

Architectures of Encounter

Shaping Social Interaction in the Intercultural City

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Abstract

Globalisation and migration are producing ever increasing intensities of difference in Western cities. People from all over the world are becoming urban in search of a better life, bringing with them culturally distinctive ways of living and being that mark them as different. The sharper the differences, the greater the potential for discrimination, racism, prejudice and weakening social cohesion. Everyday intercultural encounters hold the promise of breaking apart fixed notions about difference. Despite renewed attention to intercultural encounter in open-public space, scholarly research has focused more on social agency with less regard for the agency of the built environment. This thesis explores how the built environment of open-public space shapes intercultural encounter in the everyday life of Western cities, to better inform policy makers and design practitioners. An actor-network ethnography is employed to study the agential qualities of the urban square typology in Copenhagen, Melbourne and Toronto, through document and artefact analysis, nonparticipant observation, mapping, and semi-structured interviews. The data is analysed using a constant comparison framework producing descriptions of human-nonhuman relations of intercultural encounter. This thesis makes four main arguments. First, all intercultural encounters are meaningful, and the built environment has agency to both enable and constrain these interactions. Second, affordances rather than humans or nonhumans triangulate intercultural encounter. Third, the programmes designed into public spaces have agency to enable and constrain intercultural encounter, albeit in conflicting and contradictory ways. Finally, symbolic representations have limited agency to enable intercultural encounter.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

- 1) the thesis comprises only my original work towards the degree of PhD;
- 2) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used;
- 3) the thesis is fewer than 100,000 words, exclusive of tables, maps, references, and appendices.

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Between my finger and my thumb

The squat pen rests.

I'll dig with it.

- Seamus Heaney

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Context

This research is grounded in almost two decades of urban design practice exploring human-environment relations. During this time, I became increasingly preoccupied with the escalating imposition of order in Western cities, which appeared to contribute more to conflict in everyday life than resolving it. During my career, I have observed Western cities urbanising through migration produced by neoliberalism and globalisation. Increasing densities of people and buildings have produced intensities of activity in open-public space simultaneously creating a more vibrant urban life and tensions arising through encounters with difference. In my work, whether these tensions concerned crime, the movement of people, appropriations of space, or sharing space, most were framed as problems of safety. The response to which was typically the imposition of more order: firstly, through new rules and regulations governing the use of public space and, secondly, through the design of the built environment. Normative codes of behaviour manifest materially in public spaces through, for example, signage, line markings on surfaces, barriers/fences, CCTV, and bollards. However, the projects I worked on consistently showed this approach to be ineffective. In many cases, the tensions and conflicts were exacerbated. At the time, I concluded that the imposition of order in public space made it easier to transgress normative codes of behaviour and, at the same time, made it easier for others to observe these indiscretions. In other words, urban environments had agency to create conflict.

One of these projects, examining pedestrian behaviour in the centre of Melbourne, was particularly pivotal in my decision to undertake this research. The density of

people in the city centre had been growing steadily through population growth and an ongoing process of urban revitalisation. A significant proportion of this growth came from, and continues to come from, migration. As a result, the urban experience was changing and citizens were faced with increasingly crowded footpaths catering to a vibrant outdoor dining scene, busking, street furniture, bicycle and motorbike parking, as well as heavy flows of pedestrians. This increasing density of difference revealed several tensions and conflicts in how people occupied and moved through open-public space. In one example, some local residents complained to the city council that the experience of the city was deteriorating because of perceived overcrowding and because “foreigners” (mainly Chinese) didn’t walk on the left-hand side of the footpath, as is the custom in Australia. Upon examining this matter of concern, I discovered that the side of the footpath people walk on varies around the world; some cultures walk on the left, some on the right and some have no rule/norm/code. For the complainants, however, walking on the left was an expectation that everyone should follow the normative codes of the dominant majority; common in assimilationist thinking. Transgressions were not seen as culturally varied spatial practices relative to the built environment, but as a consequence of being culturally distinctive. This was another pivotal moment, when my preoccupations shifted to a concern for the emerging tensions and conflicts of intercultural encounters in highly ordered Western cities.

1.2 Problem

Although urban encounter has a scholarly tradition dating back to the early twentieth century (Simmel, 1908), a concern for cultural dimensions emerged in the mid-twentieth century through the seminal work of Edward T. Hall (1969). Drawing on intercultural communication, Hall posited a framework placing different cultures into two distinct categories of relationality based on perceptions of time. In monochronic cultures, which typically, but not exclusively, comprise Western countries, time is

perceived in a formal sense. In these cultures, which Hall termed 'low-context', greater emphasis is placed on rules and regulations, where normative codes of behaviour are generally explicit and imposed top-down. In contrast, polychronic cultures, which typically, but not exclusively, comprise non-Western countries, time is perceived informally. In these cultures, which Hall termed 'high-context', less emphasis is placed on controlling how space is occupied in favour of negotiation. Although Hall's framework is highly generalising, it is useful in drawing attention to culturally varied interpretations of the built environment and the potential for conflict in the open-public spaces of multi-ethnic cities (Edensor, 1998; Mehta, 2019).

Following Bourdieu (1977), culturally varied understandings of how to occupy open-public space are embodied as a form of practical knowledge, or a 'feel for the game'; what he termed 'habitus'. In Western cities, where people with different habitus occupy the same public spaces, there is potential for minority ethnic groups to look and feel out-of-place. Migrant occupations of open-public space can appear transgressive, occurring in what Sandercock (2003, p. 89) referred to as, 'the daily habits of perhaps quite banal intercultural interaction'. The spatial practices of migrants and minority ethnic groups, therefore, become markers of difference where nonconformity with the normative codes of the dominant majority are seen as a threat. The sharper the difference, the greater the potential for racial stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and a weakening of social cohesion within multi-ethnic societies (Bennett, 2007).

There is much at stake given 55 percent of the world's population currently live in cities – many of which are becoming increasingly dense and ethnically diverse - and by 2050 the UN predicts this figure will rise to 68 percent. These levels have already been surpassed in some parts of the world, such as in Australia, where 83 percent of the population already reside in cities. Urbanisation is driven by processes of

globalisation, producing flows of economic migrants and refugees seeking asylum from humanitarian crises in the Global South. These waves of migration have become layered on previous waves, producing new levels of complexity in urban environments, which policy continues to struggle with, as Vertovec (2011, p. 3) notes:

Everywhere, migrants with complex 'new diversity' traits dwell in cities alongside people from previous, 'old diversity' waves. The dynamics of diversification – despite their increasing ubiquity – remain seriously under-researched. We know little about how people in diversifying urban settings create new patterns of coexistence, or how and why they might tend towards conflict.

