vključuje lastna pravila uporabe in konzumiranja instantne zabave in potrošnje. Na tak način se javna sfera organizira kot brezoblična gmota brez jasne identitete in percepcije same sebe in drugih. Korporativni koncept danes spreminja identiteto mest na podlagi rezultatov tržnih turističnih študij in ne na podlagi resničnih potreb ljudi, ki v njih živijo in delajo. Ali je res, da je naša usoda pot v Disneyland? Če je tako, bom izbral sedež, obrnjen nazaj.

REFERENCE
(→ Glej stran 187)

IMAGE 1
Skopušnik v akciji.
Uncle Scrooge in action.

Walt Disney's

UNCLE $CROOGE

KEEP OFF THE GRASS

New Times Square – korporativna industrija zabave.
New Times Square – corporative entertainment industry

IMAGE 3

Madison Avenue, Union Square, Columbus/Amsterdam in Bryant Park
Madison Avenue, Union Square, Columbus/Amsterdam and Bryant Park

Madison Avenue, Union Square, Columbus/Amsterdam in Bryant Park
Madison Avenue, Union Square, Columbus/Amsterdam and Bryant Park
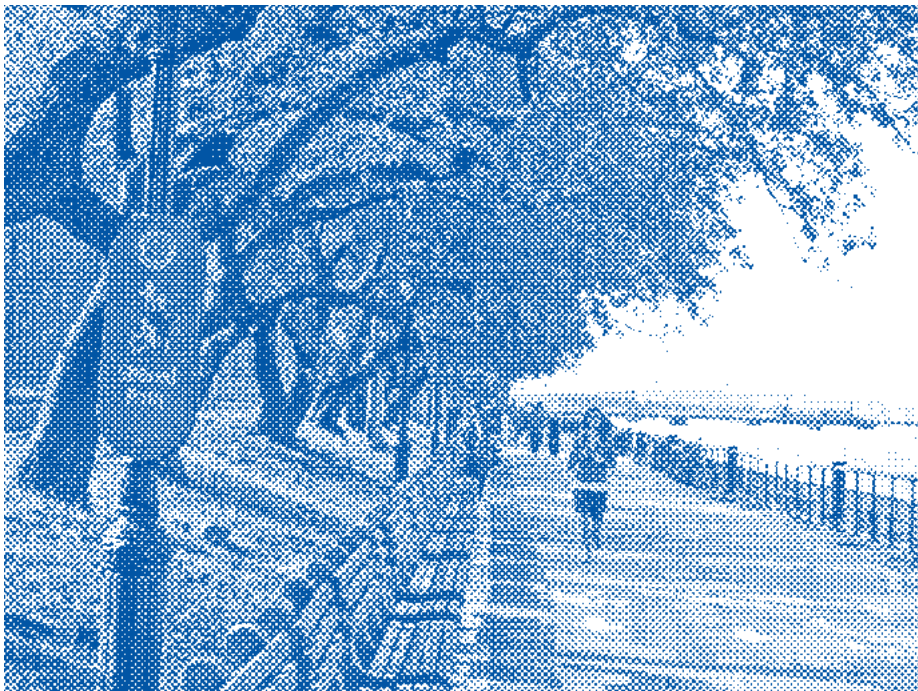
Madison Avenue, Union Square, Columbus/Amsterdam in Bryant Park
Madison Avenue, Union Square, Columbus/Amsterdam and Bryant Park
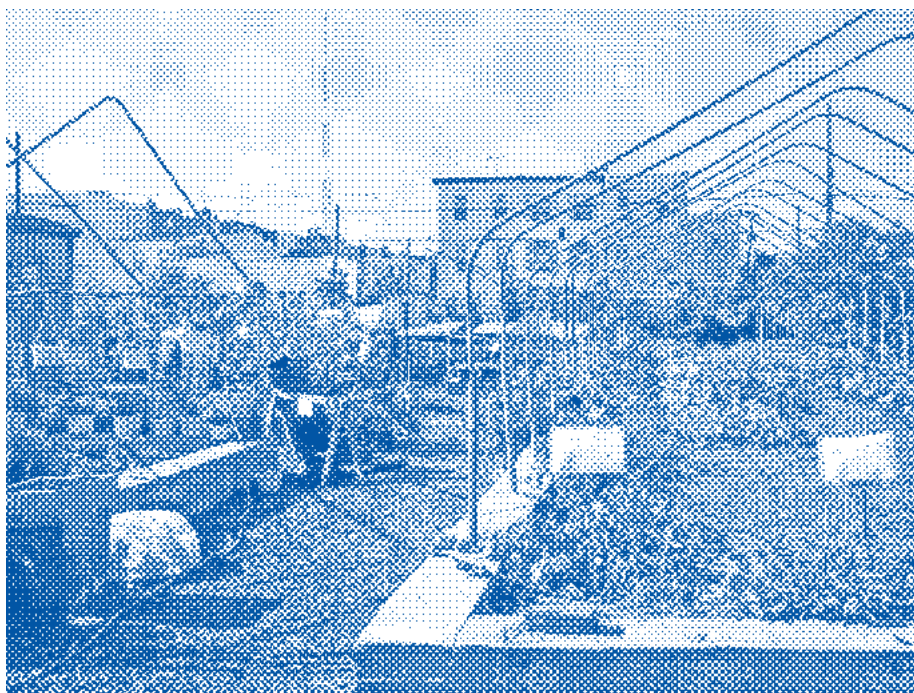
IMAGE 7

Greensgrow Farm – afirmacija družbene, ekonomske in ekološke trajnosti.
Greensgrow Farm – affirmation of social, economic and environmental sustainability.

PUBLIC SPACE ON THE TRAIN TO DISNEYLAND

Aleksandar Bobić

Abstract
Global changes in economic relations that post-industrial era brought through establishment of corporate cultures and imperative consumers life - style, not only influenced lives of the individuals but it re-defined relations in public sphere and public space where corporate culture has stake in. Using the contemporary technology, transformed corporate activity has been transferred from factory halls to media sphere, culture, art and internet – public space of act, which became means or place for the capital accumulation. Consequently, in physical context, open public spaces, for the first time, got significantly important treatment, as they become means for disposal of goods and services. Thus, open public spaces became created polygons for investment of private capital and interest, crowded tourist destination, polygons for an amusement, marketing and modelling of consumers life-style. That dehumanized public spaces where the public interest is marginalized and where private interest is controlling and establishing discriminatory rules, language and behaviours, represent the main "battlefield" for the survival of free cities and urban life.

Instead of Introduction

„*One day Walt Disney had a vision. It was a vision of a place where children and parents could have fun together. The more Walt dreamed of a "magical park," the more imaginative and elaborate it became.*" Is it really true that our destiny is on the way to Disneyland?

Actual or apparent reality

Disneyland and Disney's world are not only the most known public spaces of the second half of 20th century, but conceptual basis of today's social values that are framing and giving contents to life of contemporary man/woman. Disney's company has introduced revolution and established foundation for the economy of technology and amusement. Disney's thematic parks rise over ethnical, class and regional identities, offering in return national public culture based on *aesthetization of differences and fear control*. Disney's world is created in the way to become something inevitable, alter ego to contemporary western societies and collective fantasises which are sources of many myths that the contemporary society is based on.

It is generally known assumption that production, more than culture is main driving force of economy. However, the concept of Disney's entertainment world is lean on *extensive labour force and expansive network of material resources*. Surely, this has provoked urban development of cities, giving them hope that the different world is possible. Visual coherency of Disney's thematic parks will create public culture of citizenship and safety that the world has never known until then. Therefore, ideal world without weapon, homeless, drugs, visible repressive political authorities, will become illusionary real in Disney's world up to the point to make strong influence on contemporary society by becoming model base, prototype of relations that represent foundation of all dominant movements in development and revitalisation of contemporary cities.

Atmosphere of Disney's world, based on complex of physical surrounding, technology and services, is affecting the consumer as opium, creating the illusion that it is possible to create real world to which Disney's amusement world would be imminent. Accordingly, thematic parks are offering to different populations (from tourists to labour force that is serving) one type of deception / delusion / fraud that they are feeling good just because they are exactly there, sending, along the way, strong and clear message that can only be understand as an false alternative and shelter for contemporary man/woman. This apparent hybrid world represents a non- place, a space out of physical and social context, anti-geographical space, something which is self-sufficient, that can serially be multiplied not only physical, but in the contents as well. On the other hand, Disney's is fascinating with its idealisation of urban public space as the issue based on visual culture, safety and private management. This means, well arranged and maintained public city spaces without homeless and criminal, with highly esthetical surrounding, are the new requirements that the newly created corporate culture imposed to city government. Local administration, especially in big cities, doesn't have the possibility to meet those high requirements, so they create pre/conditions for establishment of partnerships between public and private sector for *Business Improvement District - BI*). BID is based on Disney's experience on establishment the synergy between different investors that has served as the model for creation of new economic relations based on economy of media, real estate, and visual arts in public spaces.

