



PUBLIC SPACE MANAGEMENT

REPORT TO THE INTERCULTURAL CITIES RESEARCH PROGRAMME



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Section One

1. INTRODUCTION

This report is submitted in response to the Council of Europe call for qualitative research in order to provide in depth and rich case studies of intercultural city interventions and practice - and the positive outcomes for host cities and communities. The key topics highlighted for further investigation were the conception, design and management of urban public space and safety. This qualitative exercise aims to contribute to the ICC hypothesis:

- *diversity represents under certain conditions, an advantage for city development;*
- *a comprehensive, strategic approach to urban diversity, management, based on the principles of interculturality as defined in the ICC programme documents, helps to minimise the costs of diversity and brings tangible social and economic benefits for cities.*

This positions diversity and interculturalism as a comparative and competitive advantage for cities, not just in direct economic terms, but in quality of life, place and attractiveness with sustainable social and economic benefits. This study therefore seeks to:

- add to the literature review and synthesis of evidence in this field, and;
- provide good practice 'lessons learnt' and models which may be transferable to other locations, as well as to other policy formulation.

1.1 Public space - scope

Truly inclusive societies do not only accept differences, but actively incorporate minority groups in everyday life (Sandercock 2003b: 207ff, Wood & Landry 2008: 63). This qualitative review addresses the theme of **public space** to include the public realm, particularly open/green space, parks, recreation & play spaces and public amenity spaces such as libraries – in both policy and management terms. Public space is of particular importance to intercultural city policy since local government is usually the prime provider, manager and regulator of open space and public amenities, more so than in economic and other spheres. The physical environment has a positive effect and negative effect on people's perceptions of everyday life and wellbeing, with landscapes having a strong symbolic and aesthetic dimension (Gehl & Gemzoe 2001). They can be seen as familiar, alien, welcoming or excluding. As Lefebvre maintained, 'space is socially produced and conceived' and it is "experienced" not "used" (1974). It is the ultimate (and one of the few remaining) "public goods". In order for people to feel equally included it is therefore important to respond to their diversity and diverse needs.

The intercultural use of public space operates at two levels:

Firstly, those spaces which members of different ethnic and minority groups co-habit simultaneously – the most common notion of 'shared space' – and the one which is most commonly observed and recorded in such public amenities as community gardens, parks, libraries, street markets and festivals. Here issues of safety are crucial.

Secondly, those spaces in which members of different ethnic and minority groups are encouraged directly to interact with each other through activity programmes, design, or events emphasising interaction between participants. This latter is the most difficult to quantify, and in general the research literature on this interaction remains weak. When shared space stimulates interaction between groups then this induces a sense of belonging.

In this report the evidence collected largely refers to the notion of 'shared space' since that is where most research has been done, though where possible we identify and cite evidence of intercultural activity based on interaction between participants of different ethnic and minority groups.

For our purposes, 'open space' activities encompass 'street activity' including festival sites, designated public amenity spaces such as parks, community gardens, libraries and other informal open space activities. These are particularly important for migrants in terms of both social and economic activity and access.

Some spaces on the other hand, including city centre sites, are perceived as dominantly 'white spaces' suggesting the need for "micro-environmental factors to be taken into account when planning urban investment for White and non-White audiences"(Symon & Verhoeff 1999). Likewise some cultural festivals are distinctly multicultural and mixed, without being specifically 'ethnic' notwithstanding their cultural roots/origins, e.g. Notting Hill Carnival, London, Zinneke Parade, Brussels; whilst others are largely 'mono-cultural'. All are influenced, however, by the policy context including the design, planning and management of inclusive public space and amenities.

In practice, access, usage and the design and planning of urban open space - particularly recreational, park/open space and public realm - seldom reflects the needs or aspirations of migrant and other ethnic minority communities. Furthermore, the public realm is increasingly commodified and controlled through privatisation e.g. retail, 'leisure'/shopping malls, gated communities etc. excluding particular groups and privileging consumers over users (Minton 2012). This is a 'global brand' phenomenon as international property developers and operators of these facilities replicate their form and function across European and North American cities and beyond. For example Barcelona's *Diagonal Mar* is a residential and commercial district located on the coast within the Barcelona urban area. The residential development has a 35-acre park, three lakes, and walking and biking trails but is effectively a gated community, with a semi-private atmosphere.

The development has generated distrust amongst neighbouring communities, particularly La Mina, a residential district with the greatest social deprivation in the Barcelona metropolitan area (over one third of the local population were Roma). Just 600 metres from La Mina, the park and buildings are surrounded by large fences that create a sense of exclusion. At night, when the gates are locked, the district becomes a barrier, effectively sealing off access to the sea for communities inland.



Diagonal Mar: a social and physical barrier

The sense of social isolation created by Diagonal Mar has led the organisation Project for Public Spaces to describe the park as “designed by lawyers, a place where no spontaneous, unforeseen event can ever happen - a classic case of design run amok, where creating a place for human use was merely an after thought” (<http://geographyfieldwork.com/DiagonalMarSuccessfulRedevelopment.htm>)

The quality and quantity of open space and gardens also tends to be poorer in areas of higher deprivation, with crowded housing conditions and higher levels of density, but lacking in garden/open and play space and views. Access to the urban environment is also disproportionately restricted due to fear of crime, lower car ownership, problems of road/pedestrian safety and poorer access for these groups, leading to social exclusion and lower levels of physical exercise and higher levels of poor health and obesity (including amongst some ethnic minority children). The extent to which policy, design and other interventions mitigate and reverse these contemporary (rather than historical) barriers to intercultural interaction, is the subject of this review.

1.1.1 Urban safety

Since open space usage normally requires pedestrian access - and open spaces themselves are by definition 'public' and 'exposed' - the issue of **urban safety** is also a factor with 'fear of crime' and community safety and security often the prime barriers to participation in out-of-home and recreational activities amongst more vulnerable groups.

Crime/Safety with respect to ethnic minorities and new migrants in particular, is obviously an issue of concern and public policy. Whilst 'crime' is beyond our scope here, the design and planning (including the location) of public spaces, pedestrian routes and amenities clearly requires that safety and accessibility is considered, particularly as it effects more vulnerable groups. For instance in the Design Against Crime report (Town et al. 2003) a number of features were identified with fear of crime including *isolation, lack of easy surveillance, poor lighting, lack of orientation, and lack of opportunities to avoid threats*. Other factors such as graffiti, litter, and poor standards of cleanliness all contribute to feeling 'unsafe'. Theory and practice of 'crime prevention through environmental design' (CPTED) and 'design against crime' has however developed a body of knowledge and good practice which can benefit planners, parks managers, and crime and community safety professionals (Armitage & Gamman 2009).

Safety also means the physical environment in terms of the state of the pedestrian environment – paths, pavements, routes – and roads. The latter is very important in terms of pedestrian, disabled (e.g. wheelchairs) and child safety, with busy roads acting as barriers to access – real and perceptual. So even where public amenities are in close proximity to residential areas, they may be out of bounds or seen to be unsafe, particularly for children, women/parents and the elderly. As The World Health Organisation found, crossings and car speed are key limitations to pedestrian access: "roads are perceived as barriers to the day-to-day movements of people who are often delayed as traffic volumes rise. Road traffic can lead to a perceived danger of travel, which causes feelings of insecurity, anxiety and stress" (WHO 2002: 12). In the UK, communities living in more disadvantaged areas are one and a half

times more likely to be killed or injured on the roads than those living in better off areas - children under-16 over four times (DfT 2007). This is most relevant to groups such as new migrants who are less likely to have access to cars or even public transport (trains, buses, trams) where the cost is prohibitive to them. The design and maintenance of the neighbourhood pedestrian environment is therefore key access factor if local amenities such as public parks, community gardens and libraries are to be of value and truly intercultural (Evans 2009).

1.2 Approach to study

This study has set out to **synthesise policy interventions** including impact and evaluation studies on urban open space and diversity. Where possible, data on users and resident perceptions have been assessed. In view of the limited time and resources available, the methodology has focused on the analysis and synthesis of secondary material (data, reports, evaluations, topical literature review) and interviews with key stakeholders in three in depth case studies, including visual material.

Case studies have been selected from the initial literature review and search for evidence, and in initial consultation with the CoE ICC team and group, and also with Jude Bloomfield who, with Franco Bianchini, has undertaken the study of Intercultural centres which also forms part of the CoE's Intercultural Cities research programme. We have also consulted collaborators and contacts from our previous studies of urban parks and open space, ethnic quarters, urban festivals and safety /crime prevention. Our approach has been divided into the following stages:

- Literature review annotated by selected public space type and theme
- Summary examples of good practice or evidence
- Case studies based on site visits and interviews with local stakeholders
- Conclusion

Section Two

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND EVIDENCE

This review focused upon applied English-language research (including published work translated into English) that has particularly addressed factors relevant for a diverse clientele to feel welcome but also safe and secure in a public space environment with the aim to draw from this a list of recommendations for practical applicability. This section looks at different types of public space and how they encourage interculturalism before discussing the key issue of safety within neighbourhood spaces.

2.1. Public Spaces

Scholars in the UK and elsewhere have suggested that the kind of place that attracts people leaves room for self-organisation and creativity as well as encourages interaction between diverse people. As Hertzberger in his seminal text on architectural education observed: “the measure of success is the way that spaces are used, the diversity of activities which they attract, and the opportunities for creative reinterpretation” (1991: 170). It is not physical space that makes a community, but the people using it together (Mean & Tims 2005:38, 66-67). These researchers highlight an erosion of trust in other people and their behaviour that has occurred in Britain since the 1950s and a decreased sense of safety that comes with it. Factors that are believed to have contributed to this development is the decline in the “publicness of space” and familiarities that resulted in an increase in disparities between groups of people who once upon a time used the same public infrastructure; for instance, low-value users of commercialised public space are separated from what businesses may regard as lucrative users of these locations (ibid: 24-41). The researchers highlight the importance of places that support a broader range of public experiences (not just serve the needs of a selected few) and thereby foster a feeling of belonging, familiarity and trust in other people that cross our paths (ibid: 42-56).

A lot of coverage of and attention (e.g. awards) to the design of public spaces is dominated by major schemes, city centre sites and iconic regeneration projects.

Indeed, arts-led regeneration strategies which have focused on building new museums and cultural centres on a grand scale – such as The Popular Music Centre in Sheffield, The Public arts centre in West Bromwich, along with a number of other examples in Europe and North America (Sudjic, 2006), have often not only failed to attract audiences, but those who have been attracted come from a very narrow demographic range. However it is the everyday spaces and local areas that most people experience most of the time, including new migrants, in and around housing and other local amenities (e.g. parks, libraries, markets, community centres) which reveal widespread and diverse use (Mean & Tims, 2005).

With these points in mind our literature review has particularly focused on three key types of these everyday public spaces as follows:

- i. Community gardens, e.g. urban growing
- ii. Public amenities, e.g. libraries
- iii. Urban parks and public realm, e.g. public squares

The literature has been organised by the main type of public space and particular features, distinguishing between temporary and permanent measures which have been introduced to facilitate a sense of 'belonging' and those mechanisms facilitating improved 'security and safety'. From our review, these spaces have been grouped by the following three main types, distinguishing between interventions with a specific ethnic/migrant and/or gender focus, and those of general benefit. The annotated literature review is attached in Appendix I and the findings summarised below. This template has been used to produce a list of good practice case studies, from which in depth case studies have been selected.

2.1.1. Community Gardens and Urban Growing

Community gardens, allotments and local urban farming and food projects and initiatives reflect the need by migrant communities to grow specific food types, at low cost, and as a social activity resonant of their home country (e.g. former agricultural

communities). These include green spaces attached to housing and dedicated spaces such as allotments and city farms. 'For many non-European migrants, farming is a way of life that stretches back for generations. Urban farming allows immigrants to use the skills passed down to gain access to fresh produce they once enjoyed but that is unavailable in local markets.

In Australia, an investigation of backyard culture suggests that even the weakest social contact across backyards could foster interculturalism. Morgan and colleagues conducted several open-ended, semi-structured interviews with residents of Fairfield in and around their backyards or gardens (2003/4) and highlighted several examples showing how they have merged their diverse homeland cultures into something altogether new, something that works better than the English garden culture inherited from the colonial days. Residents learn from and adapt to each other and sometimes –through their joined interest in gardening- develop relatively strong social links (Morgan 2005). Gardeners in Germany have adapted a more proactive approach and started to purposively form intercultural garden clubs that bring together gardeners with different origins and agricultural knowledge. Activities not only encompass the usual digging and pruning but also the enjoyment of time spent together in and around their shared garden (Mueller 2007). For these relations to flourish such ties between community members need to be maintained over several years. The aim should be to design a network of sustainable neighbourhoods that meets the needs of all residents - no matter their background- and encourages long-term intercultural contact, using design measures but also deliberate initiatives targeting social and cultural inclusion.

Wood & Landry (2008) have described the Intercultural Garden Movement in Germany as being an important 'Modern Zone of Encounter'. There are now nearly 100 such gardens in Germany where members of ethnic minority groups work alongside each other and long-standing German residents cultivating vegetables and flower-growing.

In Britain the allotment movement has seen similar developments in encouraging intercultural use and enjoyment of gardening projects, particularly in urban areas. The Coriander Club in Bethnal Green, east London, is a well-known example of this, as is the work of the Bankside Open Spaces Trust (BOST) in the London Borough of

Southwark, which works alongside tenants and residents in social housing to improve estate gardens and develop food-growing projects (DTLR 2002).

Meanwhile Leases

This movement – now gaining international attention – was started in Todmorden in the UK in 2008 as a way of using urban wasteland to grow food. It has now spread to over 30 towns in the UK, and is being taken up in other countries too. In response to this public appetite for food-growing space, the UK government department DEFRA, is developing a policy on ‘meanwhile leases’, which allow undeveloped land to be made available to community groups for allotment projects on a short-to medium term basis (DEFRA 2011). Many of these projects have a strong inter-cultural element.