The heavily criticised assimilationist policies of the early to mid-twentieth century that attempted to force migrants to adopt the ways of dominant cultures were replaced by multiculturalism in the late twentieth century, shifting emphasis towards retaining diverse cultural practises but doing little to change the power relations of race, ethnicity and gender. At the turn of the twenty-first century another policy shift is emerging, primarily from Europe, in the form of interculturalism that views diversity as an advantage and intercultural encounter as holding the promise of creativity and innovation. The intercultural city appears optimistic yet grounded in the reality that differences are not easily or always resolved. Frequent intercultural encounters in everyday urban life are seen as a risky but potentially productive way to break apart fixed notions of difference.

Despite renewed attention to urban encounter more generally, and intercultural encounter more specifically, scholarly research has focused more on social formants than the agency of the built environment. Within this literature, the type of, and settings for, "meaningful" encounter remain highly contested. Rather than frame all types of public space and all types of encounter as meaningful, some scholars propose reductive hierarchies that limit the potential of public space (Piekut & Valentine, 2017). For others, streets, squares, plazas and parks hold much promise as settings for

intercultural encounter (Radice, 2016). Nonetheless, these accounts pay limited attention to the built environment. At the same time, there has been renewed attention to material and materialism across several fields of research (Watson, 2019). While these frameworks offer much promise in understanding how intercultural encounter is produced through human-nonhuman relations, they have received limited attention in the fields of architecture and urban design.

Ethnic diversity is often highlighted as beneficial across different levels of urban policy, particularly under the emerging interculturalism turn which frames the city as a key mediator of intercultural encounter but does not attend to how built form shapes these interactions. This gap is also evident in design practice where a lack of intercultural competency limits how difference is understood, engaged with and designed for (Agyeman & Erickson, 2012). Although urban design schemes for multi-ethnic communities often emerge from controversies fuelled by intercultural tension and conflict (Yaneva, 2012), little is known about how these matters of concern inform design briefs; how such briefs are interpreted by designers and how these interpretations manifest as built form; and what agency these environments then have to enable and constrain intercultural encounter.

1.3 Aim & scope

Aim and questions

The aim of this research is to inform urban design policy and practice by exploring the role played by the built environment in mediating intercultural encounter in open-public spaces.

The main question of this research is: *How does the materiality, spatiality and programming of open-public space enable and constrain intercultural encounter in Western cities?*

Three secondary research questions are also addressed:

- First, to establish nonhuman agency: *How can Actor-Network Theory be operationalised to study the agency of built form in mediating intercultural encounter in open-public space?*
- Second, given the form of open-public space emerges from the intersecting and overlapping desires of everyday life: *What key 'matters of concern' in the everyday life of a multi-ethnic city instigated the development of an open-public space scheme?*
- Third, to understand how intercultural encounter is interpreted in the design process: *What key 'actants' emerge in the design process for open-public space schemes that influence how built form shapes intercultural encounter?*

In order to address these questions, three contemporary open-public space case studies in Western cities have been selected that were, in various ways, designed for intercultural encounter: Superkilen (Copenhagen, Denmark), Nathan Phillips Square (Toronto, Canada) and Federation Square (Melbourne, Australia).

Scope and limitations

In this research, intercultural encounter is defined as any form of interaction (verbal or nonverbal), for any duration, between two or more people from the dominant majority and a minority ethnic group relative to each case study. The dominant majority is defined, following Deleuze (2001), not in numerical terms, although that may be the case, as holding the balance of power, particularly in setting normative codes of behaviour and determining what spatial practises are in/out-of-place.

Minority ethnic groups include all people who are culturally, ethnically and racially different from the dominant majority, including indigenous people, economic migrants and refugees. Minority-majority ethnic relations are mediated by historical, political and social contexts. The intersectionality of minority ethnic groups is attended to in describing particular findings in terms of age and gender. In this research, ethnocultural differences refer to a combination of skin colour, language, dress and spatial practises, which distinguish minority ethnic groups from the dominant majority (Caron, 2014).

Following a review of the literature on the conditions of meaningful intercultural encounter, this research takes the following position: First, all intercultural encounters are meaningful. Second, all types of public space are important settings for meaningful intercultural encounters. Third, intercultural encounters do not guarantee positive interactions. However, fourth, all intercultural encounter holds the promise of changing or breaking open fixed notions about difference over time, and the cumulative impact of these interactions has the potential to strengthen social cohesion in Western cities. In this research, 'social cohesion' is used, not in a normative sense, but rather as a process of becoming where the tensions in difference are explored productively (Mouffe, 1999).

In this research, the study of intercultural encounter focuses on open-public space, defined as urban public spaces that are publicly owned and freely accessible (Dovey, 2016). Among the different types of open-public-space, this research focuses on urban squares as proclaimed settings of inclusiveness. These settings provide the greatest potential for regular intercultural encounter (Wilson, 2017a). Within open-public space, the focus of this research is on everyday life as, 'the daily negotiation of ethnic difference' (Amin, 2002, p. 959), rather than on special events, such as multicultural festivals, where ethnicity and culture can be commodified, encounters

contrived and settings sanitized in ways that are comfortable mainly for the dominant majority (Radice, 2015). Given the focus on Western cities, the case studies are located in Europe (comprising Northern Europe, Western Europe, Southern Europe, Central, Eastern Europe, and Southeastern Europe), North America and Oceania (Dragolov, 2016).

These definitions are addressed in more detail in the literature review (Chapters 2 & 3) and in the research approach (Chapter 4).

1.4 Significance

On a theoretical level, an intended outcome of this research is to provide an account of material agency in the human-nonhuman relations of intercultural encounter in open-public space. On a methodological level, an intended outcome of this research is to develop and test a framework for studying the human-nonhuman relations of intercultural encounter. Such a framework will benefit further scholarly research on intercultural encounter, as well as research undertaken in design practice. On a practical level, an intended outcome of this research is to provide recommendations for the development of design briefs and competitions for open-public space schemes that seek to accommodate intercultural encounter. A second intended practical outcome is to provide recommendations for how the materiality, spatiality and designed programming of open-public spaces enable and constrain intercultural encounter. A third intended practical outcome is to improve intercultural competency among urban policy makers and design practitioners.