Disney's world, no matter it is apparent reality, illusion, has redefined and created new relations in urban planning and management, at the beginning in USA and Europe, and later in the whole capitalist world.

Primordial need of the man/woman for community and aspiration to quality and high status are basic postulates of global corporative culture that influencing as an opium to contemporary society, giving it that illusion through thematic parks, i.e. shopping malls chains and centres. Private corporations, knowing that the new symbol of encounters and gatherings is trade, are creating different spaces for «public» usage, like atriums, plazas and halls with numerous of art works and exhibitions, social and trade services. Accordingly, phenomenon of Disney's world in which public is going together with trade will become basic and main model for private corporations and urban development of contemporary cities in order to satisfy much more needs of corporative culture.

Actual reality - *Business Improvement District (BID)*

BID idea has started at the beginning of sixties of the last century, first in Canada, i.e. USA and later it spread in Great Britain and Europe. BID is the most developed in the countries with strong market orientation. In USA, BID is created in cities with an approximately 100.000 citizens, and with this more than 25% of cities with BID have more than 700.000 citizens. There are different BIDs in USA in relation to the size that is involved, the biggest ones are covering the space of 300 blocks with the number of full time employees that is over 150. Structure of BID in USA consists of 61% non-profit organisations, 13% public sector and 26% public-private sector partnerships. Depending of city size and number of BID involved blocks, their budget is between 8.000$ to more than 15 million, while the average is around 200.000$.

Basic aspects of BID functioning can be revised through promotion of «pure and safe», through lobbing at local political level. In that sense, according to some indexes, more than 75% BID are promoting consumerism (organising different events and advertising material for sale), while 50% are investing into urban equipment and greenery, i.e. maintenance, and is lobbing with local politicians and promoting public policy in local community. BIDs are the least involved (about 6%)

into sphere of social activities like homeless care, youth services and trainings for new jobs.

The biggest and the most complex BID network in USA is developed in NYC (*Alliance for Downtown New York*) where currently is functioning more than 60 organised BIDs with annual budget bigger than 80 millions of dollars and more than 70.000 entrepreneurs in 5 city districts (*Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens and Staten Island*). For sure, one of the most known BIDs in NYC is Times Square, the most known place and public space in the world. Transformation of Times Square has started in early 70-ies of the last century and it continues until today. During the past period, cheap restaurants, small businesses and small buildings were replaced by thematic restaurants, television studios, hotels and places for fun. Big LCD and LED screens and shops of contemporary brands, and well planned image, have contributed Times Square to become the most desirable space for tourists in the world, visited by millions of people daily. Times Square transformation has been done through combination of design and change of certain regulations related to public spaces. Using the Disney's concept, New Times Square has been created as a prototype of corporative culture and new reading of the city that will become a world's icon with the time, personification of contemporary American city. In this biggest created Disney's world until today in which, not by a chance, Disney appears as one of the leading mega corporations in this district. Beside Disney, significant influence in New Times Square, have ABC network, than ESPN Zone, MTV, NBC, and Viacom which appears as the major owner of outer advertising spaces.

Transformed New Times Square, apart of new rules, has established "new" moral that is not directed to familiar and friendly pseudo surroundings, but completely the opposite, it become the place with pictures that exploit women's body and texts with elements of violence. The transformation hasn't brought new quality for local community, but public interests are subordinated to interests of big capital. Disneylandisation, arrival of big corporations and creation of public space as spectacle with the goal to attract lot of tourists and consumers with exclusive corporative priorities, regardless of the basic principles for better and safer public spaces and with maximum usage of art in public space, has as result a devastation of public

sphere. Commercialisation of public spaces has inevitably led them to informal privatisation, which has as a consequence the segregation of public sphere in relation to economic status of the individual. Also, the idea of *safe and clean*, not only in formal physical characteristics, but to users also, has the discriminatory practices for homeless, i.e. to all those who could be suspicious in any way, and almost always those are not white people. So, "sweet and cosy" life from isolated Disney's world, which is available only to the high class, is provided on New Times Square by application of special BID rules administered by special private safety structures.

The characteristics of USA, and specially NYC, are public spaces in private ownership (*Privately Owned Public Spaces - POPS*), i.e. private property free for public use but under certain conditions and rules imposed by the owner (it's not common that these spaces have working hours or you cannot visit it with a pet or with a bag...). In fact, based on urban plan (Zoning Resolution from 1961.) investitures could have built extra space, if first on their land they create and enable the usage of one public space. During previous period, more than 500 public spaces has been built with more than 30 hectares of surface, and in different forms (arcades, plazas, parks, squares and similar) that has granted more than 300 buildings. Harvard Professor *Jerold S. Kayden* in one comprehensive study, co-made with city institutions and art association, has found that apart of 41% POPS used occasionally, 16% are used actively as a place of meetings and gathering of neighbours, 21% are used as places to rest / and take a breath, 18% are used as a passage without stopping, while only 4% is renewed and redesigned. Surely POPS are directly connected with stimulated zoning, in other words with BID that is more frequently in favour of corporative profit, and not for public sphere improvement.

Different examples of public spaces treatment are noticeable in BID Madison Avenue, Union Square, Columbus/Amsterdam or Bryant Park. On the territory of these districts there is a huge number of public city spaces like plazas and parks that are still generators of local community public life. In mentioned districts degree of direct corporative exploitation is less present or differently manifested than in New Times Square. In the sense it is possible to identify different public events and activities in public

spaces that consequently lead to improvement of public sphere and life quality. Of course, like in any BID, degree of spontaneous public activity manifested through graffiti or any other public art in spatial and social context, has been reduced to a lowest level and made invisible in order to preserve the ideal about *purity*. Public art is replaced here with the art in public spaces that is mostly in context of capital – investors, fulfilling capricious requirements of corporative culture that is accepting public sphere in the way they want, and not as it really is.

In regard to public spheres and redesign of public spaces in USA, public sector doesn't have any different approach, especially for public spaces in front of state and public administration buildings. The best examples of this are Federal Plaza and *Tilted Arc* (1981-89), a project of well-known artist Richard Serra who has gave the suggestion, in 1979, for redefinition of public space and public life. Serra, in his own suggestion has followed the specificity of physical space and natural surroundings, but also political and social significance of that place. For this concept, we can say that is democratic space where democracy takes place. Eight years after the moving of *Tilted Arc*, landscape architect Martha Schwartz has offered and realised new solution for Federal Plaza which was complete redesign of public space. New postmodern design not only brought a new name for plaza, *Jacob Javits Plaza*, but it has also satisfied all requirements of government sectors in sense of safety and control of users, introducing one completely new language and rules very close to philosophy coming from Disney's world. Using the art, this Project has managed to impose one type of restrictive usage, unlike *Tilted Arc*, and together with landscape architecture it offers friendly, not confronting design which despite all didn't succeed to give the previous quality and to satisfy high requirements of public sphere in relation with public city spaces.

Public criticism and dialogue established on this thematic field comes as the consequence of redefinition the position of an individual inside democratic, public sphere in front of established rules and relations imposed and created by corporative culture and sphere of private capital. The most common representatives/advocates of public sphere in this field are non-government sector, academic sphere and in certain cases an independent public institutions and services. In

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situation like this, private interest, that is, in absurd and logical way, closely connected with local governments and politics, is often using, to achieve its goals, the support of non-government sector as proven trustee of public sphere, by quasi involvement in decision making process, in other words, it is consulting in order to win public support for realisation of its interests, before they are politically confirmed. This kind of public sector organizing, through perfidy hiding beyond non- government sector is clearly telling about the readiness of capital to use all possibilities when their interests are in question. On the other hand, some of worldwide known organisations like *Project for Public Space – PPS,* known also as big critic of contemporary designed public spaces and follower of the idea of sociality, comfort and image of public spaces, that is possible to be realised through PPS concept known as „petunia" beyond which are hidden different commercial contents (mostly services) which serve as generators of sociality, but at the same time as segregators on economic level. Thusly, with the time, the basic role of public space as a place where you can come publicly, or use it as individual or community, with granted freedom of usage regardless of social and economic status, has been lost. This role of public space is replaced with new role as the place with possible discrimination because of economic or social status; accordingly it has become basic efficient asset, weapon/tool for increase of private capital. In that sense, they are using any mean for creation of apparent philanthropy and welfare for everybody, offering possible users cheap entertainment and exclusive appearance of public spaces with discussable art values, and everything with the goal to daze eyes and senses by fast taking out of credit cards or ATM infusions.

Real apparent
The fact that cities have kept the role of innovative places, where cultural life is generated from the aspect of quality and human relation toward community and surroundings, is proved by certain communities or groups of activists in the field of culture, art and environment. Surely, one of clear examples of more or less spontaneous urban life that proclaims the idea of liberty and democracy, care for society and nature is for sure Williamsburg community in east part of Brooklyn, NYC.