The work of BOST was highlighted in the UK government’s 2002 report, *Green Spaces, Better Places*, as exemplary in creating community cohesion. Other social enterprises such as *Growing Communities* in London use food-growing as a proxy for providing support to isolated individuals or communities to mix and meet in a productive and meaningful way. The British film *Grow Your Own* (2007), about a group of refugees and asylum-seekers in Liverpool who are encouraged to work together on an allotment in Liverpool, was based on a real project – ‘Putting Down Roots’ – which found allotment-holdings for refugees as part of a resettlement programme. In 2009 the New Local Government Network (NGLN) in the UK published a comprehensive study of these community food-growing initiatives called ‘Can You Dig It?’, commending them as a mature response to both food poverty and the need for community cohesion. (Hope & Ellis, 2009)

Urban agriculture is now a growing phenomenon across the world - famously so in the near-derelict areas of Detroit USA - but is largely characteristic in poorer neighbourhoods with higher proportions of ethnic minority residents, where vacated land, run-down parks, sites long-scheduled for development, provide opportunities for food growing and inter-cultural working. (Wahl 2009)

Figure 1. Farmers' market in Clissold Park, UK



Picture: Lorraine Worpole

Spontaneous uses of public open space, particularly those that sidestep formal processes, are also common in newcomer communities: “if you ask people to come to a meeting with park authorities to talk about how to get access to green space they are not going to come. They would sooner find an abandoned lot and plant their peppers than supply their names” (in Lanfer & Taylor 2005: 7). Some undocumented immigrants may be unwilling to put themselves at risk by attending community meetings (where names may be recorded). In Boston, USA one open space planner found that in order to ensure a democratic process, it has been necessary to go door-to-door with an interpreter, so that newcomers can voice their opinions without having to appear at a meeting (ibid.) In such schemes issues of safety and belonging are realised at neighbourhood and community level, not in the formal civic or public sphere.

2.1.2. Public amenities / libraries

The second type of public space includes libraries since they provide the most common type of community and cultural amenity and new and refurbished facilities have responded to the intercultural agenda as well as to specific cultural policies (e.g. literacy, new technology, mixed use and cross-generational activities). They

also form part of wider public space and regeneration projects, including public squares and transport.

Against expectations, the public library building is enjoying a new era of prestige across the world. So too are many other forms of library design and architecture, as higher education expands to meet a global demand for better educated populations capable of attending to their own intellectual self-development and professional expertise. No modern town or city is complete today without a confident central library functioning as a meeting place and intellectual heart of civic life.

The core functions of these new public libraries are not simply more of the same (and bigger and bolder) – they are different in very many ways from what has gone before. As architect and critic Brian Edwards has observed, “Libraries have seen more change in the past twenty years than at any time in the past hundred.” (Edwards, 2009: xiii)

Throughout Europe there has been a very large wave of library-building since 2000: from Barcelona to Malmo, from Brighton to Caen, and from Amsterdam to Magdeburg. These new public libraries are not only attracting a significantly younger audience than ever before, but also a much more intercultural mix of users and members. This move has been described as being ‘from collection to connection’ (Latimer, 2011). The new library buildings tend to be located in the city centre and are designed to provide an urban cultural hub, providing not only books, audio-visual materials and study spaces, but also programmes of activities, author visits, poetry readings and events aimed at a diverse population. Many contain large collections of books and AV materials in a variety of languages relevant to the demographic make-up of the population to be served. All report a significant rise in users and borrowers, particularly amongst young people attracted to free wi-fi, good study space, and other support facilities. The phenomenal growth in reading groups in UK public libraries, provides a good example of how libraries provide not only ‘shared space’ but ‘shared cultural space’. (Worpole 2013)

Through this spatial profiling of amenities and communities - and their access and usage - local authorities can assess how inclusive their provision is, and how representative usage is. In the case of libraries these can demonstrate both high

access and usage across social groups and suggests that they are good venues and sites for intercultural inter-action and exchange..

Example - Lewisham Libraries

The CultureMap project which was funded via Audiences London by the Arts Council of England, has developed an accessible cultural mapping resource which can be used by individual venues, centres and local authorities in better planning their community facilities and evaluating how successful they are in reaching target users. A pilot project with the London Borough of Lewisham - Intercultural City member – has applied CultureMap to library provision and usage in the borough.

This analyses residents in terms of key socio-economic, demographic and 'lifestyle' indicators by location using their post or zip codes. This illustrates where particular groups are located and concentrated and this data is then used to map the distribution of community and other facilities and also their usage by different resident groups. In Lewisham this showed that libraries are not only well-distributed and accessible to local communities (high 'penetration' rates) but that users are representative of the borough's community as a whole and particularly by more deprived members ('Welfare Borderline', 'Municipal Dependency') as well as the most established members of the community ('Ties of Community').

Mapping usage and the provision of community facilities - formal and informal - also provides insights to where best to locate these facilities in order to encourage and reach new migrant groups. The reknown US Urban Sociologist Richard Sennett, who had also served as a Planning Commissioner in New York, was of the opinion that rather than locate cultural facilities in the centre of where these communities were located (i.e. "ghettoised") - which had been the received wisdom - they should instead be sited on the "edge" of these communities, so that inter-action and intercultural exchange could take place.

In a special edition of the journal, *Architectural Review*, devoted to 'The Library and the City', architectural critic Trevor Boddy expressed some scepticism about the so-called 'Bilbao Effect', which suggested that only iconic museums designed by world-famous architects could rescue failing cities from oblivion (Boddy 2006). He noted that, "It seems evident that the building that will come to emblematis the beginning of a new century of public architecture is not the latest Kuntsthalle by Hadid, Holl or Herzog & de Meuron, but rather Rem Koolhaas' Seattle Central Public Library".

Such questions are now being asked around the world as a generation of 'iconic' cultural buildings struggle to find revenue funding and audiences. For a devastating

critique of the baleful influence and final implosion of the 'Bilbao Effect', see Deyan Sudjic's essay on 'The Uses of Culture' in his book *The Edifice Complex*, where he itemises the spiralling costs of many of these grand projects, and their early demise or slow foundering (Sudjic: 2006). The profile of visitors to these iconic projects also reveals a declining local audience compared to tourist visits. Investing in people-based programmes may be more productive as a cultural strategy rather than over-investing in large elite buildings if an inclusive and intercultural strategy is to be effective.

Figure 2. Young women working in Internet Zone, Ward End Library, Birmingham (left), Entrance Idea Store (right)



The reason why libraries still have a clear civic edge over the proliferation of art galleries and museums of recent years - in the name of urban regeneration - is because they continue to provide a much richer range of public spaces than these other forms of cultural provision, public or private. One of our interviewees, Adrian Whittle, Head of Culture Libraries Learning and Leisure Environment at the London Borough of Southwark, observed that at two of the borough's most recently designed libraries, in Peckham and at Canada Water, ethnic minority use, especially amongst young people, had increased enormously, and for this new generation, public libraries were seen as 'the place to be'. Libraries, he said, are places where young people are not stigmatised, and their parents regard them as a safe place for their children to be, a place that belongs to everybody.

We might also note of particular importance that ethnic minority use of community gardens, parks and libraries in particular, may often be related to these places being alcohol-free – a major concern for many, though rarely taken into account in policy

studies or public space strategies., Work done recently on fast food outlets, parks and libraries at the Cities Institute, London Metropolitan University has revealed this to be an under-rated factor in many ethnic minority communities' use of certain kinds of public space (Bagwell 2011). An over-emphasis on street festivals, music festivals and consumption-led public activity, with high level of associated drinking, may prevent particular ethnic minority groups from engaging with public space.

Figure 3.Open Air Library in Magdeburg, Germany



2.1.3. Urban parks and public realm

Parks and public realm (including street and pedestrian access) represent a broad and ubiquitous range of facilities and experience. The city park is now a generic element of urban planning across the world, and people are used to them wherever they grow up in cities, though when moving to another country, different park traditions may represent some 'threshold' problems of access and sense of belonging.

Parks usage amongst particular migrant groups is rarely casual when compared with 'host' communities, with organised games, festivals and picnics with ethnic groups securing a sense of their own safety and legitimacy through numbers - for example London's Iranian community in city parks; large scale Turkish barbeques in Berlin parks, to more organised events and 'Pleasure Gardens', such as Parc de Villette, Paris (e.g. playgrounds, film screenings, music events); and theme parks such as Tivoli Gardens, Copenhagen and Stockholm's Gröna Lund which are all well used by migrant communities. Research in the UK (Comedia/Demos 1995), found that while parks in British cities display quite high levels of ethnic minority use, this is often more organised than casual – whether taking part in football, family picnics, festivals – rather than daily jogging or dog-walking. Nevertheless, many local authorities have gone out of their way to emphasise the intercultural possibilities of park use, through equal opportunities employment policies, multicultural festivals, and even the design of gardens such as the Mughal Gardens in Bradford's distinguished Lister Park.

The relationship between more deprived communities - including ethnic minorities and areas where typically new migrant first settle - and the provision, quality and accessibility of urban parks was investigated in a two part quantitative (*Urban Nation*) and qualitative (*Common Green*) study (CABE Space 2010) - see below. The study found strong evidence that when people value their local green space and are likely to feel safe in it, they use it more and are more physically active. Concern about personal safety is the most important barrier to the use of green space, and perceptions of individual safety differed between ethnic groups. For instance, only 53% of Bangladeshi people reported feeling safe using their local green space compared with 75% of white interviewees. Different groups also need different

spaces at different times of the day: “we don’t mix with boys. We need somewhere to go to be away from our parents, somewhere just for girls” (*Young Pakistani female, focus group participant, Manchester*).

Example: Not So Green a Pleasant Land

A major national study commissioned by the CABE Space government agency (2009) looked at the relationship between the quality and quantity/access of open space in over 150 urban areas in England. Overall the study found that more deprived areas had markedly below average neighbourhood green space – the most affluent areas had five times the amount of parks or general green space (excluding gardens) that is enjoyed by the most deprived 10% of areas (and areas with less than 2% BMEs six times more than areas with more than 40% BME population): *‘the disadvantage of migrant communities reflects their location, concentrated in inner city areas, but also their relative lack of bargaining power in the housing system and in some cases their relatively recent arrival in the country’* (p.71). Quality of space is also correlated with satisfaction ratings - falling from over 80% in better off to under 50% in poorer urban areas, although migrant groups value open and green space just as much as their hosts. Here open space is associated with graffiti, litter and other uncivil activities. It is no surprise that usage rates are also 20% lower in these areas. A consequence of this is that physical activity and health benefits/opportunities arising are a third lower in areas with higher levels (quantity and quality) of open space amenity.

A key observation from this study is that while proximity to open space may seem adequate in more deprived areas, where ethnic minority and in particular new migrants are located, actual access is limited by poor urban safety (road traffic, fear of crime, anti-social behaviour), poor quality open space and an unwelcoming social and physical environment.

Based on exhaustive demographic and land use analysis, this study then undertook qualitative local area case studies in six local authorities (London, Midlands and North West) around 13 local parks. These sought to assess the relationship between urban green space and people’s well being with a focus on ethnicity. The main ethnic groups involved were Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, African, Caribbean and Other BME. Methods included a household questionnaire (n=523), focus groups (n=4) in 3 regions. Factors and features that resident groups valued included ‘signage’, ‘neighbourhood quality’, ‘welcoming access’, ‘aesthetics’, ‘security/safety’, ‘social activities’. Satisfaction amongst those consulted was ‘fair’ (despite variations between park quality and performance) with the two London authorities scoring the lowest ‘fairly dissatisfied’. Bangladeshi groups felt most ‘Unsafe’. A key finding was that those variables associated with well-being were strongly correlated with satisfaction with the local neighbourhood as a place to live. The neighbourhood score was also significantly correlated with green space attitudinal variables – satisfaction, attractiveness, safety and frequency of use.

The results showed that ‘pleasant green space’ is perceived to be an important health and well being resource, and if improved, people believed that it would improve their physical and mental health and also improve their social relations with family and friends. The study concludes that green space quality is a predictor of satisfaction with a local neighbourhood and a dimension strongly associated with social well-being. **The biggest single barrier to accessing green space was concern for safety with 37% saying that they would use green space more if safety was improved** (a view that was highest amongst Caribbean, African and Bangladeshi respondents).

As this national study concluded: the current inequality of provision matters, especially as the ethnic and age profile changes. Everyone wants to live in an area

that has a pleasant and safe environment. The individual and community benefits are immeasurable. This research concludes that **it makes sense to focus on the people in the community who are worse off. Improving green space in urban areas benefits those that have most to gain.**

A practical outcome from this research has been CABI's Space shaper toolkit that captures people's views about a space. Results can be compared between different groups and used to agree shared priorities for action before time and money is invested in improvements. Young people are often overlooked in community engagement. Space shaper 9-14 can be used in schools and youth clubs, enabling young people to get involved in improving their local parks, streets, playgrounds and other spaces(www.cabi.org.uk/public-space/spaceshaper).

From work both in the UK and wider Europe - and also from evidence in the USA - different migrant groups prefer and use a variety of open spaces in quite different ways and for varying purposes (see Risbeth 2001, Devier 2005, Sasidharan 1999, Scott 2000, Lanfer & Taylor 2005). This varies from group versus individual usage; active sports versus more passive usage; recreation versus cultural activity; and attraction to particular amenities and aspects of parks, e.g. flora, waterside, with some ethnic groups more visible and present in regular parks usage than others. From systematic parks user surveys in London, UK, qualities that have universal appeal were 'peace and quiet', 'tranquility', 'like the country', 'open space', 'flora & fauna' (CELTS 1995) and therefore over-animating or developing urban parks needs to consider their core value.