1.5 Thesis overview

This thesis is structured in seven further chapters. In Chapters 2 and 3, the research is situated within current literature and establish the gaps, questions and research

methodology. The literature review is structured over two thematic chapters, each comprising two main parts. In Chapter 2, the role of cities as places of encounter with difference and the social and material conditions of these encounters are discussed. Part one considers 'urbanity' as the encounter with, and practising of, difference; exploring the rise and fall of multiculturalism and the emergence of interculturalism. Part two examines the debates on the types, settings and potential impacts of intercultural encounter. In Chapter 3, the role of urban design as a mediator for intercultural encounter is discussed. Part one explores how the built environment designs-in and designs-out difference in general, and for minority ethnic groups in particular. Part two discussed key theoretical and methodological frameworks for studying human-environment relations as a precursor to the research approach.

In Chapter 4, the research approach is presented over five sections. The first section discusses the methodological framework, including key theories and the flat and relational ontology. The second section presents a description of, justification for and application of the research methods. The third section discusses the analytic framework for the study. The fourth section presents the case study research approach, selection criteria and introductions for each case. The fifth and final section presents my reflections on the application of this methodology and methods.

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the findings from the three case studies are presented. These chapters are structured in four main sections. The first section addresses the second secondary research question on the key 'matters of concern' in the everyday life of the city which instigated the need for an intercultural public space. The second section attends to the third secondary research question on how intercultural encounter was addressed in the design process of each case study. The third section addresses the main research question concerning how the materiality, spatiality and programming

of the case study enables and constrain intercultural encounter. The final section presents a discussion and theorisation of the findings.

In Chapter 8, the discussions from the three findings chapters are drawn together and the theoretical, methodological and practical contributions presented. Finally, the key limitations of this research are presented, along with potential directions for future studies.

Chapter 2: Encountering Difference

2.1 Introduction

The first literature review chapter explores the role of cities as places of encounter with difference, and the varying conditions of these social interactions. The chapter is presented in two parts:

Part I, *Cities and difference*, explores cities as places of difference through the Deleuzian concepts of *difference*, *desire* and *becoming-minor*, to establish the power relations between the dominant majority and minority ethnic groups. These tensions are first examined through the problems of the multicultural city and then through the possibilities of the intercultural city, particularly the role of public space as important sites of encounter.

Part II, *Encounters with difference*, examines the conditions of intercultural encounter in the context of a renewed, and highly debated, scholarly interest in urban interactions. First, the various types of encounter are discussed using the seminal work of Gordon Allport as a point of departure, with particular attention to duration, proximity and gestures. Then, the effectiveness of different public settings for meaningful intercultural encounter are explored, beginning with a definition of open-public space. Finally, the potential impacts of intercultural encounter on the sense of being in/out-of-place for minority ethnic groups are considered through Paul Gilroy's concept of conviviality.

Part I: Cities and difference

Nobody can keep open house in a great city. Nobody wants to. And yet if interesting, useful and significant contacts among the people of cities are confined to acquaintanceships suitable for private life, the city becomes stultified. Cities are full of people with whom, from your viewpoint, or mine, or any other individual's, a certain degree of contact is useful or enjoyable; but you do not want them in your hair. And they do not want you in theirs either The trust of a city street is formed over time from many, many little public sidewalk contacts The sum of such casual, public contact at a local level – most of it fortuitous, most of it associated with errands, all of it metred by the person concerned and not thrust upon him by anyone – is a feeling for the public identity of people, a web of public trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighbourhood need (Jacobs, 1964, pp. 55-56).

2.2 Urban

Since the early-twentieth century, cities have been compared with machines (Evenson, 1969), systems and networks (Hillier & Hanson, 1984), and biological organisms (Batty & Marshall, 2009); or framed as places of economic exchange (Glaeser, 2011), social exchange (Netto, 2017), and creative exchange (Florida, 2014). Central to all of these perspectives, is the city as a place of encounter, a place of intersecting and overlapping flows and interactions of/between a heterogeneous assemblage of humans and nonhumans. Herein lies some of the most enduring tensions of cities, which simultaneously struggle with encounters between difference (Wirth, 1938) and yet find in them their source of creativity and innovation (Jacobs, 1964). In this sense, following Isin (2002), cities have always been 'difference machines'.

The French philosophers Deleuze and Guattari (1983), in *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, presented the concepts of *difference*, *desire* and *becoming-minor*, which provide a useful framework for understanding cities and difference. For Deleuze and Guattari, desires are, 'spontaneous, chaotic, and irreducible emergence'

(Goodchild, 1996, p. 19), produced collectively through social relations, shaping society and how it is structured. For Deleuze and Guattari (1983, p. 5), desires generate energy causing them to flow through society; 'desire causes the current to flow, itself flows in turn and breaks the flow'. As a result, flows interact, overlap and conflict with one another as differences, emerging as a myriad of conflicting economic, political, religious, sexual, social and spatial desires, as Deleuze (2001, p. 139) notes:

Something in the world forces us to think. This something is an object not of recognition but of a fundamental encounter. What is encountered may be Socrates, a temple or a demon. It may be grasped in a range of affective tones: wonder, love, hatred, suffering. In whichever tone, its primary characteristic is that it can only be sensed. In this sense it is opposed to recognition.

For Deleuze and Guattari, differences are always political and explain power relations, and, as such, they can be productive, rather than necessarily being destructive. In *Organs without Bodies*, Slavoj Žižek (2016) criticises Deleuze and Guattari's concept for lacking the political value to change the order of society. However, in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Deleuze and Guattari (1988) introduce the concept of 'becoming-minor' to explain how differences enable political change, even revolution. For Deleuze and Guattari (1988, p. 546), 'minority' is defined in opposition to 'majority' in terms of power relations rather than numerical domination:

A minority can be numerous, or even infinite; so can a majority. What distinguishes them is that in the case of a majority the relation internal to the number constitutes a set that may be finite or infinite, but is always denumerable whereas the minority is defined as a non-denumerable set, however many elements it may have.