Williamsburg characterise strong community of artists (more than 3000) and mainly younger population that is not sharing values imposed by corporative culture. Actually, Williamsburg is the place of deserted and dislocated industry that was recycled for making residences or cultural and art spaces. During '60-ies of the last century, artists have moved to this district, and this expansion has continued and culminated during '90-ies, till today. Low rents and huge spaces suitable for ateliers, galleries and good connection with east side of lower Manhattan, have made this district very popular and attractive. What were in the past Soho and East Village couth by gentrification, today is Williamsburg. In one multi-ethnic community, synergy has been created and it represents alternative to commercial discourse, whose centre is on the other side of cost. Williamsburg with its intellectual and youth spirit offers the resistance and distance to corporative sugar candy for making consumers more stupid, in the frame of amusement and consumerism that aggressive capital is offering with its striking fist – urbanism. Ordinary street life, imperfect public spaces, activism on every step, public art in form of graffiti and other contextualised art work are just some of elements that are telling about us as creative but imperfect, weak creatures that don't have their space in Disney's world. How much public sphere and life in Williamsburg are magical shows the contrasting with the appearance of *'Disneylandization'* of this district, with increasing enhance of private capital and initiative for building of exclusive housings and commercial places. It is generally known initiative and activity of owners of local small businesses for organising and involvement into BID that will certainly make substantial changes in functioning and organisation, and probably make this way of living in Williamsburg to completely disappear.

Is it possible to make and sustain successful public space where public life is generating by the trade? This is being shown in the best possible way by Reading Terminal Market in Philadelphia. RTM is non-profit organisation that gathers more than 80 selling places in the inner area of the supermarket. This is the oldest and the most known supermarket in USA coming from early colonial period, and it has been working from 1893. It is possible to buy there meat, fish, vegetables, fruits, flowers, books and clothes, and you can use services of many national restaurants. RTM

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presents for more than one hundred years of reminiscence of personal shopping and shopping in community, as the offer of everything for everybody. What creates this public market the special place is very good offer of goods from Amishes. RTM is place for gathering, fresh food shopping, conversations, lunch breaks, but also very important place for tourists. During the weekend RTM is visited by more than 100 thousand people, which makes it one of the busiest markets in the world. For sure RTM represents a positive example when private initiative is directed toward building of community and quality, that is permanently, generating and improving, creating tight connections with community, but having also good tradition of relations within it and with it.

One completely different place, somewhere in between the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, represents industrial *Brownfield* where the small group of enthusiast has made Greensgrow Farm at the end of last century. This incredible urban agriculture is established on the surface of one block, on concrete and asphalt where they have organised hydroponic production of vegetable and flowers. This project of ecologically and economically sustainable food production is supported by Neighbourhood Urban Agriculture Coalition (NUAC) and City Supported Agriculture (CSA). Greensgrow Farm does not use public water supply or electricity, but storage it or self-make it. Also for the starting of equipment and distribution of products, they are using biodiesel which is also made on the farm. Beside the full-time activists, there are a lot of volunteers from neighbourhood and children for whom the special educational programs are made. It's not surprising that the Greensgrow Farm is one of the leaders in this area in US and they are often organizing seminars and workshops not only in US, but abroad as well. Greensgrow Farm beside production is known by cultivation and selling of seed material, agricultural and horticultural products as well as by distribution of healthy food to the restaurants in Philadelphia. There are a dozens of reasons to buy food made on local farms – it's healthy and good-quality food, buying it we are supporting local farmers, development of the local community and better quality of our environment. Greensgrow Farm is classical example of private space and capital which is in service for the community and neighbourhood and is sending the clear message that accumulation of capital can be used for the well-being of everybody.

That's the way how private capital is establishing Marxists model of production and distribution of capital.

Conclusion
'Disneylandization' of Times Square represents the best example of deserting the city as we know or we used to know with the real threat to become the prototype to cities of future. Privatization and globalization are the phenomenon that are erasing social and cultural diversity, memory of the place and destiny of an individual. The last big event in Beijing, which was the test of possibilities not only of architecture and building technology, but to political and economic possibilities as well. The fact that for the sake of building Olympic stadiums, millions of people were re-settled and millions of memories and destinies were destroyed, is showing that the power of the capital is unlimited and unstoppable. Something similar happened in Belgrade, when the city government, because of the upcoming International Student's Games, decided over the night to re-settle the whole Roma community from the neighbourhood of sport's complex. The justification that they are trying to permanently solve the problem of hard life circumstances of Roma people actually was hiding typical racial discrimination, by hiding from the sight of the tourists the citizens of Belgrade who are leaving in deep poverty and who are "dirty Gypsies" as they call them. Industry of entertainment is offering to contemporary man/woman the alternative to idealess of intellectual and political elites which are unable to create healthy and sustainable life. By now, cities were characterized by tensions between private and public, in that way making the public sphere capable to make social and cultural innovations. Today, thanks to corporative globalism and consumer's culture, private silently prevailed, by presenting itself as public with its own rules of usage and consuming of instant amusement and consumption. On that way, public sphere is made like organized mass without clear identity and perception of self and the others. Corporate concept today is changing cities identities on the base of marketing touristic studies, and not on the base of real needs of people who are living and working there. Is it really true that our destiny is on the way to Disneyland? If it's true, am choosing the seat with the backwards view.