In the USA, where there is much more research evidence in this regard, Gobster and colleagues have examined outdoor recreation use patterns and preferences among the diverse clientele of the Lincoln Park in Chicago. Their research relied on on-site surveys (n= 898, involving 217 Black, 210 Latino, 182 Asian and 289 White). Interviews were conducted across the site and during different times of day, and days in week. However, sampling focused on an area in the park with the most diverse clientele. An "ethnic team" concept was used, where an interviewer reflected the ethnic background of his or her interviewee. Ethnic background (interviewer and interviewee) was recorded as a categorical variable (self-report). Survey feedback suggests that park users commonly share a core set of interests, preferences, and

concerns about their park and its management. Positive responses about the natural features of the park and its proximity to their homes were common to all groups, and so was their interest in engaging in group-activities, such as sports, games and festivals. All groups, furthermore, shared concerns for cleanliness and maintenance, and a common perception about park safety. **Litter and vandalism and the need for more and cleaner restrooms were top problems mentioned by all groups** (Gobster 2002:153).

A closer inspection revealed some differences in how people from different social and ethnic backgrounds access, use and perceive Lincoln Park. Minority groups were less likely to live near the park and thus more likely to drive there, compared to "Whites". The latter also more frequently engaged in recreational activities than the others (Gobster 2002: 146). Park use patterns varied in terms of group size and composition. Whites were more likely to exercise on their own, whereas passive activities, including picnics and socialising were more common among the other groups. The perception of some problems also varied between groups: Asians mentioned parking and park access problems more than other groups; Latinos the restrooms and lack of other facilities; Whites crowding, user conflicts, and the homeless; and Blacks prejudicial behaviour of other users, park staff, and police (Gobster 2002:151, Gobster & Delgado 1993).

The manager of Cochituate State Park outside of Boston, USA describes the use of this space known locally as the "United Nations" of parks: Latinos tend to congregate along the water's edge, Muslims use their prayer mats in the afternoon, sometimes in groups, sometimes by themselves. Russians tend to gather in a wooded area far from the crowds and use the park all winter long, while some Asian groups prefer the highlands overlooking the central plain (Lanfer & Taylor 2005: 4). According to open space advocates in Boston, USA immigrants do not need highly "coded" and programmed parks, but rather flexible public spaces that defy homogenisation and encourage adaptation (Lanfer & Taylor 2005). **These surveys can be useful in identifying patterns that may be overlooked by parks and planning professionals, and can provide the basis for changing or improving park facilities. Their disadvantage, however, is that they commonly assign people who are diverse by other standards to large undifferentiated categories,**

and tell us little about the ideals and expectations that underlie these broad observations (ibid).

Several U.S. based studies have also highlighted discrimination as one contemporary barrier to greater minority participation in outdoor recreation (cf. West 1989, Blahna & Black 1993, Gramann & Saenz 1993). Wallace & Witter (1992) have reported that minority visitors, in particular African Americans, would only use an urban park when their safety would be guaranteed. Their discussion is grounded onto focus group data involving African-American residents of St Louis. Zhang and Gobster (1998) have looked at the Sun Yat-Sen Playground Park development in Chicago's Chinatown area, which was designed to suit the needs of local, predominantly Chinese American, residents. They found that the proximity of the proposed park to a large social housing estate was of considerable concern during planning stage due to few but well-known incidents of discrimination and assault linked to these areas (Zhang & Gobster 1998: 348). Floyd (1999) has reviewed the literature on minority visitation of parks and concluded that the role of discrimination in minority decisions regarding park use has not received adequate research attention, although park managers and researchers have highlighted direct encounters with discriminatory behaviour or perceived discrimination as barriers to park use among minority groups (Floyed 1999: 5). **In addition to understanding interpersonal discrimination, the role of institutional discrimination, such as the cultural and social schedule and staffing, has yet to be determined** (ibid: 18).

The use of flora and landscape design as already mentioned with regard to the Mughal Gardens in Bradford's Lister Park can help to communicate different cultural identities and, thus contribute to a sense of space and, so can artworks. Several studies have linked flora to traditional and cultural values of park visitors (Meurk & Swaffeld 2000: 134, Meurk 2005) - e.g. Lotus plant, a divine symbol in Buddhist and Hindu cultures. In Chumleigh Gardens in Burgess Park, London, use is intentionally made of plants and landscapes that are culturally linked to particular migrant groups - parks designers chose bamboo for its resonance with Malaysians and planted stunted vegetation along a steep cliff in order to emphasise its similarity to the Bosnian coastline (Lanfer & Taylor 2005). Festivals are also among the most visible

intercultural cultural events that take place in public space and offer a forum for self-expression and creativity.

Figure 4.The park as a multi-cultural gathering place.Clissold Park, Hackney.



Picture: Lorraine Worpole

The showing of art works, exhibitions and other cultural events are not only an opportunity to meet, but also “create an experimental mental space” in which all participants encounter something new to them and new cross-cultural relationships can be formed upon this experience. Skilled management can foster interconnectivity, collaborations and innovations without alienating the traditional audience. Wood and Landry (2008: 200) have referred to several good practice examples, the “Four Wards Intercultural Project”, “Tara Arts” and the “Bradford *mela*” being three of them. Parks are public spaces that should provide opportunities for physical activity, social interaction, and escape from urban living for people of all walks of life.

Well-designed public spaces in general encourage people to leave their routine environment and explore new spaces. By doing so, they are potentially more receptive to new social contacts (Amin 2002: 969-70, Gehl 1996). For public spaces to function as a forum that brings together diverse visitors and provide a stage for increased dialogue, those spaces need to be inclusive: in the sense that nobody encounters an actual (e.g. physical barriers as well as availability of key amenities) or perceived (e.g. fear of discrimination, safety) barrier to use shared spaces.

It is already clear from the 2012 London Olympic Games that outdoor events and sports are now providing important opportunities for intercultural activities, as has been evident from the ethnic make-up of so many European teams, consisting as they do of a significant percentage of first and second generation immigrants. Two of the most successful and popular UK Olympic gold medal winners were Somali-born Mo Farah and Jessica Ennis, the daughter of a Jamaican father who came to Britain in the 1960s. It should also be pointed out that the main public legacy from the Games is a new public park (Queen Elizabeth Park) in what is one the most ethnically diverse boroughs in the UK (LB. Newham). Inclusive design has been a strategy for both the facilities, landscaping and future operation of the park (www.londonlegacy.co.uk/media/Inclusive-Design-Strategy.pdf).

Figure 5. Prayer room Queen Elizabeth Park, Newham, London



As well as physical access, features such as multi-faith prayer rooms are also available across the Park.

Outdoor cultural and festivals can provide immigrant communities with opportunities to join together and express their cultural traditions (see below). Cultural gatherings in specific city parks can also lead to demonstrable year-round increase in the number of immigrants who feel comfortable using the park (Lanfer & Taylor 2005).

2.1.4. Festivals and other interventions

Other public spaces too have the potential to facilitate intercultural interaction. Take for example the Fusion Project in Berlin Neukoelln, which is a densely populated district in central Berlin. More than a third of its residents originate from countries other than Germany. With the help of local stakeholders, project coordinator FUSION - Intercultural Projects Berlin e.V. started in 2001 to convert one residential street into an intercultural social space. FUSIONSTREET has ever since randomly offered parties, concerts, dance performances, flea markets, art and theatre involving children attending the adjacent schools but also their family, friends, neighbours or just passers-by. FUSION emphasises the arts (e.g. music, theatre, dance, costume design, making masks, sculpture, film and photography) as a means by which - especially young- locals can represent their own realities to others. It has grown into a space where different cultures meet and merge into something new (Fusion 2012). Another example is the annual Zinneke Parade in Brussels.

Zinneke was born in 2000, stimulated by Brussels hosting the European Cultural Capital in 2000. On the surface, it takes the form of a street parade, but its philosophy and practice go deeper - influenced by reaction to the very separateness that underpins the Belgian state. A manifestation of both togetherness and diversity, Zinneke takes to the streets every second year to show interculturality in action.

The name Zinneke embodies a quality of bravado, for 'zinneke' is local slang for a small dog, or a mutt - a creature that makes its own rules and accepts nobody's boundaries. Although free and 'zinneke-like' in aspiration it has of course had to spawn a complex structure. The parade itself comes out of design workshops that operate many months before the event. Called 'zinnodes', they are based in different cultural associations of the city, and the city is divided into four organisational quarters, each with its own blog. Zinneke cites 220 partner organisations, most often sited in the disadvantaged areas of the city centre in which migrants have settled. Each year an overall theme is set. In 2006, it was 'Brussels Imagines the Future' while 2008 will see the more cryptic 'Water'. The parade that takes to the streets - with around 4,000 participants - features costumes and floats, dancers and drummers, jugglers and acrobats, puppets and people. It is very popular, and has been estimated to attract 300,000 spectators.

Where does it stand? Is it 'multicultural' or simply Belgian? Zinneke's own Charter describes its ethos as 'a transcultural creation'. Its essence lies in both diversity and unity. 'The Zinneke Parade,' its Charter continues, 'doesn't consider Brussels' variety of communities as living apart together but as a real melting pot, a colourful jumble of interactions in all directions which gives rise to a fireworks of art products. Furthermore, the Zinnekes sing the praises of bilingualism: Turco-German, Anglo-Spanish, Arabo-Japanese, Franco-Albanian, Italo-Swahili and pure "Brusseleir".

The parade is a very large endeavour and therefore biennial but planning takes place long before the event, and also includes ongoing activities and projects and partnerships. An exchange has taken place between Zinneke for instance and the Par Tot (local slang for 'for everyone') Parade in Bologna, Italy, run by the Associazione Culturale Oltre. A relationship has also been made with Lyons'

Le Defile de la Biennale. In Brussels itself, a free weekly radio workshop contributes material to Radio Campus FM 107.2. They locate themselves determinedly in a present-day space, explaining that, 'The artistic choices the Zinneke Parade makes are thoroughly contemporary, although the Zinnekes do not at all deny the past, its traditions and folklore. On the contrary, they adopt them and integrate them to make their creation an expression of our time and their vision of the future.'

Lessons Learned

Zinneke is a good example of an activity that emerged from the ground up, although the opportunity of Brussels being the Capital of Culture gave it a big kick-start. It abjures the policy approach of both communities – celebrating difference while also headlining togetherness. It is interesting that it emerged in the same year as Bologna's Intercultural FEST-FESTival, and it is possible to see it in similar ranks to the Scottish Arts Carnival and the Notting Hill Carnival, Europe's largest street festival.

Naseem Khan (2007) *ERICarts: "National approaches and practices in the European Union in relation to Intercultural Dialogue"*

www.interculturaldialogue.eu/web/files/44/en/Khan-CS01.doc

The challenge remains to mediate the different interests. What may work for one group of people may not work for others. A local festival, for example, could constitute a barrier for people with impaired mobility or vision, parents with push chairs or elderly people no matter their ethnic background. The case study of Afrikaanderplein in section 3.4 provides an example of how the use of public space has successfully been negotiated and developed to meet the needs of a variety of different users.

Figure 6.Day of community celebration, Clissold Park, Hackney, east London.



Picture: Lorraine Worpole

Figure 7.Carnival of Cultures Berlin 2012



Picture©nipunscorp.com

Figure 8. The success of the 2012 London Olympics and Paralympics owed a lot to the friendly, inter-racial composition of the crowd attending.

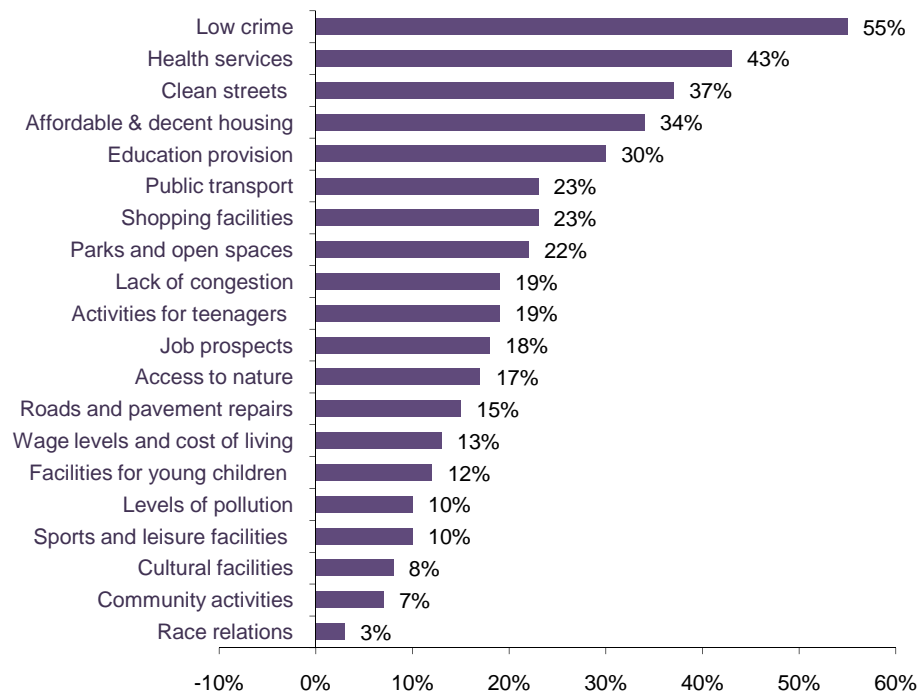


Picture: Lorraine Worpole

2.2. Neighbourhood Spaces and Safety

Systematic evidence suggests that how people perceive their neighbourhood seems to largely depend on an area's appearance (e.g. signs of neglect and vandalism) and quality. Factors that contribute to making somewhere 'a good place to live' combine the physical and the social, but safety and access to key amenities and services ranked highly in the UK see Fig.1 (BVPI 2007).