For example, Patton (2005) uses the example of the 'average adult-white-heterosexual-European-male' as a majority in Deleuzian terms, because the majority is understood as the 'standard', and a minority is understood by how different it is in relation to the standard. The majority is, therefore, dominant as it holds the balance

of power. However, for Deleuze and Guattari (1988, p. 546), these relations are not fixed but in an ongoing political struggle:

Whether it be the infinite set of the nonwhites of the periphery, or the restricted set of the Basques, Corsicans, etc., everywhere we see the conditions for a worldwide movement: the minorities recreate "nationalitarian" phenomena that the nation-states had been charged with controlling and quashing.

These struggles, or minority resistances, are what Deleuze and Guattari call the process of 'becoming-minor', even 'becoming-revolutionary' (Patton, 2005, p. 78). In other words, the political power of difference lies in the resistance of minorities to assimilation into the majority. Hage (2012, pp. 236-237) illustrates the political struggle of becoming-minor in his text, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*:

Let us be clear about this, the spread of culturally diverse social forms and processes was happening regardless of assimilation and, if a new policy was not created to help encompass this spread, the latter would have had to remain outside the realm of policy, and as such ungovernable. That is, the recognition of diversity did not cause diversity to happen, it was precisely because diversity had already become an entrenched part of a social reality that no attempts to impose assimilation could change the fact that the government needed a policy that could recognise this diversity in order to govern it. Therefore, the recognition/governing of diversity was the way to secure the deeper structural cohesion of the nation that assimilation and integration had failed to secure.

For Hage, the policy of multiculturalism is an evolution of White power (the dominant majority), as a new mode of control over minority ethnic groups to maintain dominance. In this sense, multiculturalism can be understood as a political response to the power of minority ethnic groups; their *becoming-minor*. Cities might therefore be understood as the struggle between becoming-minor and remaining-majority.

Immanuel Kant (1996), writing during the enlightenment, proposed in his seminal text *Critique of Pure Reason*, a global ethics, 'act according to the maxim that you would wish all other rational people to follow, as if it were a universal law'. Kant believed reason could overcome religious divisions and ideology, providing a basis for peaceful global coexistence. However, Kant's attempt to find a common understanding to unify difference, does not dissolve difference; differences remain unaddressed. Sennett (2012), drawing on Kant, proposed in *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation*, an alternative framework for living with difference that does not rely on the ideal of solidarity. For Sennett, living with difference is a skill that can be learned through the unpredictability of urban encounters. In this way, differences are not dissolved but rather emphasised, allowing different groups to become more comfortable with difference. The skill of living with difference is, therefore, developed by practising difference; this can be understood as the very act of being urban. 'Urban' derives from the Latin word for a city *urbs*, which originally referred to its physical manifestation, but later took on a relational meaning to describe both the built form and the culture of its inhabitants (Lévy, 2017). To develop the skills of living with difference, therefore, means not only to practice difference, but to practice difference as co-constituted with the city. Following Fischer (1995), the more urban a city is, the greater the density of difference and, therefore, the greater the potential intensity of encounters with difference.

2.3 Multicultural

In the second century A.D., Ancient Rome was the largest and most ethnically diverse city in the world (de Souza Briggs, 2004). However, as in Ancient Athens, difference was mainly derived from slaves taken from conquered lands, whom the Romans needed as labour to build and grow their empire (Gardner, 1993). Unlike Ancient Athens, where only males born of two Athenians could become citizens (Manville,

1990), in Ancient Rome slaves and foreign-born people could earn the right to citizenship, as Aelius Aristides proclaimed in his Roman Oration, 'neither sea nor intervening continent are bars to citizenship, nor are Asia and Europe divided in their treatment here. In your empire all paths are open to all' (quoted in Nicolet, 1980, p. 18). The Romans privileged allegiance and the aspiration of citizenship above ethnic differences. As a result, some have claimed that Ancient Rome was the world's first cosmopolis, where a multitude of differences came face-to-face in a productive milieu, leading to advances in medicines, new technologies and works of art (Edwards & Woolf, 2003). This is not to romanticise Ancient Rome, as it was also a place of discrimination and persecution, where certain difference was fed to lions as spectator sport. Nonetheless, it does represent a point in history where the creativity and innovation produced by difference was embraced.

After World War II, significant flows of migration occurred within Europe and to Europe from Africa and the Middle East, to rebuild devastated cities (Mavroudi & Nagel, 2016). Throughout the twentieth century, the demand for labour continued to drive migration to Western cities, particularly in North America and Oceania. Many migrants were escaping wars, religious persecution and famine, while some were seeking family reunification. The economic crises of the 1970s significantly slowed migration, particularly the movement of low-skilled workers. However, the intensification of globalisation in the 1980s and 1990s generated new demand for migrants, particularly highly skilled workers, continuing into the twenty-first century. Over the last two decades, a series of geopolitical conflicts around the world has led to a significant mass movement of forced migration (Mavroudi & Nagel, 2016). Throughout this history of migration, Western cities have been key destinations and, therefore, key places of encounter with difference.

Initial attempts to manage the growing ethnic diversity in Western cities led to policies of assimilation – the integration of minority ethnic groups into the dominant majority – from the period post World War II until the 1970s. These policies were largely derived from the Chicago School¹, particularly the work of Park (1922) and Wirth (1938), which aimed at a kind of ‘melting pot’, into which difference would be poured but out of which would come a form of sameness (Zangwill, 1914). As Borooah and Mangan (2009, p. 35) point out, the failures of assimilation occurred at two conflicting levels:

Structural assimilation measures the extent of participation of groups and individuals in a larger society, basically at the institutional level. Cultural assimilation is concerned with the process of value orientation and identification of migrants. Clearly, one can participate in a structural sense without altering core values and orientations. For example, Moslems can, and do, actively participate in French society but do not necessarily accept the basic values of (Gallic) French life. As a result, to some the core problem with assimilation (both benign and severe) is the belief that involvement in institutional life will engender identification with majority views and values. This realization has led to some countries abandoning attempts at assimilation and moving toward the introduction of policies that allow separate development, within the overarching framework of a common institutional, legal and economic framework.