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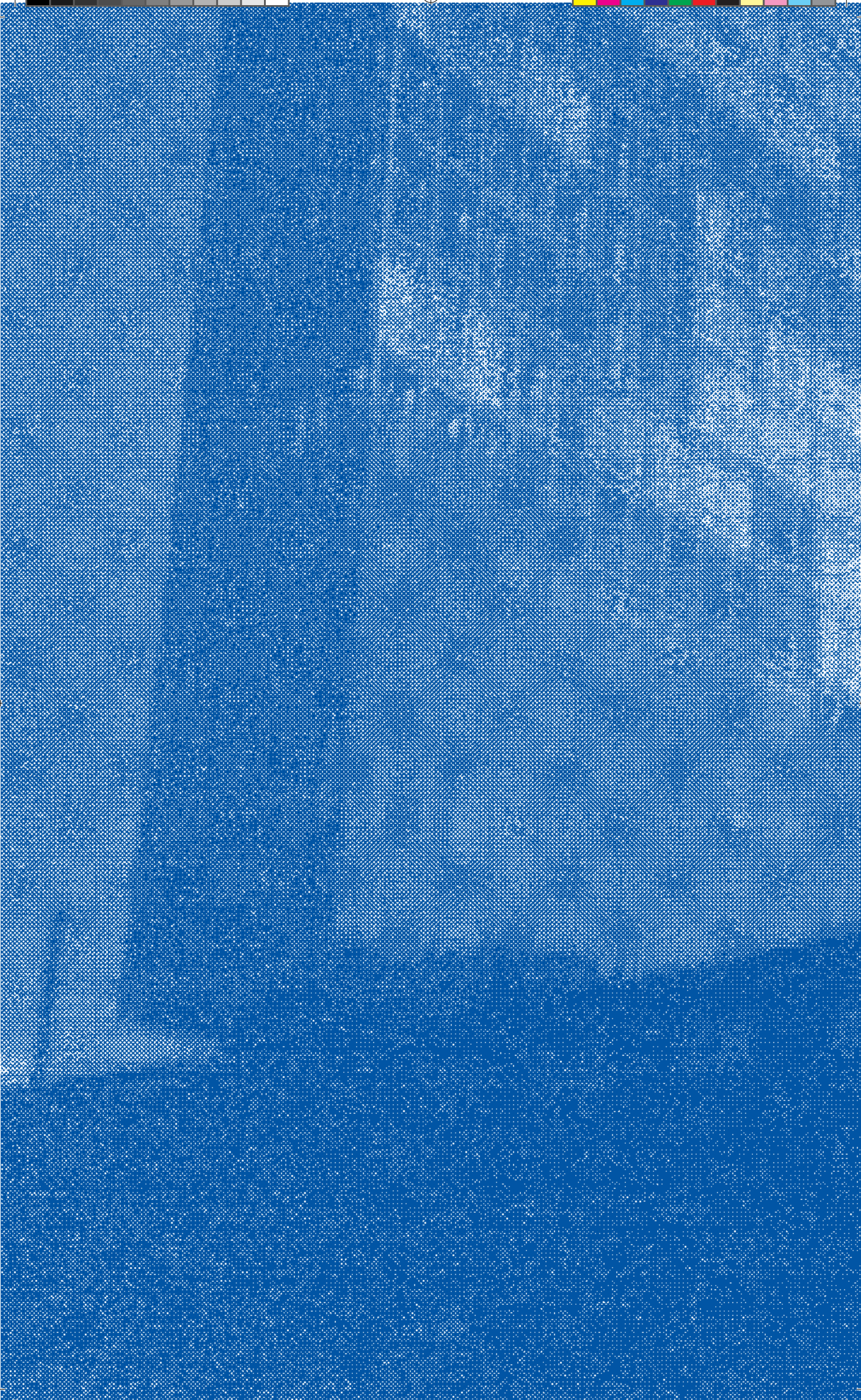
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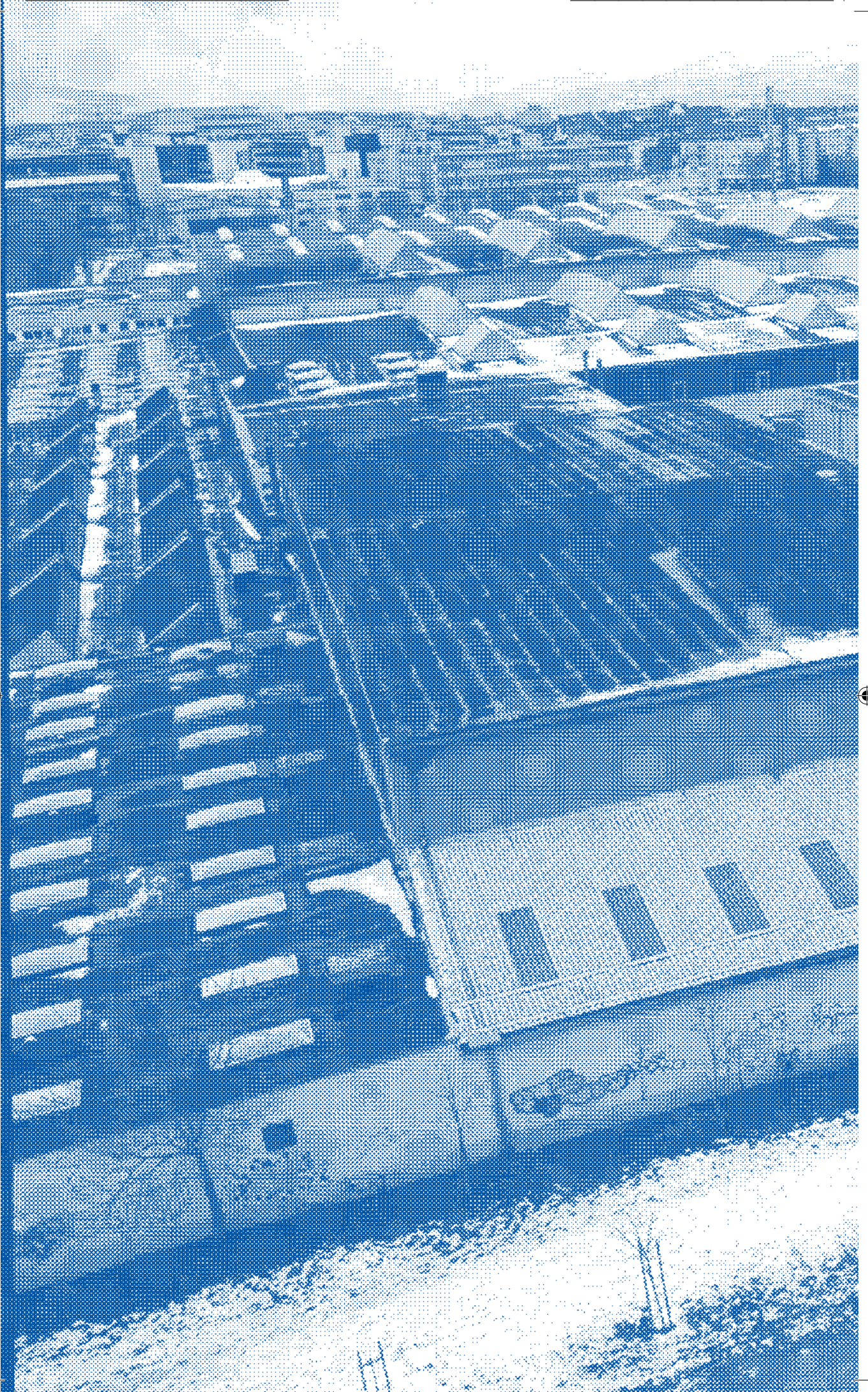
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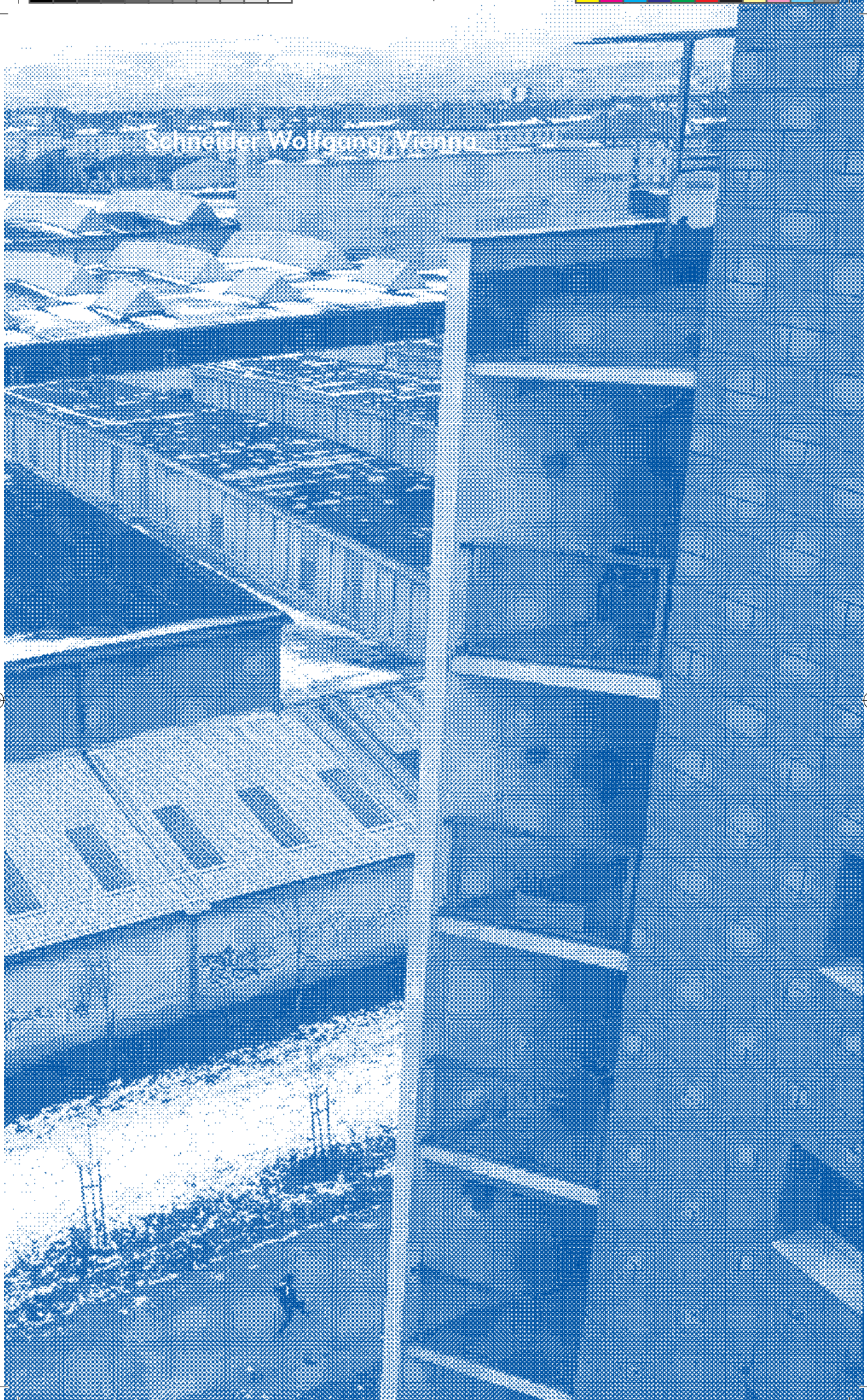
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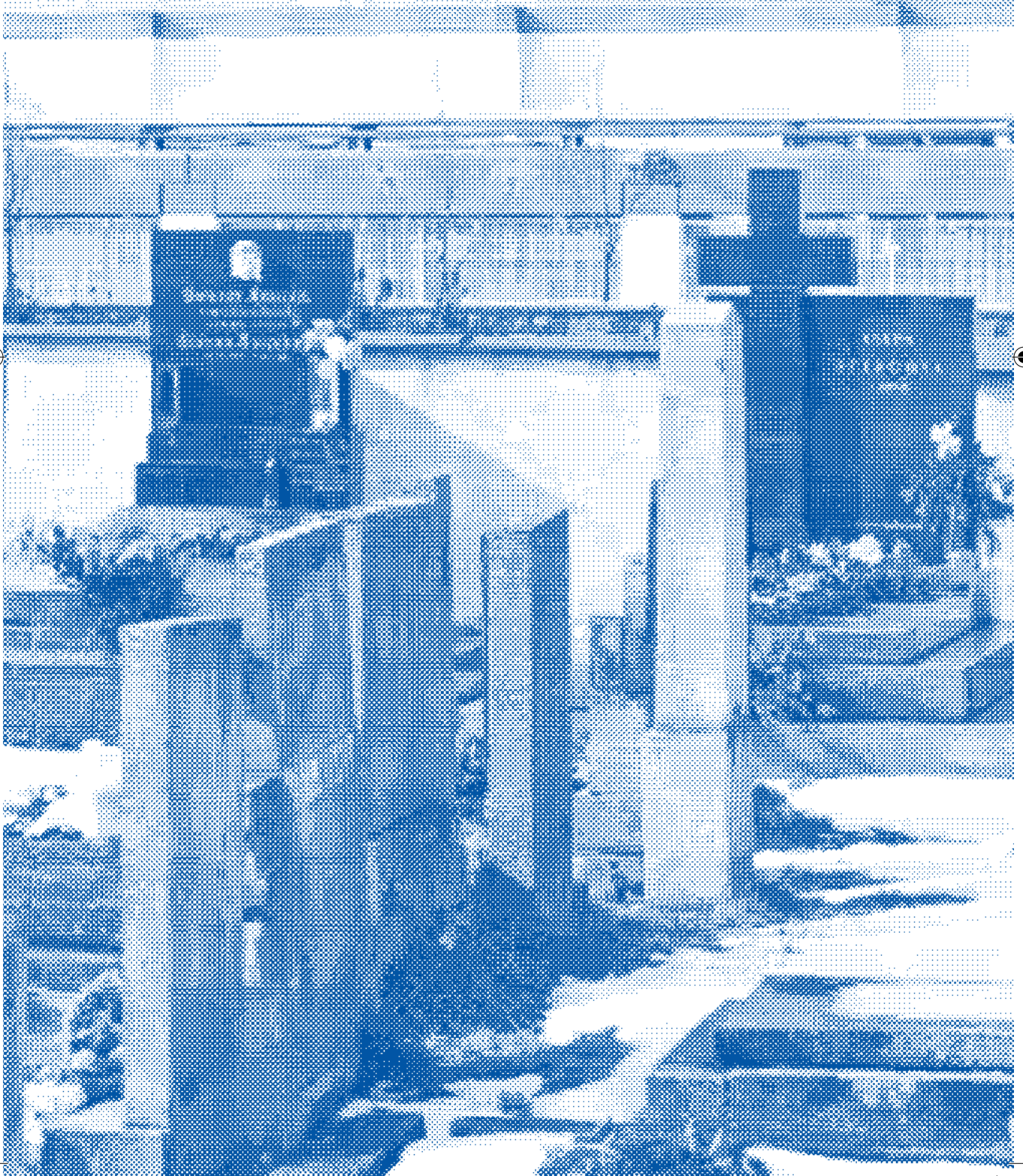
03.
POVZETEK
SUMMARY