Figure 9. Factors that contribute to making somewhere ‘a good place to live’



Research has also found that community cohesion is negatively correlated with disorderly behaviour (cf. Sampson 1997), and so is the standard of housing. Housing that does not take into consideration the diverse concerns and requirements of their community - e.g. are young people catered for in the design of public space - is another factor linked to dissatisfaction and disorderly behaviour (Wood & Landry 2008: 258-260). For example, where youngsters have no place to mingle they find a place (e.g. stairway) which they make their own (e.g. gang-related graffiti) (Worpole 2003). One possible consequence of which is fear particularly among female residents deriving from the sheer presence of young men on the estate (Alvi 2001). The solution is not necessarily always an increased presence of security guards and CCTV. CCTV has also been found to be less effective in actual crime prevention and victim protection, than in reporting and detection –and only significant in crime reduction in car parks with improved lighting and security guards (Welsh&Farrington,2008). More vulnerable groups and those who rely more on walking and without access to a car (i.e.older and younger people, new migrants, low income groups) frequently cite the safety factor, including fear of crime, as the highest in determining their travel behaviour. A range of perceptual and environmental constraints are felt by a much wider population who

are effectively excluded from travel, including a high proportion of older people and others suffering social exclusion, including women, women with young children and ethnic minorities (Evans 2009).

In large-scale parks user surveys, frequent preference is expressed for improved shelters, lighting, signage (including multilingual), seating and more visible park-keepers wardens (CELTIS 1996). The latter point is important since in one of the largest mass observation of parks users in London (n=36,000 interviews) visitors preferred to see and inter-act with park wardens and gardeners rather than parks police. As Lanfer & Taylor (2005: 13) note: “The culture of a park is set by people, policies, and implicit as well as explicit signals. The diversity of park staff, the linguistic abilities of rangers, signage, the food that is available, and the historical and scientific information highlighted in a park all send messages about who the park is for and whose values the park is there to protect and celebrate”.

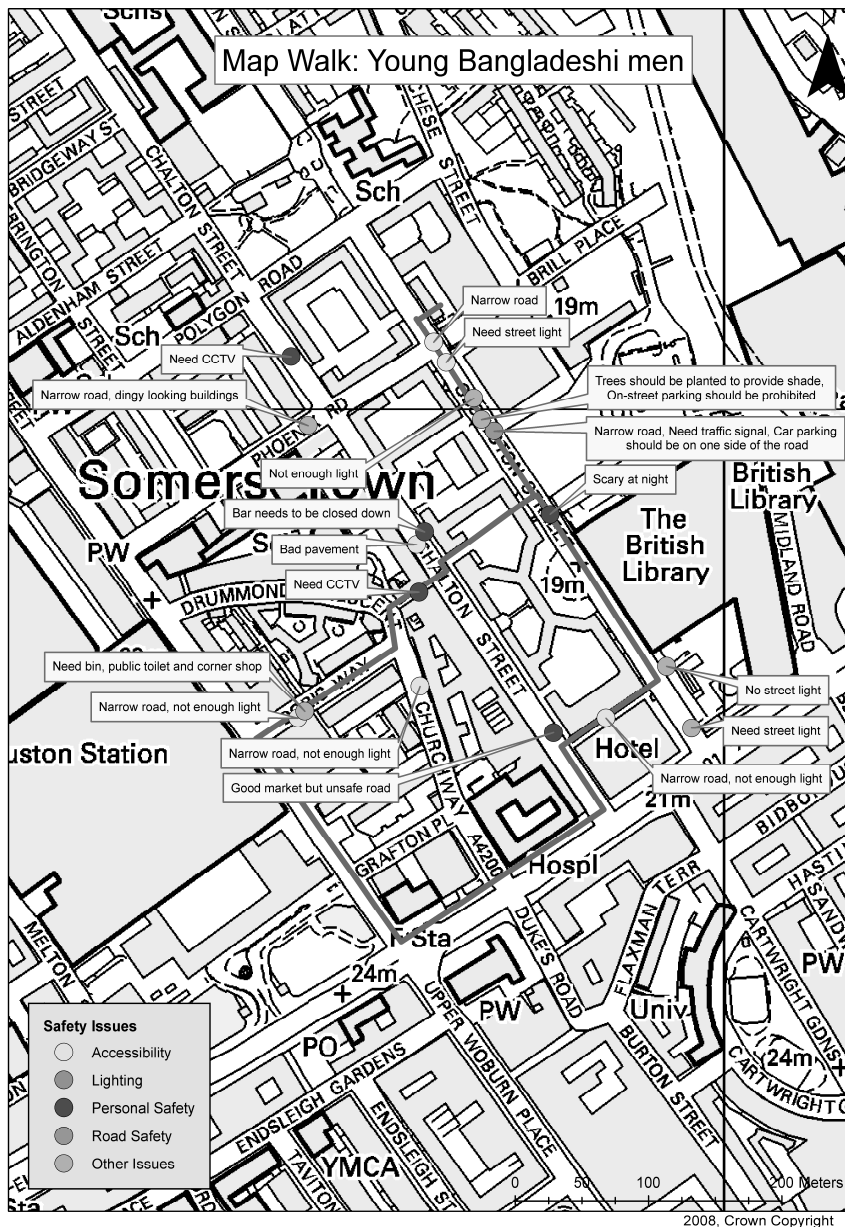
Addressing these factors through street and space management, including staffing, and in the accessibility, design and layout of amenities will contribute to both safer and more welcoming everyday environments. Design Against Crime or Street Crime Audits (COPS, 2005) should also be undertaken periodically in and around public parks and spaces offering residents and users the opportunity to express their concerns and experience which may well differ from official data and evidence (e.g. recorded crime incidents) particularly around anti-social behaviour and fear of crime. Toolkits have also been designed in collaboration with local authorities and transport agencies to capture design and perceptual features of neighbourhood routes in order to improve accessibility and minimise barriers to more vulnerable residents – see Street Design (SDI) and Street Environment (SEI) Indices (www.aunt-sue.info).

Local authorities forming crime and community safety partnerships including police, transport, planning and youth & community representatives are best placed to coordinate and respond to safety concerns and to implement design against crime initiatives, drawing again on good practice. The Crime Opportunity Profiling of Streets analysis based on a European (EU AGIS) project (COPS 2005) provides a range of tools and case studies, and see also guidance at: www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime/partnerships/effective-practice1/; www.designagainstcrime.com; www.doca.org.uk/bibliog.asp

Whilst crime and fear of crime are key barriers to access, particularly amongst more vulnerable and hard to reach groups, anti-social behaviour also acts as an everyday barrier to pedestrian movement and open space usage. This takes many forms but Evans (2009) established in a study involving residents from a variety of different ethnic groups in Somers town in London UK, that some gatherings constitute a barrier for certain groups and result in them avoiding these spaces and routes.

For example, Bangladeshi young men tended to avoid a popular gastro-pub, because of safety fears related to the consumption of alcohol, including on the street, and risk of racist behaviour. A technique of Map walks and participatory-GIS was adopted in this in depth study in order to allow residents and new migrants to express their views and perceptions of their neighbourhood, routes through and amenities which engendered fear. These findings were used to inform local authority urban design, crime prevention and planning/transport policy and interventions.

Figure 10. Map Walk : Young Bangladeshi men



By using simple participatory mapping workshops residents can express their views and perceptions of their neighbourhood and particular routes and features visually, overcoming language barriers. This technique has been applied with under-five year olds, to pensioners - including new and old migrants and inter-generational groups. The tool is also useful for local authorities and transport planners who can 'layer' various demographic, social and land-use data over community perceptions to see how they correlate or diverge.

2.3. Indicators for inclusive public spaces

Evidence from a series of international studies suggests that users of public spaces commonly state that the quality and availability of the infrastructure and the amenities (e.g. cafes, restrooms, sport fields, trails) encourage use, whereas the presence of litter, vandalism, and unclean restrooms could deter recreational activities. Another key observation is that minority groups are more likely to avoid such spaces as a result of discrimination (Dwyer 1990, Solop et al. 2003, Gobster 2008). Urban planners, park wardens, architects can help to create an “interculturally” inclusive environment that attracts visitors from all walks of life – Intercultural in the sense that minority groups are incorporated into cross-cultural activities, dialogues and organisations (Sandercock 2003b). Some design features, such as well groomed flora or art and festivals, have been found to be useful in particular seasons or on specific dates. Other features are of a more permanent nature and fundamentally impact upon how places are perceived – e.g. architecture, bridges, place names et cetera. Scholars also highlighted that some policy measures may work for a particular group but socially and culturally exclude others. On the other hand some design elements seem to hold broad cross-cultural appeal. Architectural and environmental theorists such as Charles Alexander have suggested that certain design elements resonate across all human societies and wherever possible should be incorporated into park design. The concept of a circular ‘loop’ and proximity to water are two popular universal design aspects (Lanfer & Taylor 2005).

2.3.1 Evidence of Success

For planning to be culturally inclusive, planners have to be able to discern which measures are most useful under which circumstances. This is not just a matter of knowing or acting, but also a matter of collaboration and sharing. Several examples of socially and culturally inclusive projects already exist in Europe.

Le Medi in Amsterdam or **Biz Botuluyuz in Rotterdam** are two examples of multicultural living complexes that have attracted much attention among architects. One blogger writes: “Interestingly, the Mediterranean character of Le Medi and its inbuilt growth possibilities attracted indigenous inhabitants who make up three

quarters of the inhabitants. On the basis of their success larger estates of this nature are being initiated in this neighbourhood. They include a project for a Moroccan House of Culture supported by the Moroccan government, akin to the existing Chinese European Centre, where inhabitants from all cultures can learn more about each other and trans-national living would be able to take shape. It is being argued that “today, the value of architecture cannot be easily measured in terms of its authors’ ethical inclinations. Idrissi’s emancipatory dream does not automatically validate Geurst’s architecture. But there is more to this project than offering a mere symbol for the emancipation of immigrants in Dutch city life.” (*Afritecture*, <http://www.afritecture.org/architecture/le-medi> accessed on 27th September 2012) Both projects incorporate cultural aspects within the design that reflect the diversity of these intercultural communities and in addition ensure that the chosen layout incorporates shared spaces (e.g. communal backyards with seating facilities) that invite a broad range of shared experiences with potential to foster familiarity and trust between residents. The **Brunnenhof in Zurich** [Brunnenhof] goes beyond a focus on inclusive design and invests time and effort in actively facilitating interactions between its residents, e.g. through joined management responsibility or play groups. All three estates are designed to meet the needs of their diverse clientele in terms of space requirements and affordability, but only the latter also emphasises the importance of growing a cohesive community structure. Whereas the former two estates entail courtyards where residents can engage in joined activities, residents in the Swiss example use the adjacent public park.

Other European countries have intercultural garden projects that are similar to the aforementioned German cases and are not linked to particular housing estates. Take for example the **Coriander Club at Spitalfields City Farm** in London, and the Strong Roots project in Norwich City Council [NLGN] which are both intercultural community projects that brings together gardeners from diverse backgrounds. These cases include users that would otherwise not have had access to affordable healthy food or the space required to engage in this kind of recreational activity. As the Swiss case suggests, urban parks are frequently used for various social activities outside the estate. In the Brunnenhof case, residents actively participated in the planning of recent redevelopments – e.g. play park picnic areas. Another good practice example of a culturally and socially inclusive green space is the **Mile End Park** in London, which was re-developed in the early 1990s to foster intercultural

interaction between different ethnic groups. The development stage entailed the construction of a new bridge connecting previously segregated communities. Since then park wardens who themselves originate from this community and represent locally dominant ethnic groups have turned this physical space into a social space, including an out-door gym, skater and soccer park, dog-training facilities, along with organising community events attracting the diverse communities that live in the nearby estates or work locally. When interviewed for the case study, the Park Director confirmed that frequent monitoring of park use by all the various ethnic and cultural communities which made up the catchment area was a priority both for himself and his staff, but also for the funding bodies.

Similarly, the **Handsworth Park** in Birmingham (UK) and the **Pearson Park** in Hull (UK) underwent a radical transformation in order to facilitate social interaction, the social and cultural integration of local community members in mainstream activities, and overcome intercultural barriers (Wood & Landry 2008). The Schouwburgplein square in Rotterdam is another space that was re-designed in the 1990s and now attracts a diverse clientele, offering a stage for various groups to creatively express themselves or engage with others.

An explicit intercultural strategy towards parks and public space is evident in **Madrid** where a public space revitalisation programme has been designed to bring intercultural communities together:

From Public Space to Common Ground

The public square – every city and town has at least one – and many more, if you include parks and boulevards, stretches of waterfront and open air cafes where people gather together, or come alone to watch the world go by. It is in these public spaces that we most often bump up against our neighbours: we watch their dogs as they sniff out new trees, run into someone who lives down the block, overhear friends arguing about politics and families planning their next day trip. These shared spaces are a literal and metaphorical place for a city's residents to come together, where communities experience common ground.

Small wonder then that the city of Madrid, looking to promote integration and ease the social changes being brought about by increased immigration, decided to do so by paying attention to its public spaces. In the past 10 years, the immigrant population in Madrid has grown ten fold. Today, more than 17% of the citizens are foreign born, coming from 183 different countries.

In 2009, Madrid's city council initiated a public space revitalization programme, geared specifically to immigrant integration. Born of the Hispanic culture's tradition of socializing in the city's streets and open spaces, and increasing use of these spaces by immigrants, the

program aims to foster positive interactions between old and new Madrid residents of all cultures, and to develop a shared culture around the use of public spaces in the city.