In reality, assimilation forced migrants to adopt the values, beliefs and cultural practices of the dominant majority, at the expense of their own. Following Deleuze’s concept of becoming-minor, assimilation did not stop migrants from practising difference, as evidenced by the spatial practices, ambience and materiality of multi-ethnic places such as Brick Lane in London.

¹ ‘The Chicago School of Urban Sociology ... during the period 1915 to 1945 ... defined the contours of urban sociology for much of the twentieth century, most clearly in the contributions of urban ecology and applied research within the urban environment’ (Hutchison, 2010).

Kymlicka (2010) identifies two key movements, both based on human rights, that shifted policies from assimilation towards the new policy of multiculturalism. The first movement took place between 1948 to 1965 as a response to colonisation, while the second movement occurred from 1955 to 1965 around the civil rights movement against racial segregation and discrimination. Although some countries, such as France and the USA², have persisted with assimilationist policies, others, such as Australia, Canada and the UK, shifted to multiculturalism between 1970-1990. However, as mentioned previously, this shift was forced, at least in part, by the resistance of minority ethnic groups to be assimilated at the expense of their own values, beliefs and practices (see also Bodaar, 2006). Multiculturalism then, can be seen as an attempt by Western governments to find new ways of managing/controlling the growing complexity of difference in cities (Sandercock, 2003). Despite some claims to be successful multicultural societies, particularly in Canada and Australia (Hartwich, 2011), the policy of multiculturalism has been widely criticised for failing to address the core problems of assimilation. In the multicultural city, segregation, fragmented public space, discrimination and prejudice remain, and minority ethnic groups are still economically disadvantaged (Berg & Sigona, 2013; Cattle, 2012; Ghosh, 2018). Multiculturalism maintains the power of the dominant majority, limiting the political rights of minority groups (Fincher & Jacobs, 1998).

Multiculturalism has been leveraged in the neoliberal city, where ethnic diversity attracts overseas investment and tourism. Politically, therefore, multiculturalism has strong currency but remains a thorny issue. On one hand, multiculturalism is seen as an extension of the liberal democratic values of tolerance and respect, while on the other hand it is considered a threat to these values. Economic migrants are seen as

² Assimilation policies differ significantly between these countries: whereas France seeks to unite the country by limiting difference, the USA has been more open to recognising and celebrating ethnocultural differences.

key enablers of economic growth and refugees are justified on humanitarian grounds. However, migrants have also been blamed for social and economic inequalities across the Western world. This has led to a rise in prejudice against minority ethnic groups, including hate crimes in public spaces, and an overall decline in social cohesion in Western cities (Kandel et al., 2003). Nonetheless, support for multiculturalism policies has become more entrenched, with little desire to address its many criticisms (Kymlicka, 2010).

While politicians struggle with the growing pluralism of cities, several scholars have attempted to rethink this complexity as *Ethnoscapes* (Appadurai, 1990), *Intercultures* (Tully, 1995), *EthniCities* (Roseman et al., 1996), *Mongrel Cities* (Sandercock, 2003), and *Kaleido-scapes* (Nasser, 2004). Although each perspective has a different slant on the challenges, they all emphasise the importance of intercultural encounters in public spaces. Building on this work, Hou (2013, p. 7) notes:

The challenges facing multiculturalism and multicultural planning today suggest a need for new discourses, frameworks, and a point of departure based on the complexity of today's cities and societies. Specifically, such discourse needs to address the dynamic processes of cultural change, overlays, and cross-cultural interactions in the context of migration and diversity. It also needs to address the politics of intercultural struggles and the agency of space and placemaking for cross cultural learning, dialogues, engagement, and political empowerment.

Hou proposes three shifts in current thinking. First, new methodologies are needed to understand, engage with and design for the complexity of ethnic diversity. Second, focusing on the interactions, or encounter, between different ethnocultural groups. Third, following the previous two, exploring the agency of built form and spatial practices to enable intercultural encounter. Hou's consideration of urban design is an important development, particularly for this research, by situating intercultural encounter relative to the built form of public space.

2.4 Intercultural

A post-multicultural shift began in Europe at the start of the twenty-first century (Kymlicka, 2010), led by the Council of Europe through the *Intercultural Cities Programme* (ICC). The ICC was established in 2006 following a two-year study exploring the potential benefits of ethnic diversity in Western cities around the world. More than 130 global cities have become members of the ICC. The intercultural turn represents a radical shift in policies for managing ethnic diversity:

Whilst multiculturalism is predicated upon static notions of group identity, interculturalism expects a dynamic and constantly changing environment in which individuals and collectives express multiple, hybrid and evolving needs and identities (Council of Europe, 2013, p. 69).

Under interculturalism, ethnic diversity is an advantage in cities, rather than a problem. The 'diversity advantage' has a long tradition in scholarly literature, particularly in the seminal writing of Jacobs (1964) and Sennett (1971), who framed intercultural encounter in public spaces as a source of creativity and innovation. For the ICC, open-public spaces, such as streets, parks and squares, are also critical contact zones.

The intercultural turn is the subject of ongoing political and scholarly debate (Antonsich, 2016; Cattle, 2012; Meer et al., 2016). Some argue that interculturalism is nothing more than a new narrative for multiculturalism that has too easily become mired in controversy (Levey, 2012), and should not be abandoned given its successes towards integration and minority rights (Kymlicka, 2010; Modood, 2017). Notwithstanding the successes of multiculturalism, it is unclear what role it has played compared to the changes that have been forced through the political actions of minority ethnic groups and their allies.

One potential way to overcome the ambiguities within the multi/inter-cultural debate is to consider the actual outcomes of the multicultural city with the possibilities of the intercultural city. In doing so, the value in shifting towards intercultural cities becomes more apparent. There is an optimism in the intercultural city paradigm that reflects the more grounded and spirited ideas of Lefebvre's (1968) *Right to the City* – the right to make and remake our cities³; in Massey's (2005) three propositions for a 'global sense of space'⁴: (1) space as a product of interrelations, (2) space as a sphere of the coexistence of difference, and (3) space as always being made; and of Sennett's (2007, 2018) concept of the *Open City*⁵. Furthermore, the intercultural city also appears to reflect the growing complexity of difference in cities, aligning more closely with the concepts of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007b), and 'hyper-diversity' (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Whereas the multicultural city produced static notions of ethnic diversity based on assumptions of ethnocultural differences derived from the country of origin, the intercultural city is geared more to the emerging everyday spatial practises of difference as situated in open-public space.