Monografijo Urbanost 20 let kasneje sestavlja enajst prispevkov dvanajstih avtorjev, raziskovalcev in raziskovalk s področja družboslovja, ki se fenomena urbanosti in mesta lotevajo z različnih perspektiv. Kreativna participacija in umetniške prakse predstavljajo odziv na nesorazmeren razvoj urbanih vsebin. Ta je predvsem posledica kapitalskega in političnega nadzora razvoja mesta, ki ustvarja izrazito enosmerno komunikacijo. Knjiga je odgovor na pospešeno komercializacijo javne sfere in poenotenje družbenih vsebin v urbanem okolju. Novi pristopi, ki so predstavljeni v knjigi, se razvijajo v različnih mestih z različnimi vpletenimi akterji. Skupna jim je potreba po razvoju novih oblik participacije, ki niso podrejene imperativu kapitala, ampak družbenim potrebam različnih urbanih uporabnikov v mestu. Knjiga temelji na teoretičnih izhodiščih in študijah primerov različnih kreativnih praks, ki so v različnih prostorih pustile pozitivne razvojne sledi in je rezultat dvoletnega projekta Urbanost 20 let kasneje - Ljubljana. Projekt se je razvijal na fakultetah za arhitekturo v Ljubljani, Pragi, Budimpešti, Bratislavi, Varšavi in na Dunaju. V organizaciji Centra za centralno arhitekturo iz Prage je projekt v Ljubljani soorganiziral KUD C3. Monografija je razdeljena na tri tematske sklope in obravnava urbanost v treh kontekstih. Prvi del se osredotoča na vsebinsko obravnavo in pomen urbanih prizorišč. V nadaljevanju so predstavljene arhitekturne študije razvoja za posamezne

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lokacije v Ljubljani, ki so jih pripravili študentje na Fakulteti za arhitekturo pod mentorstvom Maruše Zorec in Tadeja Glažarja. Tretji del združuje primere dobrih praks v nekaterih mestih srednje Evrope kot tudi Balkana s poudarkom iskanja nove kolektivnosti. V uvodnem tekstu nam Blaž Križnik in Matjaž Uršič predstavita vzroke urbane preobrazbe Ljubljane. To sta še posebno vzpod-budila naraščanje potrošnje v prostoru in pomanjkljiv razvoj infrastrukture. Na podlagi tega teksta je fotograf Domen Grögl pripravil serijo fotografij, ki so na sedmih razstavah v omenjenih mestih kritično predstavljale najbolj perečo problematiko mesta Ljubljana. V prispevku o zelenih površinah nam avtorica Maja Simoneti izpostavi problem zdravja in njegove povezave s prostorskimi ureditvami ter dostopnimi zelenimi in prostočasnimi površinami. Marta Gregorčič razkriva stereotipe perifernega načina življenja, v katerem se znajde tudi vrtičkarstvo. Danes so se značilni ljubljanski vrtički spreme-nili v ceste in parke, velike zelene površine pa se pod političnimi imperativi spreminjajo v nakupovalna središča, garažne hiše in stadione. V nadaljevanju nam Karmen Bukvič predstavi pomene narave v mestu. Osredotoči se na vprašanje vrtičkarstva v Ljubljani in ga kot družbeni fenomen poskuša umestiti v kontekst urbanosti mesta. Kaj prinaša projekt Urbanost 20 let kasneje na primeru Ljubljane nam oriše Boštjan Bugarič na primeru javnih intervencij in predstavitev, ki so svoje mesto poiskale v neodvisnem galerijskem prostoru v zapuščenem lokalu mestnega središča. Elke Krasny se loteva teoretične analize umetniških kreativnih praks kot modela horizontalne komunikacije v mestu. Urbano kuratorstvo definira kot pojem, ki omogoča horizontalno komunikacijo in prevajanje znanja med različnimi vpletenimi akterji. Izpostavljen je primer umetniškega festivala Soho in Ottakring z Dunaja, ki ga že enajst let vodi Ula Schneider. Javni prostori dogajanja in tematike se dotikajo marginalnih tem »malih ljudi« in vsakič znova odpirajo prostor diskusije, kritike in premisleka. Italijanski umetniški tandem progettozero(+) se osredotoča na območje Balkana, natančneje na družbeno-ekonomske spremembe v Novem Beogradu, ki velja za novo poslovno središče mesta. Pozornost se nato iz Beograda preus-meri na Skopje, kjer Yane Calovski predstavlja nikoli uresničeni urbanistični načrt, ki so ga po potresu 1963 leta izdelali Kenzo Tange s sodelavci. Sodobno Skopje je rezultat političnih odločitev in nima skupnih paralel z arhitekturno vizijo Kenza Tangeja, meščani pa še danes obtožujejo Japonce, da so mesto zamenjali za videoigrico. Zaključni tekst Aleksandra Bobića se ukvarja z odnosi v javni sferi, ki pod vplivom korporativne kulture zadovoljujejo imperative potrošniškega načina življenja.