Common Ground, Shared Spaces

The public space program is part of a larger initiative, the **Madrid Plan for Social and Intercultural Coexistence**. It was first introduced in 2005 as the 'Plande Convivencia' to focus on a specific action program in immigration and which established a number of services to promote integration and living together of all citizens. Four years later, Phase Two was launched, guided by three basic principles:

"The first is universality, by which we undertake to properly tend to all of the inhabitants of Madrid, regardless of their origin or legal status. Then we have the principles of active integration and intercultural coexistence, which highlight the need for the municipal services to absorb the phenomenon of immigration in its entire complexity."

With the aim of developing that last element in particular, the Madrid Plan "focuses on the mechanisms and actions that, beyond mere shelter, allow the full and free incorporation of immigrants into Madrid society"-key among these, **the use of public space**.

One of its aims is to promote the intercultural knowledge between new neighbours by allowing them to celebrate its traditional cultural events, and creating ways to broaden the Convivencia (living together) in public spaces by supporting intercultural meetings in schools, parks, sporting fields and other city institutions. Through the Madrid Plan, public spaces in 21 districts across the city are animated by programming designed to stimulate community engagement. Over 50 city outreach agents are active in the city's parks and squares, promoting activities "aimed at promoting neighbourly co-existence."

The outreach team is multidisciplinary, multicultural and trained to work with communities of many origins. Activities range from exhibitions about racism, to celebrations of particular ethnic or religious festivals, to sports leagues and intergenerational workshops. Hundreds of activities take place each year involving tens of thousands of participants.

Success

Madrid's public space programme has been recognized across Spain and is now included in government case studies of best practices in cities. It has also been recognized by the [European Union's OPEN Cities project \(http://urbact.eu/?id=134\)](http://urbact.eu/?id=134)

http://citiesofmigration.ca/good_idea/finding-integration-in-madrids-public-spaces/

Section Three

CASE STUDIES

3. LONDON, UK: MILE END PARK

Urban parks provide good opportunities for people of different ethnic and economic backgrounds to mix, and their success in this regard has become a noted feature of contemporary urban policy in the UK. Mile End Park is a proven success in attracting a wide range of users in a multi-cultural area.

Mile End Park is made up of five former pieces of parkland, brownfield land and former derelict land left after war damage, knitted together to form a park one mile long, and brought together under Trust management in 2000, with a grant of nearly £20 million from the Millennium Lottery Fund.

It is a linear park in east London, running through an area of high density housing marked by high levels of ethnic minority population and poverty. However there are also places of gentrified housing to the north and the Queen Mary College immediately adjacent at the centre.

Once an area with a high Jewish population, the predominant ethnic minority group in the area today is the Bengali community.

Figure 11. The Green Bridge



3.1.1. Demographic Profile

The park is embedded within two geographical wards of Tower Hamlets: Bow West to the north, and Mile End East to the south. As can be seen from the 2001 census statistics (see table 1), the Bangladeshi population is the dominant ethnic group in this part of London, and the northern ward has 13.7% Bangladeshi, and the southern ward, 35% Bangladeshi. The principal dividing line between these two population is the Mile End Road, and the park has a quite different identity and function on each side. The southern part of the park where there is a large Bangladeshi population contains most of the activity centres – the Mile End Park Leisure Centre and Stadium, wheels park, football and tennis courts, play centre, go-cart track, all of which are used by the Bangladeshi population.

Table 1: Demographic Profile

Ethnic Groups (percentage)	Mile End East	Bow West	Tower Hamlets	London
Bangladeshi	35.0	13.7	33.4	2.2
Indian	1.8	1.9	1.5	6.1
Other Asian	1.1	0.5	0.9	1.9
Pakistani	0.8	0.4	0.8	2.0
African	4.8	3.0	3.4	5.3
Caribbean	4.3	4.0	2.7	4.8
Other Black	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.8
White and Asian	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8
White and Black African	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5
White and Black Caribbean	1.4	1.2	0.8	1.0
British	39.1	62.8	42.9	59.8
Irish	1.9	2.2	2.0	3.1
Other White	4.8	6.2	6.5	8.3

3.1.2. Good Practice Elements

Because it was set up as a single corporate entity under a locally-based Trust, it is entirely focused on its core remit, which is to provide a high quality park with a wide range of amenities serving all groups in the community. It has benefited from having strong leadership in the form of a Park Director, who has held the post for more than 8 years, and who is highly committed to multi-cultural and inter-cultural use of the park.

It is clear from observing the use of the park at different times that a wide variety of groups use the park, and in a number of facilities such as the Wheels Park, the tennis and football courts, and the very large playground (with indoor facilities), there is clear evidence of inter-cultural use.

The park's management constantly monitor which groups are and aren't using the park, and respond accordingly. For the Trust body which governs the park, and its Director, use by all sections of the community is an absolute policy priority. They not only endeavour to create shared space, but also create space in which different groups can meet and interact. Until the arrival of the Park Director in 2004, the One O'Clock Club playground was principally used by the white population. A series of programmed events targeted at specific groups – parents with disabled children, Bengali parents – quickly increased the mix of people using the playground and its amenities, re-named 'Stay and Play'. A continuing programme of festivals and events in the play area has ensured that the inter-cultural mix is maintained.

Apart from its radical architectural innovation the 'Green Bridge', connecting northern and southern parts of the park across Mile End Road, has also provided an opportunity for a large amount of revenue funding for the park, drawn from the rentals and leases of the shops, cafes and restaurants designed into the street-facing bridge abutments. This is probably unique to any park in the UK, and these retail amenities too exhibit considerable cultural mix.

3.1.3. Policy Background

Tower Hamlets Council, which now part-funds the park and provides the grounds maintenance, is well known for actively pursuing equal opportunities and diversity across all the facilities it funds or directly provides. These policies are taken very seriously by the Park Director and his team of rangers.

Figure 5. Rear of Green Bridge retail building & water gardens (left); Green Grid (right)



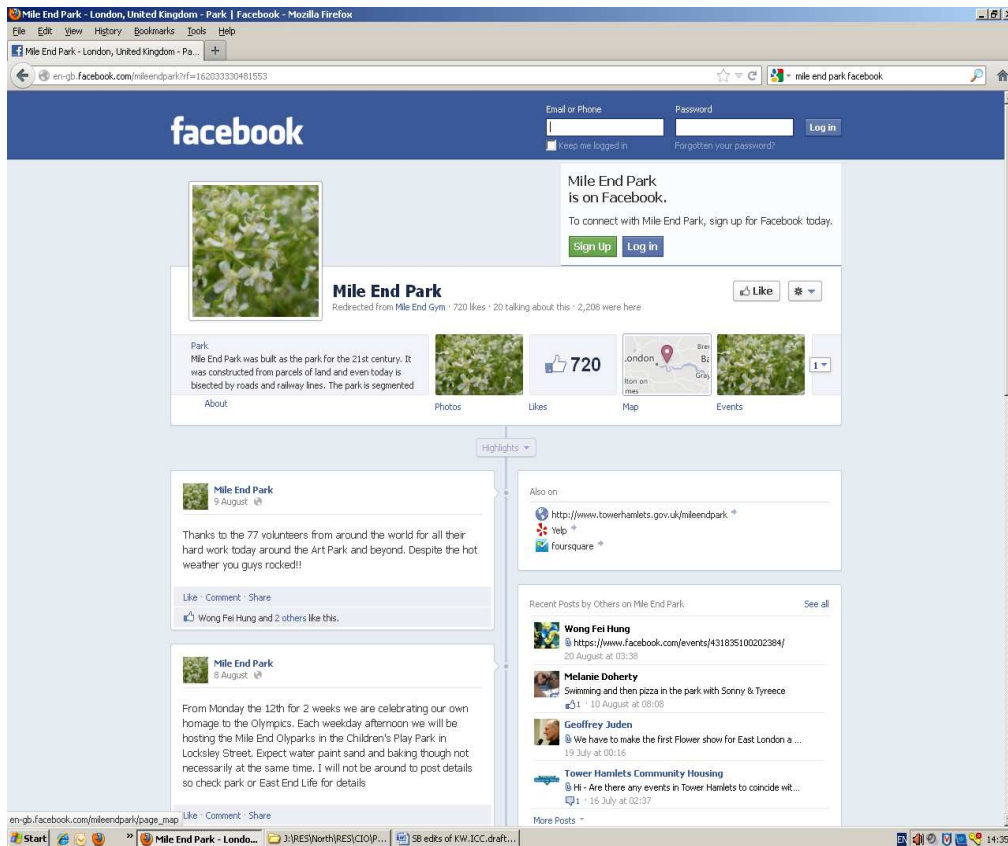
3.1.4. History of Development

In order to generate greater stake-holder involvement in the park, three distinct policy forums were set up: Ecology, Art and Play. These bring local and regional expertise to bear upon matters of quality, outreach and diversity in what the park offers its many users. These forums avoid the possibility of stakeholder groups being 'captured' by single interest groups.

The park is funded by revenue gained from the rental of shops on Mile End Road which were built into the design of the famous 'Green Bridge', along with revenue funding and grounds maintenance support from Tower Hamlets Council.

The development of a social networking Facebook site for the park has been particularly successful in generating debate, criticisms, suggestions, and meeting places for common interests around park use, and currently has 632 'Friends'.

Figure 6. Mile End Park Facebook Page



3.1.5. Key Issues

The development of the three policy forums has brought a lot of expertise and energy in developing high quality ecological, artistic and play provision in the park, including many festivals and events, which provide opportunities for inter-cultural activities. In its early days the large play area was dominated by a single ethnic group, and other ethnic groups felt excluded. A conscious decision was made to change this by a programme of longer opening hours, special events for distinct groups such as Bengali handicapped children, or under-fives festivals, along with employing more ethnic minority play workers, so that today it is genuinely mixed and very successful.

3.1.6. Lessons

It is clear that a very large, multi-functional park in an intensely populated urban area containing many different social and ethnic minority groups, is best managed as a single entity with strong (and continuous) leadership. This enables policy

objectives to be fulfilled over time in a consistent way. Perhaps surprisingly, the use of a social networking site has been unexpectedly successful in generating local interest, participation and engagement in the park.

3.1.7. Combining Environmental and Social Policies in Parks

The Mile End Park now forms part of the morphology of the long-established Lea Park Authority, a linear park envisaged as part of the 1944 Abercrombie London Plan, and intended to create a green corridor running from Hertfordshire to the River Thames. This is now well established and in recent years has been consolidated within the East London Green Grid, a Mayoral Strategy designed to connect green spaces across London to enable greater movement for walkers, cyclists, flora and fauna, as well as crossing cultural boundaries too. This policy is summarised in Figure 12 (Green Grid).

3. ROTTERDAM, NL: SCHOUWBURGPLEIN & AFRIKAANDERPLEIN

The city of Rotterdam, well known as the home of Europe's biggest port has long been a key arrival city for migrants and today over 50% of the city's population descends from first or second-generation immigrants with 179 different nationalities being represented. Two case studies of public space are provided – one a city centre square and important cultural space for the whole of Rotterdam (Schouwburgplein), and the other a local park in a district with a large migrant population (Afrikaanderplein in Rotterdam south). These illustrate how contrasting *types of public space and policies can facilitate intercultural activity in different ways.*

3.1.Schouwburgplein

Schouwburgplein provides an example of a city centre square designated as an important focus for cultural activities for the whole city. Its stark urban design, designed to reflect the port has been controversial. However the square's "cool urban" image and central location has made it a popular meeting place for young people from a variety of different backgrounds.

3.1.1. The Case

Schouwburgplein or "Theatre Square" is a large square (12,.250 square metres) situated in the heart of Rotterdam, minutes from the central station, close to major shopping streets and flanked by the City Theatre, the City Concert Hall, Rotterdam's largest movie theatre complex, and a variety of cafes and restaurants.

The square is located above an underground parking lot and is raised above street level as a result with an unusual surface made using light durable decking and manmade materials. It consists of a central void with most activity taking place around the perimeter in the various cultural venues, cafes and restaurants. Custom made seating is provided along one side. The square's most prominent feature is the four iconic crane-like hydraulic lights that can be interactively altered by the inhabitants of the city. These together with the hardscape surface are designed to be a reflection of the Port of Rotterdam.(see figure 14)

Schouwburgplein has been designed to be used as an interactive public space, flexible enough to accommodate a variety of different uses during the day, evening and different seasons of the year. By raising the surface of the square above the surrounding area, a “city stage” was effectively created for festivals and installations. Regular cultural events, including music and dance are held in the square and attract diverse audiences from across the city and beyond. During the day the ramped roof entrance to the underground garage is used for skate boarding, other areas become an informal playground or football pitch, and the seating area provides a relatively tranquil area for shoppers and workers to take a break from work or the hustle and bustle of the surrounding shopping streets and offices.

Few local immigrant communities live close to Schouwburgplein. However the location of the square, close to Rotterdam Central station, the shops and the cinema means that it is an ideal spot for a rendezvous with friends and is used as such by people from all over the Netherlands and beyond. A study conducted by Müllerin 2008 noted that the square particularly attracts young people, including those from a diverse ethnic backgrounds who come to skateboard, play football, meet friends, pose, or chat up those of the opposite sex. Being some distance from their home neighbourhoods these young migrants are away from the prying eyes of family and fellow community members. The square has thus become a useful venue for young couples to engage in romance.

Figure 7.Schouwburgplein at night



Those interviewed by this study and for Müller's (2008) research had mixed views regarding the square. Some liked it because it successfully captures the hard urban character of Rotterdam or because they feel that it is open and soothing – an oasis in the city centre. Others (generally older, indigenous white Dutch people) felt that it is barren space lacking in atmosphere, and the greenery and water features that are commonly found in other squares. Young people from immigrant communities see it as a friendly place where it is easy to meet people from different backgrounds.

3.1.2. Good practice elements

The design of the square has successfully captured both the modern day urban image of Rotterdam and incorporated symbolic emblems of the docks – an important part of the city's cultural heritage and formerly a key a source of employment for both indigenous Rotterdammers and early immigrants.