The intercultural city suggests a more pragmatic way forward that escapes the conceptual confusion surrounding the multicultural city, by attending to the shaping of intercultural encounter through urban design (Marconi & Ostanel, 2016, p. 7). As Agyeman (2017, June 27, para. 2) suggests, 'it is possible to plan, design, and maintain 'culturally inclusive spaces,' but this necessitates, among other things, a paradigm shift in our thinking from multi- to interculturalism'. The shift proposed by Agyeman frames the intercultural city as one designed for the variegated spatial practices that emerge in relationship with the material city (Ostanel, 2016).

³ Lefebvre's concept of the Right to the City is discussed further in section 3.8 (p. 67).

⁴ Massey's 'global sense of place' is discussed further in section 3.8 (p. 67).

⁵ Sennett frames the 'Open City' as a place where differences are engaged to produce openness, as opposed to the 'Closed City', which produces segregation. See also section 3.6 (p. 57).

Part II: Encounters with difference

The daily negotiation and contestation of a place does not require in quite that sense the conscious collective contestation of its identity (however temporarily established) nor are there the mechanisms for it. But insofar as they 'work' at all places are still not- inconsiderable collective achievements. They are formed through a myriad of practices of quotidian negotiation and contestation; practices, moreover, through which the constituent 'identities' are also themselves continually moulded. Place, in other words does - as many argue - change us, not through some visceral belonging (some barely changing rootedness, as so many would have it) but through the practising of place, the negotiation of intersecting trajectories; place as an arena where negotiation is forced upon us (Massey, 2005, p. 154).

2.5 Types

Urban encounter has a long tradition of scholarly research (Benjamin, 1969; de Certeau, 1984; Habermas, 1992; Jacobs, 1964; Park, 1915; Simmel, 1922). The seminal work on intergroup contact, known as the 'contact hypothesis', was first developed by Allport (1954), who argued that prejudice could be reduced through contact between strangers to alleviate a sense of uncertainty and unease. Allport's theory is still considered relevant today (Lolliot et al., 2015; Spijkers & Loopmans, 2018), even if his proposed 'conditions for optimal contact (equal status, intergroup cooperation, the pursuit of common goals, and the presence of institutional support) are no longer considered necessary' (Roets et al., 2015, pp. 263-264), even among people considered highly prejudiced (Dhont et al., 2011). However, the optimal conditions for meaningful encounter remain highly contested in the literature (Spijkers & Loopmans, 2018).

Following the withdrawal from cities characterised by difference during the 1970s and 1980s (Brill, 1989; Mitchell, 2012), several scholars have argued for a return to cities where difference is encountered as a part of everyday life (Sennett, 1996; Thrift, 2005;

Young, 1986). However, Valentine (2008, p. 325) warns against, what she calls, 'a worrying romanticization of urban encounter ... [based on] a potentially naïve assumption that contact with 'others' necessarily translates into respect for difference'. Valentine's concern (see also Matejskova & Leitner, 2011) is that meaningful encounter is taken for granted, particularly when observation alone is the primary method of research (Laurier & Philo, 2006; Wilson, 2011). Such studies, Valentine argues, lack an account of 'what people bring to encounters from their past which might prefigure the interactions observed; or their durability—whether the engagements recorded will be meaningful in terms of having lasting effects on the participants that may rematerialise in future encounters' (Valentine & Sadgrove, 2012, p. 2050). It is the invisible hand of power in such fleeting encounters that worries Valentine, because, for her, the voice of the subject is missing from accounts based on observation alone. The risk here, Valentine (2008, pp. 328-329) suggests, in reference to Cresswell (1996), is that public encounters, 'always carry with them a set of contextual expectations about appropriate ways of behaving which regulate our coexistence'. As a result, 'tolerance conceals an implicit set of power relations ... a courtesy that a dominant or privileged group has the power to extend to, or withhold from, others' (Valentine, 2008, p. 329). While I agree with Valentine's concern for the role of power relations in urban encounters, especially those between the dominant majority and minority ethnic groups, her issue is more methodological and can be addressed with a more-than-observational approach to ethnography, rather than abandoning the study of urban encounters in open-public spaces entirely. Furthermore, her optimal conditions for intercultural encounter, including repeated and enduring interactions where power is shared equally, appear overly optimistic, even contrived.

In a further critique of urban encounters, Valentine (2008) claims her empirical research shows proximity is insufficient in producing meaningful encounter, primarily

because it does not address social and economic inequalities. Prior to the re-emergence of urban encounter in the literature, several scholars addressed the question of proximity. For example, Granovetter (1973, 1983) argued for the *strength of weak ties*, Brill (1989) for *limited interactions*, and Lofland (1998) for *fleeting relations*. More recently, following the renewed interest in encounter, several scholars (Peterson, 2017; Vertovec, 2007a; Wessendorf, 2013; Wilson, 2011) have sought to counter the criticism of proximity, as Radice (2015, p. 595) notes:

Although these kinds of encounters with the Other may seem superficial ... they are significant not only because they are valued by participants themselves, but also because they habituate and sensitise city dwellers to cultural difference. They occur in spheres of urban life ... that are by definition banal, and apparently without any great consequences for the major stakes of social life, such as employment, education, housing or religion. Yet these encounters are arguably all the more significant for their casual, non-compulsory character ... They may not engage participants deeply, but depths can be plumbed: they can generate the conditions ... under which a deeper cosmopolitan engagement can take shape.

Radice (2015, p. 588) suggests that proximity has particular value for intercultural encounters, which she terms, 'micro-cosmopolitanisms ... the ways that cosmopolitanism is practised in the 'microcosm' of the multiethnic city'. Furthermore, as Wang and Collins (2016, p. 89) note, 'emotions ... shape and are shaped by encounters that migrants have in their day-to-day lives ... with objects, people and places within a range of 'contact zones' ... [in] becoming familiar with new everyday routines'. Their empirical research with Chinese women in Auckland, New Zealand, demonstrates that fleeting intercultural encounters can produce positive emotional feelings in migrants. Radice (2015, p. 598), and other proponents of proximity (see also Ahmed, 2008), are aware that encounters are inherently unpredictable, with the potential to produce negative as well as positive outcomes, as she notes 'misunderstanding, ambivalence, incivility or hostility – indeed, forms of parochialism,

or unwillingness to engage with the other – can arise too. However, for these scholars, public encounters always have meaning because negative and positive interactions both hold the promise of change.