The monograph entitled Urbanity 20 Years Later contains eleven contributions by twelve authors, researchers, active in different fields of social science, studying the urban phenomenon and the city from various perspectives. The creative participation and artistic practices represent a response to the disproportionate development of the city, which is caused primarily by the control exerted over the city's development by capital and politics and the resulting one-way flow of communication. This book is an answer to the accelerated commercialization of the public sphere and the increasing uniformity of urban life. New approaches are presented in this book, which were developed in different cities by various actors involved. They share a common desire to develop new ways of participation that are not subjected to the capital imperative but rather follow the social needs of various users of the urban sphere. The book is based on theoretical starting points and case studies of various creative practices that have had a positive impact upon the development of various sites. It is a result of activities that took place in Ljubljana in the scope of a two-year project entitled Urbanity 20 Years Later. The project was developed in Faculties of Architecture in Ljubljana, Prague, Budapest, Bratislava, Warsaw, and Vienna; it was organized by the Centre for Central European Architecture from Prague and co-organized by KUD C3 in Ljubljana. The monograph is divided into three parts and discusses the urbanity phenomenon in three different contexts. The first part is an analysis of the contents and significance of urban centers. The following part contains architectural developmental studies for individual sites in Ljubljana that were elaborated by students of the Faculty of Architecture under the leadership of Maruša Zorec and Tadej Glažar. The third part combines the god practice examples in some cities in the Central Europe and the Balkans and attempts to find the new collective spirit. In the introduction, Blaž Križnik and Matjaž Uršič present the causes behind the urban transformation of Ljubljana, which has been induced by the increasing consumerism and the insufficient development of infrastructure. On the basis of their text, Domen Grög, the photographer, created a series of photographs depicting some of the most urgent problems of Ljubljana that were displayed on seven exhibitions in the cities involved in the project. Maja Simoneti wrote a contribution on green

urban areas and emphasized a problem of health and its association with space and access to green areas for spending of free time. Marta Gregorčič exposes the stereotype of the suburban way of life, which somehow includes allotment gardening. Today, the characteristic allotment gardens of Ljubljana have been transformed into roads, parks, large green areas, or even shopping centers, parking houses and stadiums, all in accordance with political imperatives. Karmen Bukvič presents the significance of nature in a city. She focuses on the topic of allotment gardening in Ljubljana and tries to place it into the wider context of the city's urbanity as a social phenomenon. Boštjan Bugarič outlines the significance of the Urbanity 20 Years Later project for Ljubljana through public interventions and presentations that have found their expression in gallery space and in a vacant shop in the city centre. Elke Krasny presents a theoretical analysis of artistic creative practice as a model of horizontal communication in the city. She defines urban curating as a concept that enables horizontal communication and the translation of knowledge among various actors involved. An example of the art festival Soho in Ottakring is presented by Ula Schneider, who has been organizing it for eleven years. The public spaces where the festival takes place and topics addressed approach the marginal topics pertaining to the people of small means and, time after time, open a space of discussion, criticism and reflection. The Italian artistic team progettozero(+) focuses on the Balkans, more precisely, the socially-economical changes in New Belgrade, the new business centre of Belgrade.

The attention is then shifted towards Skopje; the city is discussed in the contribution of Yane Chalovski, who presents the urban plan of Skopje made by Kenzo Tange and his co-workers after the earthquake in 1963 that was never realised. The contemporary Skopje is a result of political decisions and is not parallel to the architectural vision of Kenzo Tanage, yet to this day, the citizens accuse the Japanese of mistaking the city for a video game. The closing text by Alekandar Bobič discusses the relationships in the public sphere that have become subjected to the consumerist lifestyle imperatives under the influence of corporative culture.

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Aleksandar Bobić (Srbija) je asistent na Univerzi v Beogradu (Fakulteta za gozdarstvo, Oddelek za krajinsko arhitekturo in hortikulturo; Fakulteta za arhitekturo). Kot krajinski arhitekt in umetnik je eden od ustanoviteljev (podpredsednik 2002-2005) Društva krajinskih arhitektov Srbije. Na Univerzi v Beogradu je magistriral iz krajinske arhitekture ter deloval na področju urbanega oblikovanja in krajinskih ureditev ter umetniških projektov v javnem prostoru. Je koordinator multidisciplinarnega univerzitetnega projekta Public Art – Public Space (PaPs), član Društva arhitektov Srbije in član Srbskega društva uporabnih umetnosti in oblikovanja s statusom svobodnega umetnika. V okviru programa PPS (Project for Public Space – NY) se je izpopolnjeval v oblikovanju prostora. Je sodelavec v številnih raziskovalnih projektih na področju urbanizma, oblikovanja, razvoja lokalnih skupnosti in inkluzivne družbe. Trenutno deluje tudi kot predstavnik Beograda enega od 25 mest v Evropi in ZDA vključenih v omrežje Transatlantic Cities Network (TCN), vodilnega projekta programa GMF's Comparative Domestic Policy (CDP). Je avtor več kot 30 objavljenih ali realiziranih urbanih ureditev, krajinskih in umetniških projektov in raziskovalnih projektov, znanstvenih objav in raziskovalne monografije Pri svojem strokovnem delu je ustvaril obsežno mrežo domačih in tujih strokovnjakov in relevantnih institucij (v akademskem, javnem, poslovnem sektorju in NVO).

Aleksandar Bobić (Serbia) is an Assistant of University of Belgrade (Faculty of Forestry, Department of Landscape Architecture and Horticulture; Faculty of Architecture). As a landscape architect and artist, he is one of the founders of Serbian Association of Landscape Architects (previous Vice president 2002-2005.) He holds a master degree (MLA) in Landscape Architecture from University of Belgrade with the prior occupation in urban design and landscaping and artistic projects in public space. He is the Program Coordinator of multidisciplinary university project Public Art – Public Space (PaPs). He is member of the Union of Architects of Serbia and a member of the Serbian Association of Applied Artists and Designers with the freelance artist status. He completed the PPS (Project for Public Space – NY) training on place making. He is also a participant of many research projects in the field of urbanism, design and local community development and inclusive society. He is the current representative of the Belgrade between 25 representatives from U.S. and European cities in Transatlantic Cities Network (TCN), the signature project of GMF's Comparative Domestic Policy (CDP) program. He has over 30 publicized or completed urban designs, landscape and artistic projects, and research projects as well as scientific papers and a research book. During his professional work built an impressive network of experts and relevant institutions (academic, public, NGO and business sectors) on the local and global level.

Karmen Bukvič (Slovenija) je sociologinja, urbana raziskovalka, avtorica, podiplomska študentka Okoljskih in prostorskih študij na Fakulteti za družbene vede; gostujoča predavateljica prostorske sociologije na Fakulteti za družbene vede, sodeluje pri raziskavah Centra za prostorsko sociologijo in pri mednarodnem projektu Urbanost 20 let kasneje. Raziskuje urbane procese v Sloveniji, neformalna mestna prizorišča in kakovost urbanega življenja.

Karmen Bukvič (Slovenia) is a ssociologist, urban researcher, author, PhD student of Environmental and Spatial Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences; guest lecturer on spatial sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences, participates in research at the Centre for Spatial Sociology, participates in international project Urbanity 20 years later. She studies urban processes in Slovenia, informal places in the city and the quality of urban life.

Boštjan Bugarič (Slovenija) je raziskovalec na Znanstveno raziskovalnem središču v Kopru na Univerzi na Primorskem. Je ustanovni član in predsednik nedvisne umetniške skupine C3, ki deluje na področju različnih projektov povezanih s prostorom. Je tudi raziskovalec, ki se ukvarja z javnim prostorom, razvojem sodobnega mesta, javnim udejstvovanjem in raziskavami družbenih sprememb v mestu.

Yane Calovski's (Makedonija) v svoji praksi združuje umetniške in kuratorske projekte, ki jih opisuje kot večplastne, zasnovane na sodelovanju, orientirane h kontekstu in utemeljen na risbi. Njegovo osrednje zanimanje je blizu ustvarjanju jezika prostega povezovanja in pomenov ustvarjenih na podlagi osebnih izkušenj in pridobljenih umetnostno-zgodovinskih virov. Njegova dela usmerjajo pozornost k formulaciji naracije v polju konceptualne umetnosti, angažirane na področju socialnega dialoga in kritike institucij. Svoja dela je v zadnjem času predstavil na European Kunsthalle na trgu Ebertzplaz v Kölnu, na HDLU v Zagrebu, Manifesti 7 v Bolzanu v Italiji. Razstavljal je tudi v New Yorku - The Drawing Center, Filadelfiji - Museum of Art, Fukuoki - Art Museum, Ljubljani - Manifesta 3(2000), Skopju - Muzej sodobne umetnosti, Bolzanu - AR/GE Kunst, Vilniusu - Center za sodobno umetnost; na Švedskem – BAC, v Beogradu - Muzeju sodobne umetnosti, Odenseju –Kunsthallen Brands, v Bytomu - Kronika Gallery in drugod. Večje novo naročilo bo jeseni 2010 predstavil v galeriji Zak-Branicka v Berlinu in Muzeju sodobne umetnosti v Skopju. Calovski je soavtor raziskovalnega projekta "Muzej sodobne umetnosti Oskarja Hansena" (2007-09) z dolgoletno sodelavko Hristino Ivanosko, s katero sta ustanovila in vodila raziskovalno platformo »pritisni za izhod iz projektnega prostora« v Skopju. Študiral je umetnost na Pensilvanijski Academiji likovnih umetnosti (1992-96) in na Bennington Collegeu (1997) ter se udeležil podiplomskih umetniških delavnic CCA Kitakyushu na Japonskem (1999/00) in na Akademiji Jan van Eyck v Maastrichtu na Nizozemskem (2002/04). Leta 2001 je prejel štipendijo Pew Fellowship in the Arts. Zastopa ga galerija Zak-Branicka.