It works in terms of providing a meeting area in the city centre for those from different backgrounds. It functions well as a multi-purpose space in the centre of the city offering sufficient space for a variety of activities. It provides a quiet place to sit and chat in the day time, and a focus for a range of multi-cultural events on summer evenings and week-ends.

The open nature of square allows for users to be easily seen and enables those with young children to keep sight of them whilst they play on the square.

3.1.3. Policy Background

Current policy with respect to urban squares in Rotterdam has determined that each of the city's four main squares (Schouwburgplein, Stadhuisplein, Binnenrotte and Plein 1940) should have a distinctive character and function. Schouwburgplein has been designated the cultural square by virtue of the major cultural venues which flank it. It is also promoted by Rotterdam Marketing as an iconic design and features in a number of their tourist publications as one of the city's key architectural attractions.

The use of the square has altered however following a change in policy regarding law and disorder which came into force when the present government took power. Current policies have resulted in a tighter control of informal “anti-social” activities in open spaces.. Street drinkers now get moved on and the smoking of hash in public places has been banned. Young people from migrant communities interviewed in Schouwburgplein complained that the police kept hassling them as a result. Instead the current policy for the use of the square focuses on the provision of a more formal multi-cultural programme of events.

3.1.4. History of Development

The square had been a bombsite for many years before its re-development and then an open space with an underground car park totally lacking in any character or ambience. In the late 1980s structural problems with the car park coupled with a greater political emphasis on realising the potential of open spaces led to a decision finally being made to upgrade it. West 8 architectural practice, led by Adrian Geuze, was asked to come up with a suitable design which would transform the space into a stage for the centre of Rotterdam. The potential intercultural use of the space was not a particular feature of the design brief. Instead the challenge was to regenerate a space whose emptiness was seen as a problematic in the densely built new Rotterdam. The weak structure of the car park’s roof meant that materials traditionally used for the foundations of a square would be too heavy and thus a lighter floor for the square that could still take the weight of a large number of people had to be used.

Two city consultation sessions were held for residents of the whole city and the cultural venues and businesses surrounding the square, but since most of the local residents were indigenous Rotterdammers only two groups from other cultures were involved in these discussions. Work on the square started in 1991 and was completed in 1996. At the same time a new cinema complex at one side of the square was also designed and the entrance to the theatre was changed so that it opened onto the square. The development of cafes and restaurants around the edges was encouraged.

The design and use of the square attracted a lot of controversy and in 2008 a city conference was held to try and resolve some of the issues discussed below.

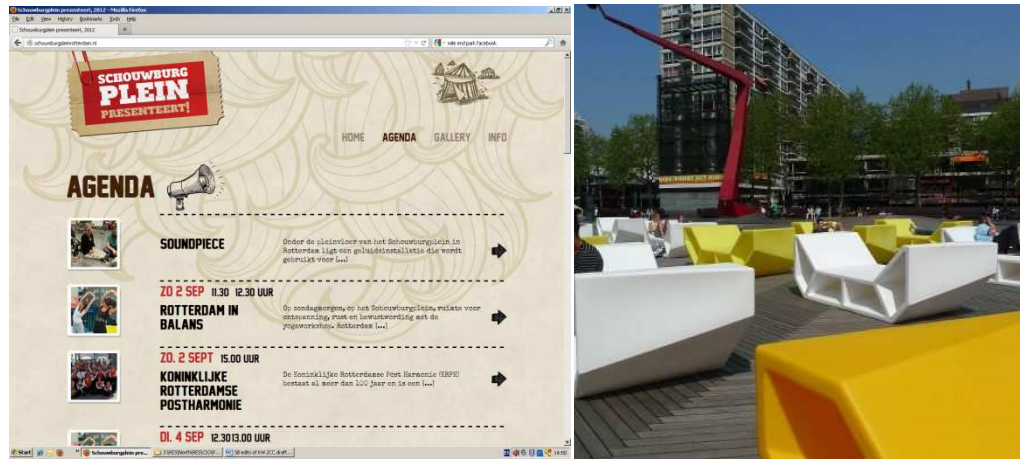
3.1.5. Key Issues

There have been on-going design and structural issues. The original surface of the square which proved to be dangerously slippery on wet and icy winter days has had to be replaced with a more suitable material. A ramp has also been installed at one end of the square to enable those with mobility problems and parents with buggies to access the raised surface (see figure 16).

In response to complaints about the emptiness of the square colourful new seating has been positioned in the centre of the square and trees have been planted around edge to provide much needed shade on hot days and soften the urban landscape (see figure 15).

The new Schouwburgplein initially attracted a lot of immigrant youth who created their own cultural events and entertainment in the square including holding informal music events late into the night. Some of these resulted in complaints from local residents, and as a result these activities were banned. A cultural director has recently been appointed to develop a programme of multi-cultural events in the square in conjunction with the cultural venues surrounding it and other cultural and community organisations. This will result in a formal programme of events in the square throughout the year. See <http://schouwburgpleinrotterdam.nl/>. and figure 15.

Figure 8. Event Schedule & New Plastic Seating



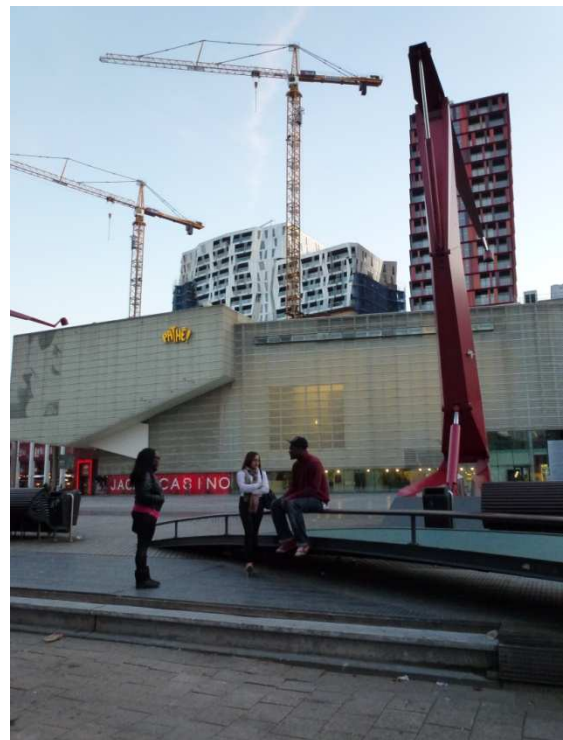
3.1.6. Lessons Learnt and scope for Transferability

The experience of Schauwburgplein illustrates the need for the effective management of public spaces to ensure their use is inclusive but does not encourage anti-social behaviour.

The square's location has been key to the way it is used and its role in encouraging intercultural mixing.

The modern urban design has particularly resonated with young people but has alienated others.

Figure 16. Young people chatting by the ramp



3.2. AFRIKAANDERPLEIN, ROTTERDAM SOUTH

The re-development of Afrikaanderplein in Rotterdam South, illustrates the importance of user involvement in the design and management of a local district park. Its design allows for the flexible use of space and includes zoning to accommodate the needs of a variety of different groups. This case also demonstrates the inter-relationship between the physical design of urban space, and social and economic issues and policies, in determining if and how intercultural use takes place.

3.2.1. The Case

Afrikaanderplein is located in Rotterdam South one of the poorest areas in the city and home to one of the highest concentrations of immigrant communities. Of the local residents 85% are from immigrant communities including Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillian, and Cape Verdian. The park is the only large open space in what is otherwise a very dense built up urban area. As a result it is an important resource for a number of different local community groups and stakeholders.

The park incorporates a large open green space surrounded by trees. Three sides of this area are intensively used. A twice weekly market – the fourth largest in the Netherlands, takes place around the perimeter of two sides of the park and attracts 30-40,000 visitors each week. A local catholic school, whose pupils include local children from a variety of religious faiths, a youth centre, sports centre, playground, playing fields and play centre flank one side of the park. Botanical gardens and a large mosque are located at the far end of the park and separated from the more active areas by a large water feature. A stage in the middle of the water enables the park to be used for major cultural events, whilst a variety of community groups, local schools and sports clubs use the play and sports areas on a daily basis.

The park is managed by the local authority who run a number of sports and cultural activities for the local community. Local residents and community groups are also involved in the management of various activities and the park.

3.2.2. Good practice elements

Extensive consultation with local stakeholders has ensured that the design of the park has allowed for a variety of different uses and that it accommodates the needs of communities from diverse backgrounds. Local residents have also been involved in the management of the park, act as volunteers to help run a tea stall and manage the play centre. Drawings by local children have been incorporated into paving on the hard surface areas by the play centre. This all helps create a sense of community ownership.

Former tensions between different groups regarding the use of the park have been minimised by designing for flexible use, but also by incorporating clear zones for different types of use. Noisy sports and play areas for children are situated along one side of the park. Whilst the water feature (created by enlarging an existing pond) with a single bridge ensures that the mosque and botanical gardens have a more tranquil setting (see figure 17). This provides the mosque with a greater degree of privacy but using water as a boundary ensures that there is no visual barrier and thus the mosque can still be seen as an important part of the park.

Figure 9. Mosque separated from noisy areas of the park by water feature



Figure 10. View of the park



Barbecue sites have been created on one side of the park in response to a request from the Turkish community

Good lighting and fencing around the park has helped improve security and keep rubbish from the market apart from the green space of the park

The schools and local youth groups using the park include young people from a variety of different ethnic backgrounds and their active use of the facilities in the park ensure that a significant degree of intercultural mixing takes place in the park.

The market in particular is a prime example of intercultural mixing. Stall holders include Asian, Turkish, Moroccan, Dutch and other ethnic groups selling everything from ethnic vegetables and clothing to Dutch herring. Visitors are equally mixed. The level terrain and wide isles between the rows of stalls also enables parents with buggies and those in mobility vehicles to easily navigate around the market.(see figure 19)

Figure 19.Afrikaanderplein - The Market



Proper management of the park ensures local concerns are addressed and activities are organised which encourage intercultural understanding and social mixing. Local groups and users of the park meet regularly to discuss concerns and organise activities around key issues. For example an Afrikaanderplein Olympic Games was held recently in conjunction with the mosque and other local groups as one means of tackling issues around health and language.

3.2.3. Policy Background

Local policy has focused on trying to tackle social and economic problems in the area through various schemes designed to stimulate employment and deal with health and social inequalities. Housing policy has encouraged the development of more homes for sale which has attracted a greater ethnic and social mix of residents in the area thereby helping to reduce the concentration of disadvantage. The park has been designed to cater to the diverse needs of all these local communities.

3.2.4. History of Development

The development of the Afrikaanderplein took place over a period of four years between 2002 and 2006. Prior to its development the park was already being used by a number of different activities including the market, youth and sports groups, and the mosque. However these many and often conflicting uses resulted in a lot of tensions between different user groups and led to the park being divided up into lots of different compartments without any proper planning. Rubbish, crime, security, poor drainage and maintenance were all major issues.

The redevelopment of the park was made possible with funding (circa €5m) from the EU and the municipality of Rotterdam. The master plan was designed to incorporate an attractive main open space with zoned areas that could accommodate a range of different uses including major events and local community activities. Over 20 small community organisations had a claim on the park each with their own often conflicting priorities. Extensive consultations and negotiations took place with these groups to ensure that different needs could be accommodated.

The design of the park has been highly acclaimed and it won first prize in the Omgeving Architecture competition for landscape architecture.

3.2.5. Key Issues

As housing, social and local economic development policies and initiatives have successfully tackled some of the area's problems crime and security have become

less of an issue for the park. It is now not considered necessary to lock the park gates at night. The fencing, originally seen as vital for security reasons, is now viewed as being an unnecessary barrier, deterring people from walking across the park.

The park has hosted major cultural events in the past but in the current economic climate there is no longer funding for these and thus the stage has had little use.

Figure 11. Play areas



3.2.6. Lessons Learnt and Scope for Transferability

This case study illustrates that the successful development of local parks such as this is dependent on the active involvement of different groups of local residents in the design of the space. The active involvement of user groups in the management of the park is important but so too is the presence of a paid park manager who can help resolve tensions and ensure that the space is well used for a range of inclusive events and activities.

A design which can accommodate a range of activities that engage people from a variety of different backgrounds is more likely to result in intercultural mixing. Design needs to be flexible to allow for different uses, but provide clear zones for different types of activity to minimize tensions which might otherwise occur.

4. ZURICH, SWITZERLAND: BRUNNENHOF

With approximately 390,082 inhabitants in 2011 (StadtZuerich 2012) Zurich is the largest city in Switzerland. In recent years it has experienced a demographic change, following a period of economic growth. In particular young well-educated professionals have moved to Zurich. This inward migration has led to the increasing gentrification of the area, pushing up rents and pricing those with large families, in particular, out of the market. Since migrants tend to have larger families they tend to be disproportionately affected by this trend. The net result is a huge unmet demand for affordable housing and increasingly segregated communities.

The Brunnenhof estate in Zurich is one of several charitable projects of "Stiftung fuer Kinderreiches Wohnen" - A foundation dedicated to support families with children who are looking for an affordable place to stay. The institution was founded in 1914 by the city of Zurich and is run by a board of directors. Its president is the head of the cities finance department (SWfkF 2012). Today, the foundation looks after 511 housing units (flats) and is responsible for approximately 2400 residents (62 percent of whom are minors). In order to qualify as a possible tenant applicants generally have to (i) have the Swiss nationality or settlement permit C¹, (ii) have at least three children aged 18 or under, (iii) have lived in Zurich for at least two years prior and (iv) have an annual household income of less than Fr. 63,000 (approximately 52,458 EUR or 42,409 GBP, SWfkF 2012).