Urban encounters are subject to a range of overlapping and intersecting variables, including directness (direct and indirect), duration (shorter and longer), communication (verbal and nonverbal), avoidance (partial and total), frequency (one-off and repeated), necessity (voluntary and involuntary), depth (superficial and intimate) and formality (planned and unplanned). Although it might appear repeated face-to-face, voluntary and planned discussions of lengthy durations, would produce more meaningful encounters, the literature suggests there is also value in fleeting public encounters involving nothing more than bodily gestures (Laurier & Philo, 2006). The social psychologist Erving Goffman, in *Behaviour in Public Places* (1963) and *Relations in Public* (1971), presented some of the seminal work on the role of gestures in public encounters. Goffman (1971) posited gestures in public spaces as a problem of ‘giving ourselves away’, which he suggested manifested in a form of ‘civil inattention’⁶. His pessimism was symptomatic of the general negative attitude towards cities during this period (see also Milgram, 1970). In contrast, Laurier and Philo (2006, p. 193) suggest gestures can also ‘give ourselves away’ in a positive sense. For them, ‘the city remains the place, above all, of living with others ... [where] little is said between the unacquainted, even though they are involved in making queues together, holding open doors for one another and sharing seats’. In this sense, gestures are mediators of encounter without recourse to direct, verbal engagement. Ingold (2011), drawing on Goffman and Michael Wolff’s (1973) notion of the ‘step-and-slide’ manoeuvre to navigate crowded public spaces, notes that bodily gestures are, in fact, intrinsically social. As Laurier and Philo (2006, p. 195) point out, ‘in smiling, pointing, shaking our heads, leaning over, putting our hands up, stretching a pencil forwards,

⁶ A broader discussion of Goffman’s work is provided in section 3.7.

tapping a screen and all manners of glancings, we are making public displays of minded doings, from which others can infer manifesting intentions, expectations and motives', and rather than replacing verbal communication, 'gestures are not taken to be outside of language; rather, they are indelibly part of our practical reasoning and practical action'. In this sense, gestures represent a form of shared practical knowledge that traverse different cultures and facilitate intercultural encounters.

Laurier and Philo (2006, p. 196) also note that gestures are, 'contingent upon spatialities – varying from place to place ... [and occurring] in the unfolding of action, in the time-spaces of action, and they configure near-to-hand objects yet also use such objects in their production'. This is what Radice (2015, p. 597), in the context of intercultural encounter, referred to as, 'situated cosmopolitanism'. Encounters, therefore, have a relational quality; a bodily (human) enactment undertaken in association with nonhumans (Latour, 2005), an assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). As Lobo (2015, p. 64) notes, intercultural encounters take place within, 'an assemblage ... composed of co-present bodies in material places that come together, mix and transmit affects through utterances or gestures in public spaces'.

The debate about what type of intercultural encounters are meaningful appears quite polarising. For some, meaningful encounter only seems possible with direct, lengthy engagements where power relations are explicitly addressed. This is framed against the claimed ineffectiveness of indirect and fleeting interactions where power relations remain hidden behind the tolerance of difference. However, for proponents of intercultural encounters in public space, the conditions for meaningful interactions is not a zero-sum game, rather all types of encounter hold the promise of change. Power relations between the dominant majority and minority ethnic groups, rather than being ignored, play out in the unpredictable nature of urban encounters in public space settings.

2.6 Settings

All encounters are situated in settings (Dirksmeier et al., 2014; Spijkers & Loopmans, 2018). Pratt (2007, p. 7) conceptualised settings as *contact zones*, which she defined as, 'social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination'. Wang and Collins (2016, p. 91) note two major characteristics of contact zones, 'first, it is a social site filled with difference and interactions among people from different socio-cultural backgrounds; second, the encounters among different subjects are necessarily characterised by uneven power relations'. Public spaces are widely claimed in the literature as the most effective contact zones for meaningful intercultural encounters. They have been described as settings of 'throwntogetherness' (Massey, 2005); assemblages of humans and nonhumans that structure social interactions in unpredictable ways. However, the type of public space in which meaningful intercultural encounters take place remains highly contested.

Public space is a slippery concept given its dynamic and fleeting nature (Amin, 2008; Varna, 2014). For example, Oldenburg (1989) proposed the idea of 'third places', as public spaces where people interact on neutral territory, which he distinguished from first places (homes) and second places (work). However, for Oldenburg public spaces were the heart of communities and familiar people. On the other hand, Brill (2001, p. 50) drew a clear distinction between 'public life', which he defined as:

Spent in the occasional company of a diversity of strangers of whom we know little more than what we see, not all of them projecting personas comfortable to engage, in locations all may use, many of them publicly held for the common good, like the square, park and street, and many privately held for common pleasure and commerce, like the night club and the Mall.

And 'community/parochial life', which Brill (2001, p. 50) defined as:

Spent with and among neighbors, nodding acquaintances, shopkeepers, locally resident police, fire, mail and town officials, and people in local fraternal, sporting and religious groups. Its varied locales are ones you know and frequent, a mix of both semi-public and semi-private places, like the neighborhood bar, the often-walked public street, the school PTA meeting and the church dinner.

Lofland (1998) proposed a similar distinction between the public realm, as the realm of strangers, and the parochial realm, as the realm of community. She claimed that the public realm was the exclusive territory of cities (see also Kärholm, 2007; Sack, 1983), whereas villages and small towns comprised only private and parochial spaces. Graham and Marvin (2001) proposed the idea of a fourth space, called *virtual space*, the space of telecommunication networks, the internet and social media, which straddle parochial and public space; drawing criticism from some scholars, as a further retreat from public life (Carmona, 2010a). More recently, Dovey (2016, p. 155) has proposed a more expansive conceptualisation of public space (Figure 1) using a dual axis of 'open-enclave' and 'public-private', producing a matrix of four primary overlapping typologies, with a fifth typology emerging as 'quasi-public' spaces, including gated communities and shopping centres. Virtual space has been excluded in this conceptualisation, which focuses on material or actual places. The usefulness of this model is its ability to capture the fluidity and situatedness of public space. As such, it provides a suitable point of departure for exploring the effectiveness of different public settings for meaningful intercultural encounters.