Marta Gregorčič (Slovenija) je sociologinja in aktivistka. Pri svojem militantnem raziskovalnem delu združuje interdisciplinarno delo s področja etnografije, antropologije, sociologije in ekonomije. V letih 1999-2001 je bila urednica poročila

Boštjan Bugarič (Slovenia) is a researcher at the Science and Research Centre of Koper at the University of Primorske. He is a founding member and president of KUD C3, an independent group of artists involved in projects concerning space. His field of research is public space, development of the contemporary city, public participation and study of social changes in the city.

Yane Calovski's (Macedonia) practice incorporates artistic and curatorial projects described as multifaceted, collaborative, context-oriented and drawing-based. His main interests gravitate towards cultivating a language of free associations and meaning constructed from personal experiences and found art historical sources. His works calls to attention the formulation of narration in the realm of conceptual art practice engaged with social discourse and institutional critique. His work has been recently presented at the European Kunsthalle at Ebertzplaz in Cologne, HDLU, Zagreb, and Manifesta 7 in Bolzano, Italy. Other venues include The Drawing Center - New York, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Fukuoka Art Museum, *Manifesta 3,* (Ljubljana, 2000), Museum of Contemporary Art Skopje, AR/GE Kunst, Bolzano; Contemporary Art Center Vilnius; BAC- Sweden, Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade, Kunsthallen Brands in Odense, Kronika Gallery, and other venues. A major new commission and publication will be presented at the Zak-Branicka Gallery in Berlin and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Skopje in the fall 2010. Calovski co-authored the research project "Oskar Hansen's Museum of Modern Art" (2007-09) with long-time collaborator Hristina Ivanoska with whom he founded and directs the research platform "press to exit project space" in Skopje, Macedonia. He studied art at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (1992-96) and Bennington College (1997) and attended post-graduate studio programs at the CCA Kitakyushu, Japan (1999/00) and the Jan van Eyck Academie, Maastricht, Netherlands (2002/04). Calovski was awarded a Pew Fellowship in the Arts in 2001. He is represented by Zak-Branicka Gallery.

Marta Gregorčič (Slovenia) is sociologist and activist. Her militant research merges interdisciplinary work, from the fields of ethnography and anthropology with sociology and economy. She was an editor of *Human Development Report* in

Human Development Report za Slovenijo. Od leta 2002 je urednica *Časopisa za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo*. Od leta 2002 vsako leto vsaj tri mesece preživi na pri raziskavah novih družbenih gibanj v Latinski Ameriki (Mehika, Gvatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Venezuela), Indiji, Iraku ali Evropi. Njeno primarno raziskovalno področje vključuje radikalno izobrazbo, družbena gibanja, globalno gospodarstvo, alternativna globalizacijska gibanja, kritično teorijo, preseganje neoliberalizma, študije migracij, nasilja in militarizacije družbe, etc. Je avtorica več kot stotih člankov, posebnih časopisov in knjig iz omenjenih področij. Med njenimi knjigami so *Indija, dežela protislovnih strasti* (2008); *Alerta roja: teorije in prakse onkraj neoliberalizma* (2005; *Immigrants who are you?* (2002) [Imigranti kdo ste?]; *Ne NATO – mir nam dajte!* (2002).

Elke Krasny (Avstrija) je kulturna teoretičarka, urbana raziskovalka, kuratorka, avtorica in predavateljica na dunajski Akademiji likovnih umetnosti in Univerzi za tehnologijo ter Univerzi aplikativnih znanosti v Grazu, leta 2006 pa je bila tudi gostujoča profesorica na Univerzi v Bremnu, kjer je predavala predmet Pripovedi o procesu urbane preobrazbe. Deluje v Evropi in v Kanadi na preseku arhitekture, kritičnega urbanizma, javne umetnosti, muzejev, razstav, pedagogike in produkcije kulturnih in družbenih pomenov spola in intelektualne zgodovine idej. Objavila je knjige Aufbruch in die Nähe, Wien Lerchenfelder Straße, Turia + Kant, The Force is in the Mind, The Making of Architecture, Urbanografien, Stadtforschung in Kunst ter Stadt und Frauen.

Blaž Križnik (Slovenija) je po diplomi na Fakulteti za arhitekturo v Ljubljani študij nadaljeval na Akademiji za arhitekturo v Rotterdamu. Doktoriral je s področja sociologije vsakdanjega življenja na Fakulteti za družbene vede v Ljubljani. Je gostujoči profesor urbane sociologije in arhitekture na Univerzi v Seulu ter sodelavec Inštituta za politike prostora v Ljubljani.

Progettozero(+) (Italija) je umetniški kolektiv, ki ga sestavljata Paolo Dusi in Alessandro Bertoncello. Od leta 2001

Slovenia (1999-2001). Since 2002 she is editor of *Journal for the critic of sciences, imagination and new anthropology*. Since 2002 she had spent three or more months a year in Latin America (Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Venezuela), India, Iraq and Europe doing research on new social movements. Her primary research areas are radical education, social movements, global economy, alterglobalization movements, critical theory, struggles beyond neoliberalism, migrations studies, violence and militarization of society, etc. She is the author of more than hundred articles, several special journals and books in these fields. She is Her books include: *Indija, dežela protislovnih strasti* (2008) [*India, Land of Antagonistic Passions*]; *Alerta roja: teorije in prakse onkraj neoliberalizma* (2005) [*Red Alert: Theories and Practices Beyond Neoliberalism*]; *Immigrants who are you?* (2002); *Ne NATO – mir nam dajte!* [*No NATO – give as a peace/brake!*] (2002).

Elke Krasny (Austria), cultural theorist, urban researcher, curator, author; teaches at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, the Vienna University of Technology and the University of Applied Sciences Graz; Visiting Professor at the University of Bremen in 2006 (Narratives of Urban Transformation Processes). She works in the European as well as the Canadian context along the intersections of architecture, critical urbanism, public art, museums, exhibitions, pedagogy and the production of cultural and social meaning, gender and the intellectual history of ideas. She published books: Aufbruch in die Nähe, Wien Lerchenfelder Straße, turia + kant, The Force is in the Mind, The Making of Architecture, Urbanografien, Stadtforschung in Kunst, Stadt und Frauen, Eine andere Topographie von Wien.

Blaž Križnik (Slovenia) has continued his study on the Rotterdam Academy of Architecture after graduating from the Faculty of Architecture in Ljubljana. He has finished his Ph.D. from sociology of everyday life on the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana. He is visiting professor of urban sociology and architecture on the University of Seoul and a researcher at the Institute for Spatial Policies in Ljubljana.

Progettozero(+) (Italy) is a artistic collective of Paolo Dusi and Alessandro Bertoncello. Since 2001 progettozero+

progettozero+ načrtujeta in izvajata umetniške intervencije in akcije, pri katerih se osredotočata na idejo kreativnega procesa kot horizontalne in razširjene strukture, znotraj katere se lahko kot vozli v mreži združujejo drugi subjekti, povezovalci multiplih in raznovrstnih komunikacij. Proces sledi načelu sistematične brezbrižnosti do edinstvenega stila in vključuje umetnike, kuratorje, videaste, glasbenike, producente. Pri tem vznikajo naslednja osrednja področja zanimanja: osredotočenost na teritorij, aktivacija in preizpraševanje »javnega« kot prostora družbe – torej političnega prostora; relacijske modalnosti; odprto sodelovanje z umetniki, intelektualci, in družbeno-kulturnimi realnostmi. Njuna trenutna raziskovanja posegajo na polje mikro in makro dinamike skupnosti ter iskanje interaktivnih modelov, ki ju stimulirajo.

plans and carries out contemporary art interventions/actions focusing on the idea of the creative process as a horizontal and expanded structure which is capable of aggregating other subjects, like the knots in a net, the connectors of multiple and varied communications. It follows a systematic indifference about a singular style, acting as artists, curators, videomakers, musicians, producers. The main points of interest which have emerged: focus on territory; the activation and the questioning of the "public" intended as a social space and therefore a political space; relational modalities; open collaboration with artists, intellectuals and socio-cultural realities. The current interests investigate the micro and macro dynamics of community, searching for interactive models which stimulate their potentialities.

Maja Simoneti (Slovenija) je krajinska arhitektka z bogatimi izkušnjami na področju urbanizma in odprtega javnega prostora. Dela za zasebno podjetje LUZ d.d. in je delno zaposlena kot raziskovalna sodelavka zasebne neprofitne organizacije Inštitut za politike prostora. V dosedanji praksi se je ukvarjala z načrtovanjem in oblikovanjem na različnih nivojih in sodelovala v okviru številnih interdisciplinarnih delovnih skupin. Posebej jo zanima vprašanje igrišč, urbano vrtnarjenje, participacija javnosti in prostorska pismenost. Je aktivna publicistka, udeležuje se strokovnih srečanj in oblikovalskih natečajev ter je članica strokovnih združenj in natečajnih komisij. V zadnjem času se osredotoča na upravljanje z zelenimi površinami pri svetovanju podžupanu Ljubljane glede urbanega prostorskega razvoja.