The Brunnenhof estate was completed in 2007 in collaboration with Gigon Guyer Architects. It consists of two different buildings and includes a total of 72 apartments, which range from single to 6 ½ bedroom flats. A total of 22 units are rented at market value, whereas the remaining 50 flats are subsidized through the foundation. The building substance of all units complies with minimum energy certified

¹ Settled foreign nationals are foreign nationals who have been granted a settlement permit after five or ten years' residence in Switzerland. The right to settle in Switzerland is not subject to any restrictions and must not be tied to any conditions. The Federal Office of Migration fixes the earliest date from which the competent national authorities may grant settlement permits. As a rule, third-country nationals are in a position to be granted a settlement permit after ten years' regular and uninterrupted residence in Switzerland. US and Canadian nationals are subject to a special regulation. However, third-country nationals have no legal entitlement to settlement permits. Apart from the provisions of settlement treaties, such a claim can only be derived from the Articles 42–43 and from Article 31 of the Aliens Act. Persons who hold a settlement permit are no longer subject to the Limitation Regulation, are free to choose their employers, and are no longer taxed at source. (Source: BFM. 2012. Permit C [settlement permit]. Website)

standards; considerably reducing the estate's carbon footprint, heating costs but also noise levels.

Brunnenhof: Basic Statistics

Location: Hofwiesenstrasse 140, 146, 152, 158; Brunnhofstrasse 6, 10, 14; 8057 Zürich, Switzerland

Architect: Gigon Guyer Architekten

Landscaping: Hager Landschaftsarchitektur AG, Zürich

Project coordinator: Stiftung Wohnungen für kinderreiche Familien, Werdstrasse 75, 8036 Zürich

Building area: 2.829 m²

Plot area: 10.250 m²

Units: 72 (17 - 156 m²; ranging from 7 x 4 ½, 44 x 5 1/2, 21 x 6 ½ and 6 x single bed flat)

Subsidized rent: 50 units

Market rate rent: 22 units

Diversity: Of 139 adults only 49 are Swiss-born nationals

The estate is located in close proximity to high quality green space, play areas, a public transport hub and community facilities (grocery, school, kindergarten). For example, the nearest kindergarden is on site. The nearest primary school can be reached with a 15-minute tram ride from Bucheggplatz; a central transport hub that can be reached on foot in three minutes.

By January 2010, 260 children and their parents had moved to the estate. Each household has at least three children, the majority of which has not as yet reached secondary school age. Approximately two thirds of the families have at least one migrant parent. Of 139 adults only 49 are Swiss-born nationals, although 54 percent are Swiss citizens. The community as a whole represents nine religious groups, 33 different countries of birth, different degrees of education, acculturation and social prosperity. The majority have a good or average command of German (official language in Canton Zurich).

Table 2.Region of origin of adult Brunnenhof residents (Source: Althaus et al 2010: 18)

Residents	Count	Percentage
Switzerland	49	35.3
EU States	11	7.9
Europe (none EU-States)	31	22.3
Middle East	15	10.8
Central & South East Asia	5	3.6
North Africa	8	5.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	14	10.1
Central America & Antillean	3	2.2
North America	1	0.7
South America	1	0.7
Australia	1	0.7
Total	139	100

The Brunnenhof estate was designed to suit the needs of this diverse community and prevent common neighbourly conflicts that have in the past arisen due to noise from children playing or cooking related smells. Furthermore, neighbourhood activities (e.g. annual meetings, play groups) are being encouraged to facilitate conflict resolution, social interaction and bonding.

In addition, neighbours are encouraged to also engage in the planning and maintenance of the adjacent public park, which Brunnenhof parents and children frequently use as well as families from other local estates; thus offering opportunities for the Brunnenhof community to mix with those from the surrounding residential area. The movable screens in front of each flat's balcony enable residents to adjust the degree to which they engage in public space or retreat within their private area.

The Brunnenhof concept seems to have paid off so far: Since the first residents occupied the estate in 2007, only a handful of families have left and most of these did so because of changed personal circumstances. The evidence suggests that Brunnenhof residents perceive the estate to be friendly, inclusive and safe (Althaus et al 2010: 47-82).

When asked directly in 2010 surveyed residents basically responded (roughly translated from German):

“I very much like it here, compared to other estates. Here are so many nationalities and all live in peace side by side.”

“I am not aware of any conflict between residents; not like on other estates. It has been calm here in the past two years and I believe that all is well.”

“Sure there are minor issues related to communal space. Other than that no incidences on the estate have occurred.”

“I am happy with my neighbours. It has been going very well since two years. I honestly believe that we have very good neighbourly relations. I feel that everyone on the estate respects the other.”

Figure 21. Best practise design solutions for a diverse community



Picture © hanneshenz.ch



Picture © georgaerni.ch

Figure 12. No signs of vandalism or neglect



Picture © georgaerni.ch



Picture © Cities Institute

Figure 22. Integrating estate within area



Picture © Cities Institute



Picture © Cities Institute

This good practice case entails various permanent and temporal design and management measures to increase community cohesion and a sense of belonging and safety among the residents, which can be synthesised as follows:

- Both buildings have been designed to the highest standard in terms of energy efficiency and appearance, but also to meet the needs of a diverse community. Each housing unit contains a large kitchen with a sophisticated ventilation system to prevent cooking smells from spreading out. Acoustic insulation avoids disruptions caused by children playing;
- The communal space is being used for social gatherings and provides a playground to give children and their parents an incentive to use this space;
- Communal and public space is not divided by fences or walls. Only few design measures are in place to clarify the estate boundary and stop young children from running on the road; thus offering plenty of opportunities for residents to interact with others that live in the area;
- “Stiftung fuer kinderreiches Wohnen” encourages residents to get involved in estate management but also the management of the adjacent space;
- Long-term tenure and participation in joined activities are contractual requirements to which families have to agree before starting their Brunnenhof tenure - “Stiftung fuer kinderreiches Wohnen” offers financial and

legal advice for residents who struggle to pay the rent and also monitors activities on the estate to detect and address early signs of conflict;

- On site childcare provision and the close proximity to Buchegplatz (a central transport hub) enables Brunnenhof parents to access job, education and other key facilities. This and additional support from the “Stiftung fuer kinderreiches Wohnen” (for example the Stiftung encourages language training) decreases the risk of social exclusion.

SECTION FOUR

6. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

We have seen that public space in towns and cities is a vital forum for intercultural activity and connection. However, it is important to acknowledge that not all public spaces are, by definition, in public ownership. The spaces of the city which are often used by the public may often be in public ownership (or control) – streets, squares, parks, riverside walks, libraries, museums – but others may be owned or managed by educational, voluntary or even commercial agencies. Nevertheless if they offer opportunities for free, non-discriminatory access at different times and on different occasions, they should be regarded as having something important to offer the intercultural city – particularly in the primary role of providing ‘shared space’, if not directly interactive cultural space.

It is also important at times to differentiate public space, then more formal civic space, from neighbourhood or community space which is likely to be more self-defined and self-generating.

It is clear from the literature review and from the case studies presented here that ethnic and cultural diversity brings social and economic benefits to cities, as it makes communities and individuals more self-reliant and actively engaged in civil society, moving beyond welfarism and dependency.

6.1. Developing public space strategies for intercultural activity

Not all lessons are instantly transferable from one situation to another: all need to be adapted to local conditions and circumstances. Nevertheless it is suggested that public space strategies for inter-cultural activity should involve:

- Mapping the spaces and places which are used for public events and gatherings, and then relating the availability and accessibility of public space to the

neighbourhoods inhabited by different ethnic and minority communities to check whether there are any significant imbalances;

- Drawing up a calendar or timetable of existing organised public space activities – festivals, processions, events, anniversaries – and identifying any significant absences relating to specific minority communities;
- Comparing the availability, accessibility and quality of public space with the demographic concentrations of the town and city to discern where there is a shortfall of available space or opportunities for gathering;
- Developing planning and management guidelines for greater connectivity, safety and maintenance quality of public space, as is evident in the new All London Green Grid (Mayor of London 2012);
- Undertaking periodic design against crime/street audits, prioritising routes and housing linking ‘intercultural’ neighbourhoods with key open space and other amenities; Developing monitoring and assessment regimes such as The Green Flag for Parks in the UK (<http://www.keepbritaintidy.org>), to ensure that public spaces are welcoming to all, well managed, well maintained, and environmentally sustainable wherever possible;
- Ensuring that programming and staffing policies for community services and facilities reflect the diverse make-up of the communities they are serving, and that equal opportunities in employment policies are central in this regard;
- Ensuring that provision of services and management of spaces is subject to regular monitoring of patterns and diversity of use so as to provide intelligent feedback loops so that services and management can adapt to changing conditions;
- The design of public spaces and common areas needs to be site-specific and adaptable for multiple uses, ensuring, for example, that noisy activities are appropriately located or time-tabled, and in other ways allowing for as much

different and variable use as possible. Mono-functional spaces, such as traditional football fields, when not in use can have negative impacts;

- Successful parks and public spaces depend on a judicious balance of rights of access and use, balanced with responsibilities to other users and the interest of the wider community.

6.2. Strategies for consultation around public space and intercultural activity

- Consult with community groups with regard to existing and potential use of public space, using a variety of forms of consultation including participant observation, GIS-Participation, audience monitoring, focus groups, along with visits by community groups to exemplary projects elsewhere;
- It is not enough to use traditional means of public consultation such as public meetings or only talking to community 'leaders', as these tend to collect only the views and opinions of a vocal and sometimes unrepresentative minority. Focus groups based on meetings with a wide range of community groups, along with one to one interviews on a sample basis, contacting people through schools and workplaces, are also important.
- The consultation strategy itself needs to be subject to wide-ranging appraisal before it is implemented.

6.3. Principal barriers to intercultural use of public space

We have noted the importance of taking into account the differing cultural meanings attributed to certain kinds of settings and activities which may act as a barrier to the use of public space or public events by certain communities. For example:

- Places or events which involve the sale or conspicuous consumption of alcohol may be regarded as off-limits to some individuals and communities. Consideration of licencing of street/café spaces should be sensitive to these impacts;

- The design and management of public spaces that does not pay enough attention to lighting, clear sight-lines, the natural surveillance of other users, and being kept clean and free of offensive graffiti, will be regarded as off-limits to some individuals and communities;
- Failure to control anti-social behaviour, aggressive dogs at loose and dog mess, domination of particular spaces by territorialising groups, will lessen opportunities for inter-cultural activity.

We have also noted that public space is 'experienced' not 'used'. That is to say it is cultural space not functional space, and public spaces which are supported by diverse activities – street markets, children's festivals, street theatre, opportunities to engage in activities such as food-growing – are more likely to be experienced by a wider range of people as part of their own 'public domain'.

In recent years much attention has been paid to the design of new public spaces in towns and cities, as part of urban regeneration programmes, including expensive hard landscaping and big capital projects such as art museums (often serving a narrow demographic), possibly at the expense of programming, staffing and maintaining the 'everyday spaces' of everyday life. While it is important that diverse communities and cultures be given access and use of important city centre 'stages', such as is evident from Rotterdam's Schouwburgplein, a principal focus for inter-cultural activity usually begins at the neighbourhood level in the everyday settings of the park, the library, the playground, the public areas of housing, and in local markets and festivals especially. In this report we have highlighted the many benefits which well-designed, well-managed public spaces and programmes of inter-cultural activity contribute to the wider civil society – which it is suggested starts at the neighbourhood level, though it goes on to city-wide impacts.

APPENDICES

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B. Selected Literature Review

Article	Key Findings	Policy Area
Agyeman, J and Jennifer Sien Erickson (2012) Culture, Recognition and the Negotiation of Difference: Some thoughts on Cultural Competency in Planning Education. <i>Journal of Planning Education and Research</i> published online 10 April 2012 DOI: 10.1177/0739456X12441213	Highlights that a broader appreciation of culture in planning is an important condition for delivering intercultural communities	Public space
Alderman, D. (2008) Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes. In: Graham, B. and Howard, P. <i>The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity</i> . Ashgate.	Highlights the association between place names and personal heritage, concluding that intercultural places should combine cultural aspects of past and present that are of relevance to all the users of these spaces	Public space
Alvi, S., Schwartz, MD., Dekeseredy, S. and Maume, O. (2001) "Women's Fear of Crime in Canadian Public Housing." <i>Violence Against Women</i> , 2001 (7), pp. 638	Space needs to fit the needs of its users: users of space must have confidence in each other space is clean and well organised	Public space
Amin (2002) "Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity." <i>Environment and Planning A</i> , Vol. 34: 959 -980	Highlights local areas that facilitate everyday encounters and experience as places where cultural differences are being negotiated.	Public space
Araia,S. Pedlar, A. (2001) "Moving beyond individualism in leisure theory: a critical analysis of concepts of community and social engagement." <i>Leisure Studies</i> , V22 (3).	Participation in communities of celebration entails people coming together in sports, festivals, hobbies, volunteering, and the arts, and finding in these leisure activities common and public goods.	Public space, Civic engagement
Arthurson, K (2002) Creating inclusive communities through balancing social mix: a critical relationship or tenuous link?, <i>Urban Policy & Research</i> 20(3): 245-261.	Findings suggest that emphasis on large-scale changes to social mix as a means to assist regeneration and address inequality; is ignorant of supportive social networks that are already in place.	Regeneration and Planning
Baas, J. M., Ewert, A., & Chavez, D. J. (1993) "Influence of ethnicity on recreation and natural environment use patterns: Managing recreation sites for ethnic and racial diversity." <i>Environmental Management</i> , 17, 523–529.	Highlights that management solutions need to take into account varying importance placed on site attributes, differences in activity participation and in preferred and actual communication channels.	Management

Article	Key Findings	Policy Area
Billingham, John & Cole, Richard (2002) <i>The Good Place Guide</i> , Batsford, London.	Highlights the need for mixed use planning, the provision of space for pedestrians and designing in context	Planning
Bloomfield, Jude and Franco Bianchini, F. (2002) <i>Planning for the Cosmopolitan City: A Research Report for Birmingham City Council</i> . Leicester: Comedia, International Cultural Planning and Policy Unit.	Highlights the importance of collaborative planning that encourages interculturalism.	Planning
Boddy, Trevor (2006) "The Library and the City." <i>The Architectural Review</i> , June.	Highlights the importance of library spaces to facilitate integration.	Public space
Brecknock, R. (2006) <i>More Than Just a Bridge: Planning and Designing Culturally</i> .	Stresses the importance of 'cultural literacy' in planning and provides a methodology to develop planning and practice.	Planning
CABE Space (2009) <i>Not so Green a Pleasant Land</i> , London	The biggest single barrier to accessing green space was concern for safety.	Public space
Carr, D. S., & Williams, D. R. (1993) "Understanding the role of ethnicity in outdoor recreation experiences." <i>Journal of Leisure Research</i> , 25, 22–38.	Established inter- and intra-cultural differences between visitors of recreational sites that planners need to consider, e.g. recreational activities, group size.	Public space, Planning
<u>Comedia& Demos (1995) <i>Park Life: Urban Parks & Social Renewal</i>. London.</u>	Highlights that different park designs may represent some 'threshold' problems of access and sense of belonging.	Public space
Dempsey, N., Bramley, G;, Brown, C. and Watkins, D. (2007) <i>Understanding the links between the quality of public space and the quality of life: a scoping study</i> .	Presents evidence of an association between the quality of life and the quality of space	Public space, Planning

Article	Key Findings	Policy Area
Dwyer, J. (1993) <i>Outdoor recreation participation: An update on blacks, whites, Hispanics, and Asians in Illinois</i> . Managing Urban and High-Use Recreation Settings. USDA Forest Service, Gen. Tech. Rep. NC- 163: 119-21.	Established an association between recreational patterns and cultural background.	Public space, Planning
Dwyer, J., and Gobster, P. (1992) <i>Black/White outdoor recreation preferences and participation: Illinois State Parks</i> . Proceedings of the 1991 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium. USDA Forest Service, Gen. Tech. Rep. NE-160: 20-24.	Highlights link between distances travelled to recreational spaces and cultural background.	Planning
Dwyer, J., and Hutchison, R. (1990) "Outdoor recreation participation and preferences by Black and White Chicago Households." <i>Social Science and Natural Resource Recreation Management</i> . Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 49-67.	Presents evidence that links the quality and availability of clean infrastructure and amenities (e.g. cafes, restrooms, sport fields, trails) to increased park use, whereas the presence of litter, vandalism, and unclean restrooms was found to deter use among all ethnic groups.	Public space
Evans, G.L. (2009) "Accessibility Urban Design and the Whole Journey Environment" <i>Built Environment</i> , 35(3): 366-285	Highlights that groups without access to a car (i.e. older and younger people, new migrants) frequently cite the safety factor, including fear of crime, as the highest in determining their travel behaviour.	Public space, Social Inclusion
Floyd, M. F., & Gramann, J. H. (1995) „Perceptions of discrimination in a recreation context." <i>Journal of Leisure Research</i> , Vol. 27: 192-199.	Explores the role of discrimination in minority decisions regarding park use; highlights need to better understand interpersonal discrimination, the role of institutional discrimination, such as the cultural and social schedule and staffing.	Public space
Gehl, Jan & Gemzoe, Lars (2001) <i>New City Spaces</i> , The Danish Architectural Press, Copenhagen.	Highlights the link between quality of public space, outdoor activities and community cohesion.	Public space
Gobster, P.H (2002) "Managing Urban Parks for a Racially and Ethnically Diverse Clientele." <i>Leisure Sciences</i> , Vol. 24: 143-159.	Observes that users of public spaces commonly state that the quality and availability of the infrastructure and the amenities (e.g. cafes, restrooms, sport fields, trails) encourage recreational activities, whereas poor maintenance and fear of discrimination may deter use.	Public space

Article	Key Findings	Policy Area
Joseph Rowntree Foundation. <i>The social value of public space</i> . Ref. 2050	Highlights the connection between high quality public space, its role in social life and contribution to community cohesion.	Public space, Planning
Kaczynski AT, Henderson KA. (2007) Environmental Correlates of Physical Activity: A Review of Evidence about Parks and Recreation. <i>Leisure Sciences</i> , Vol. 29 (4): 315-54.	Highlights that parks are public spaces that provide opportunities for physical activity, social interaction, and escape from urban live for people of all walks of life.	Public space
Kennett, P. and Forrest, R. (2006) "The Neighbourhood in a European Context." <i>Urban Studies</i> 2006 43: 713	Special issue that draws together scientific contributions which recognise the importance of neighbourhood space to facilitate social interactions.	Public space and community cohesion
Khovanova-Rubicondo, K. and Pinelli, D. (2012) <i>Evidence of the Economic and Social Advantages of Intercultural Cities Approach</i> . Literature Review.	Concludes that initiatives aimed at reshaping city policies and institutions from an intercultural perspective could positively enhance economic and social development of diverse urban communities.	Planning
Latimer, Karen (2011) "Collections to Connections: Changing Spaces and New Challenges in Academic Library Buildings", in <i>Library Design: From Past to Present, Library Trends</i> , edited by Alastair Black and Nan Dahlkild, Volume 60, No 1, Summer.	Observes that new public libraries are not only attracting a significantly younger audience than ever before, but also a much more intercultural mix of users and members.	Public spaces, Public service provision
Loewen, L. J., Steel, G. D., & Suedfeld, P. (1993) "Perceived safety from crime in the urban environment." <i>Journal of Environmental Psychology</i> , Vol. 13: 323–331.	Provides a list of environmental features relevant to personal safety; and evidence that 'light' was the most frequently mentioned factor, followed by open space and unambiguous refuge.	Planning
Low, S. and Taplin, D. (Eds.) et al (2005) <i>Rethinking urban parks: public space & cultural diversity</i> . Austin University of Texas Press.	Highlights the need for planning to facilitate social interaction between visitors from diverse cultural backgrounds.	Planning

Article	Key Findings	Policy Area
Marotta, Vince P. (2008) <i>Multicultural places and the idea of home</i> , in TASA. (2008) : Reimagining sociology : the annual conference of the Australian Sociological Association 2008, 2-5 December, The University of Melbourne, TASA, Melbourne, Vic., pp. 1-13.	Explores concepts such as “home” and “otherness” and how the intercepting space between these two can cause friction but also moments of intercultural dialogue.	Community Cohesion
McCormack, GR., Rock, M., Toohey M., and Hignell, D. (2010) “Characteristics of urban parks associated with park use and physical activity: A review of qualitative research.” <i>Health & Place</i> , Vol. 16: 712–726	Explores the extent to which parks provide opportunities for physical activity, social interaction, and escape from urban life for people of all walks of life.	Public space
Mean, M. and Tims, Charlie (2005) <i>People Make Places: Growing the public life of cities</i> . Demos.	Space that attracts people leaves room for self-organisation and creativity as well as encourages interaction between diverse people	Public space
Minton, Anna (2012) <i>Ground Control: Fear and happiness in the twenty-first century</i> . Penguin, London.	Highlights that in practice, access, usage and the design and planning of urban open space - particularly recreational, park/open space and public realm - seldom reflects the needs or aspirations of migrant and other ethnic minority communities, especially when in private ownership.	Public space
Mitchell, R and Popham, F (2008) “Effect of exposure to natural environment on health inequalities: an observational population study.” <i>The Lancet</i> : 372	Links the availability and use of green spaces to an increase in physical activity, improved mental health, reduced anxiety, physical health, healthy weight among children.	Public space
Morgan, G., Rocha, G. & Poynting, S. (2005) “Grafting Cultures: Longing and Belonging in Immigrants’ Gardens and Backyards in Fairfield.” <i>Journal of Intercultural Studies</i> , Vol. 26: 93-105	Residents learn from and adapt to each other and sometimes –through their joined interest in gardening- develop relatively strong social links	Public space
Morrison N (2003). “Neighbourhoods and Social Cohesion: Experiences from Europe,” <i>International Planning Studies</i> Vol. 8(2): 125-138.	Highlights the importance of grass-roots initiatives for generating a socially cohesive urban condition that exists alongside the official state-organized forms of urban governance.	Civic Engagement

Article	Key Findings	Policy Area
Moulaert, F., Martinelli, F., Swyngedouw, E. and González, S. (2010) <i>Can Neighbourhood Save the City? Community Development and Social Innovation</i> . London: Routledge.	Highlights the importance of grass-root action within neighbourhoods for social innovation and community cohesion.	Civic Engagement
Müller, C. (2007). "Intercultural Gardens. Urban Places for Subsistence Production and Diversity." <i>German Journal of Urban Studies</i> , Vol. 46 (1)	Intercultural garden clubs that bring together gardeners with different origins and agricultural knowledge	Civic Engagement
Peters, K. (2010) "Being Together in Urban Parks: Connecting Public Space, Leisure, and Diversity." <i>Leisure Sciences</i> Vol. 32 (5): 418-433	Explores the extent and nature of inter-ethnic interactions by focusing on leisure activities in the public spaces of ethnically mixed neighbourhoods.	Public space
Rishbeth, C. (2002) "The landscape of the global village." <i>Landscape Design</i> , 310, pp. 27-30.	Suggests that landscape design and management can deliver inclusive spaces that meet the diverse needs of its visitors but also integrate minority groups in the planning and implementation process.	Planning
Sampson, Robert J., Raudenbush, Stephen W. and Earls Felton (1997) "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy". <i>Science</i> , Vol. 277: 918-927	Highlights link between increased community cohesion and reduced disorderly behaviour.	Public space
Samuels, R., Judd, B., O'Brien, B. and Barton, J. (2004) <i>Linkages Between Housing, Policing and Other Interventions for Crime and Harassment Reduction in Areas with Public Housing Concentrations</i> . In: Main Report, Volume 1, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute UNSW-UWS Research Centre	Confirms that crime is a matter of central concern in areas of high public housing concentration and socio-economic disadvantage; and that planners and policy makers need to understand more about the intersection between housing, policing and communities in addressing problems of crime and harassment.	Planning
Sandercock, L. (2003a) "Planning in the Ethno-culturally Diverse City: A Comment." <i>Planning Theory and Practice</i> , Vol. 4: 319-323.	Highlights that truly inclusive planning does not only recognise differences, but actively incorporates minority groups in every day life.	Public space

Article	Key Findings	Policy Area
Schroeder, H. W., & Anderson, L. M. (1985) "Perception of personal safety in urban recreation sites." <i>Journal of Leisure Research</i> , 16, 178–194.	Observes that features reflecting maintenance problems and abuse (e.g. graffiti, litter) tend to lower judgments of both security and aesthetics.	Public space
Solop, F.I., Hagen, K.K. and Ostergren, D. (2003) <i>Ethnic and racial diversity of national park system visitors and non-visitors technical report</i> . NPS Social Science Program, Comprehensive Survey of American Public, Diversity Report.	Observes that the quality and availability of the park infrastructure and the amenities (e.g. cafes, restrooms, sport fields, trails) encourage use, whereas the presence of litter, vandalism, and unclean restrooms could deter recreational activities.	Public space
Stollard, P. (1991) <i>Crime Prevention Through Housing Design</i> . Taylor & Francis.	Highlights cooperative planning and design as a process to arrive at design that meets all needs.	Planning and Design
Sudjic, Deyan (2006) <i>The Edifice Complex: How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World</i> . Penguin Books, London.	Observes importance of alternative public spaces (e.g. public libraries) and compares these spaces to that of major schemes, city centre sites and iconic regeneration projects.	Public space
Valentine G., Holloway S.L. and Jayne M. (2010) "Contemporary cultures of abstinence and the nighttime economy: Muslim attitudes towards alcohol and the implications for social cohesion." <i>Environment and Planning A</i> , Vol. 42 (1): 8-22.	Highlights link between culture of abstinence and how it impacts the accessibility and use of public space: focused on space related to the night-time economy.	Planning
Wallace, Marcia and Beth Moore Milroy (2001) "Ethno-racial diversity and planning practices in the Greater Toronto area." <i>Plan Canada</i> , Vol. 41 (3): 31-33.	States need to acknowledge ethno-cultural diversity in planning theory and practice	Planning
Wallace, V.K. and D.J. Witter (1992) "Urban Nature centres: What do our constituents want and how can we give it to them?" <i>Legacy</i> 2: 20-24.	Highlights link between park use and fear of crime (e.g. racial abuse) among minority visitors.	Public space
Ward Thompson, Catherine & Travlou (2007) <i>Open Space: People Space</i> . Taylor & Francis.	Establishes the association between social inclusion, recreation, and environmental quality	Public space

Article	Key Findings	Policy Area
Wise, A. (2005) "Hope and Belonging in a Multicultural Suburb." <i>Journal of Intercultural Studies</i> , Vol. 26: 171-186.	Concludes that forms of reciprocity and mutual recognition between ethnically different individuals could form the basis for intercultural contact and place sharing.	Social Interaction
Wood, P. and Landry C. (2008) <i>The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity</i> , Earthscan.	Highlights that truly inclusive societies do not only accept differences, but actively incorporate minority groups in every day life.	Public space
Worpole, K. (2003) <i>No particular place to go? Children, young people and public space</i> . Birmingham: Groundwork.	Addresses link between youngsters' need to occupy places (e.g. stairway) which they make their own (e.g. gang-related graffiti) and proactive planning to provide for such spaces where youngsters like to mingle.	Public space
Zhang, T. and Gobster PH. (1998) "Leisure Preferences and Open Space Needs in an Urban Chinese American Community." <i>Journal of Architectural and Planning Research</i> , Vol. 15 (4).	Highlights the association between park use and fear of crime (racial abuse).	Public space