Maja Simoneti (Slovenia) is landscape architect experienced in urban planning and public open space. She works for private enterprise LUZ d.d. and is a part time research partner of Institute for spatial policies which is a private non-profit organisation. In her practice she dealt with planning and design issues on different levels and was part of many interdisciplinary working groups. She takes special interest for the questions of playgrounds, urban gardening, public participation and spatial literacy. She is active publicists, participant of professional events and design competitions and member of professional associations and juries. Recently she focused on green space management while advising to Ljubljana's deputy mayor for urban development.

Ula Schneider (Avstrija) se je rodila na Dunaju in odraščala v Washingtonu v ZDA. Kot umetnica živi in dela na Dunaju. Med leti 1979 – 1981 je na Univerzi na Dunaju študirala zgodovino umetnosti. Leta 1999 je v soseki Brunnenviertel, delu dunajske 16. četrti, začela urbani umetniški projekt SOHO IN OTTAKRING. Od svojega začetka projekt nepretrgano poteka v kontekstu urbanega razvoja in participatorne umetniške prakse.

Ula Schneider (Austria) was born in Vienna, Austria and grew up in Washington, D.C. She lives as an artist in Vienna, Austria. She studied history of art from 1979 - 1981 at the University of Vienna. In 1999 she initiated the urban art project SOHO IN OTTAKRING in the Brunnenviertel area, part of the 16th district of Vienna. Since the inception of the project, she has worked continuously in the context of urban development and collaborative art practice.

Matjaz Ursic (Slovenija) je raziskovalec na Fakulteti z družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani. Je član Centra za prostorsko sociologijo. Njegovo raziskovalno delo

Matjaz Ursic (Slovenia) is a researcher at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences. He is a member of the Centre for Spatial Sociology. His research

je osredotočeno na družbeno-kulturne preobrazbe mest in sodobne urbane pojave v času globalizacije. Pomembna raziskovalna zanimanja vključujejo razvoj družbe, kulturno geografijo, analizo (sub) kultur, urbane migracije in prostorske sisteme s posebnim poudarkom na preobrazbah pod vplivom suburbaniza-cije, deurbanizacije in reurbanizacije. Trenutno v povezavi z mestnimi oblastmi deluje v okviru več raziskovalno-razvojnih projektov na temo javnega transporta, načrtih revitalizacije in speminjajoče se vloge mestnih središč (e. g., /. Evropski okvirni program: "Mobilising citizens for vital cities". Civitas Elan (City – Vitality – Sustainability)"; "Razvojna strategija za urbano-ruralno partnerstvo" (ARRS, Ljubljana)). Publikacije vključujejo: Managing Cultural Diversity in the City - Exclusion/inclusion of (Sub)cultures as a Factor for Urban Regeneration (Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, Berlin, 2009); The Problem of "Expert Interpretative Vacuum" in Media Discourses – Discourse Analysis of Texts on Ljubljana Urbanism (Frank & Timme, Berlin, 2008); Protiurbanost kot način življenja (Univerza v Ljubljani, Ljubljana, 2007, soavtor Marjan Hočevar); Urbani prostori potrošnje (Univerza v Ljubljani, Ljubljana, 2003); Compact and Spread City – Global Networks and Local Differences (KulturVerlag Polzer, Salzburg, 2002).

interests focus on the processes of socio-cultural transformation of cities and contemporary urban phenomena in the circumstances of globalisation. Important research interests also include society development, cultural geography, analysis of (sub)cultures, urban migration and spatial systems with particular reference to transformations due to processes of suburbanisation, deurbanisation and reurbanisation. Currently is involved in various research-developmental projects with city municipalities that deal with public transport, revitalisation schemes and changing role of the city centres. (e.g. research projects: "7th EU Framework programme: "Mobilising citizens for vital cities". Civitas Elan (City – Vitality – Sustainability)"; "Development strategy for an urban-rural partnership" (ARRS, Ljubljana)). Publications include: Managing Cultural Diversity in the City - Exclusion/inclusion of (Sub)cultures as a Factor for Urban Regeneration (Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, Berlin, 2009); The Problem of "Expert Interpretative Vacuum" in Media Discourses – Discourse Analysis of Texts on Ljubljana Urbanism (Frank & Timme, Berlin, 2008); Anti-urbanism as a Way of Life (University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, 2007, co-author with Marjan Hočevar); Urban Spaces of Consumption (University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, 2003); Compact and Spread City – Global Networks and Local Differences (KulturVerlag Polzer, Salzburg, 2002).

Maruša Zorec (Slovenija) je leta 1989 diplomirala na Fakulteti za arhitekturo v Ljubljani. V času 1989-97 je sodelovala z arhitektom Vojtehom Ravnikarjem. Od leta 1993 je zaposlena na Fakulteti za arhitekturo v Ljubljani. Sodelovala je na mednarodnih in domačih arhitek-turnih delavnicah: Mljet, Dunaj, Praga, Ljubljana, Nova Gorica, Maribor, Škofja Loka, Šmartno, Piran, Vipavski Križ, Devin-Nabrežina, Kranj, Fermignano, Portorož, Lendava, Medvode, Kobarid, Benetke, Trbovlje, Arco, Rogaška Slatina, Bled, Kidričevo, Dravograd. Razstavljala je na več skupinskih razstavah v Sloveniji in tujini, sodelovala pri raziskovalnem projektu Evidenca in valorizacija objek-tov slovenske moderne arhitekture med leti 1945-70 (z V.Ravnikarjem, T.Gregorič, N.Koselj), in pri projektu DAL - Označevanje moderne arhitekturne dediščine 20.stoletja. V letu 2008 je z Majo Ivanič organizirala razstavo Preteklost za prihodnost v galeriji Kresija v Ljubljani.

Maruša Zorec (Slovenia) graduated at the Faculty of Architecture in Ljubljana in 1989. Between 1989 and 1997 she collabo-rated with Vojteh Ravnikar. Since 1993 she works at the Faculty of Architecture in Ljubljana. She cooperated in international and domestic architectural workshops: Mljet, Vienna, Prague, Ljubljana, Nova Gorica, Maribor, Škofja Loka, Šmartno, Piran, Vipavski Križ, Devin-Nabrežina, Kranj, Fermignano, Portorož, Lendava, Medvode, Kobarid, Venice, Trbovlje, Arco, Rogaška Slatina, Bled, Kidričevo, Dravograd. She took part in several group exhibitions at home and abroad, collabo-rated in the research project Evidence and Valorisation of the Works of the Slovene Modern Architecture from 1945 to 1970 (with V.Ravnikar, T.Gregorič, N.Koselj) and in the project DAL – Characterising Modern Architectural Heritage of the 20th century. In 2008 she co-organised an exhibition Past for Future in Kesija gallery in Ljubljana with Maja Ivanič. In 2001 she

Leta 2001 je pripravila monografijo in razstavo o delu arhitekta Otona Jugovca. Za svoje delo je prejela priznanje Piranesi za prenovo kompleksa vile Ventrelli na Seči pri Portorožu (soavtorja Robert Potokar in Ana Kučan); priznanje Piranesi za novo kapelo v frančiškanskem samostanu v Ljubljani in Plečnikovo priznanje za monografijo in razstavo Oton Jugovec – arhitekt.

prepared a monograph and exhibition on the work of the architect Oton Jugovec. She received the Piranesi Award for the renovation of the Ventrelli villa in Seča near Portorož (co-authors Robert Potokar and Ana Kučan), the Piranesi Award for a new chapel of the Franciscan monastery in Ljubljana and the Plečnik Award for the monograph and exhibition entitled Oton Jugovec - an architect.

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PARTICIPATING ARTISTS,
SCIENTISTS AND STUDENTS**

Domen Grögl (Ljubljana)
Maroš Krivý (Bratislava)
Kudász Gábor Arion (Budimpešta)
Tomas Kutschker (Berlin)
Erik-Jan Ouwerkerk (Berlin)
Tomáš Prospech (Praga)
Reiner Riedler (Dunaj)
Szymon Roginski (Varšava)
Wolfgang Schneider (Dunaj)
Illah Van Oijen (Bratislava)
Martin Zeman (Praga)

Anja Koršič
Martina Vovk
Sarah Lunaček
Luka Bogovčič
Tobias Putrih
Maja Simoneti
Nina Vajdl
Marta Gregorčič
Tanja Lažetič
Damjan Kracina
Jani Pirnat
Alenka Pirman (Društvo za Domače
Raziskave - DDR)
Katja Hrobat
Polonca Lovšin
Igor Kovačević
Maruša Zorec
Tadej Glažar
Urban Jeriha
Uroš Rustja
Rok Velikonja
Karmen Bukvič
Aidan Cerar
Boštjan Bugarič
Aleksandar Bobić
Karmen Bukvič
Yane Calovski
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Paolo Dusi
Alessandro Bertoncello
Jure Grohar
Mojca Gabrič
Žiga Ravnikar
Andrej Blatnik
Alenka Kramer
Nina Majoranc
Matej Delak