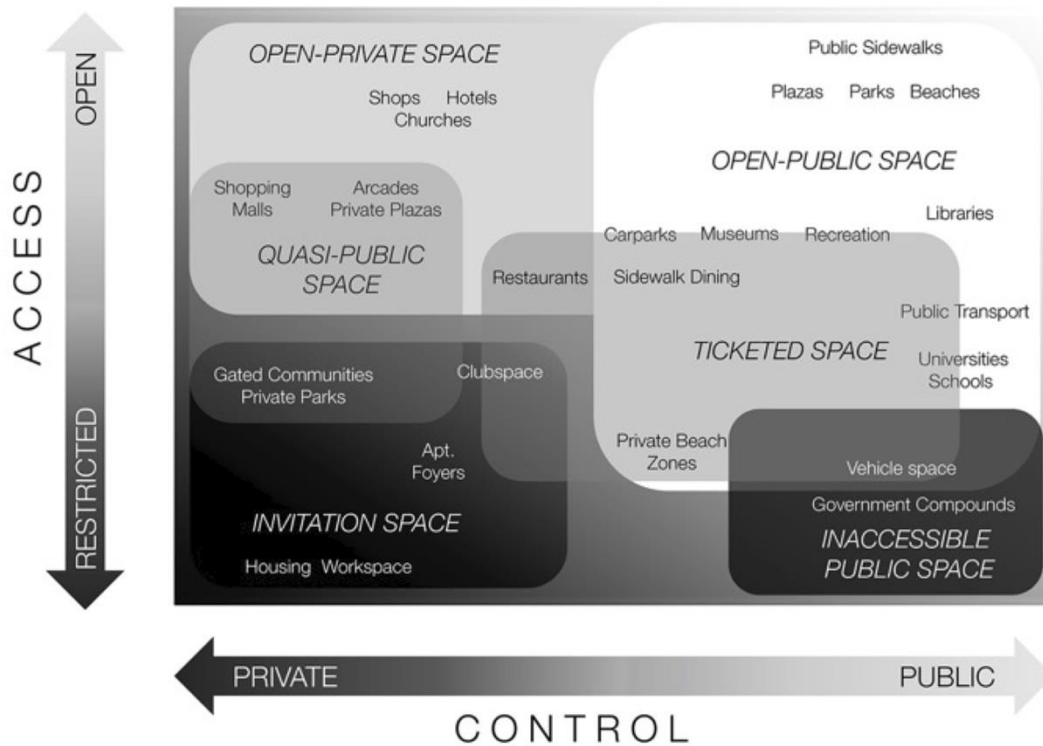


Figure 1. Defining the publicness of public space (Dovey & Pafka, In Press)

Prior to the more recent scholarly engagement with intercultural encounter, the open-public spaces - the squares, plazas, streets and parks - of the city were widely considered as the main setting for encounters with difference. However, some have since argued that these public spaces have, at best, a limited role as settings for meaningful intercultural encounters (Fincher & Iveson, 2008; Tonkiss, 2005; Valentine, 2008). For example, Amin (2002, p. 968), writing in aftermath of the British race disturbances in 2001, noted:

There is a limit to uses of [open] public space for intercultural dialogue and understanding, for even in the most carefully designed and inclusive spaces, the marginalised and the prejudiced stay away, while many of those who participate carry the deeper imprint of personal experience that can include negative racial attitudes ... in the hands of urban planners and designers, the public domain is all too easily reduced to improvements to public spaces, with modest achievements in race and ethnic relations.

Amin (2008, pp. 7-8) has further suggested that, 'sociality in urban [open] public space is not a sufficient condition for civic and political citizenship ... [and] it is too heroic a leap to assume that making a city's [open] public spaces more vibrant and inclusive will improve urban democracy'. For Amin, the open public spaces of cities are, therefore, 'politically modest', which he attributes to their increasingly diminishing role as cultural and political sites. This diminishing role, he and others (Banerjee, 2001; Carmona et al., 2010; Sennett, 2011; Zukin, 2010) argue, is a product of the neoliberal city⁷ where open public spaces are increasingly privatised, limiting the potential of unpredictable encounters. As a result, Amin argues for what he calls *micropublics*, or spaces of association, including schools, libraries, youth clubs, sports clubs, and workplaces (see also Valentine & Sadgrove, 2012). However, Watson (2006) has pointed out that segregation between majority and minority ethnic groups takes place within these types of public settings. Furthermore, these settings structure interactions in certain ways, materially and socially, which can reduce the potential of unpredictable encounters.

Wilson (2017a, pp. 455-458) notes of this unpredictability, 'encounters *make* difference' and 'make a difference'. The potential here is the possibility to break apart fixed notions of identity and practice, creating a sense of becoming. Quoting Donna Haraway, Wilson (2017a, p. 464) further notes, 'we learn to be worldly from grappling with, rather than generalising from, the ordinary'. This concept of practising difference parallels the Deleuzian notion of *becoming-minor* – a resistance to assimilation in favour of living with difference. Wilson suggests that in organised encounters outcomes are often predefined by the dominant majority, with little consideration of what encounter means or how it is practised by minority groups. Wilson (2017b) and

⁷ '[T]he neoliberal city is increasingly characterized by a curious combination of inner city and exurban private investment, disinvestment in the inner suburbs, the relaxation of land use controls, and the reduction of public investment that is not likely to lead to an immediate profit' (Hackworth, 2007, p. 78).

others (see Ahmed, 2000; Carter, 2013; Massumi, 2002) suggest that organised encounters, such as sporting events, festivals, tourism-related activities, and workshops, limit the potential of unplanned interactions. Wilson, instead, makes a case for intercultural encounter in everyday open-public spaces, where, her conception of unplanned encounter, similar to the notion of *Convivencia* (Wise & Noble, 2016), is possible. Wilson (2017a, p. 460) further notes that in open-public spaces, the potential to 'shift perceptions' has an important temporal element, occurring through an 'accumulation of encounters'. Frequent encounters with difference in everyday public spaces have the potential to render a stranger familiar and the familiar strange (Milgram, 1977; Peterson, 2017; Sandercock, 2009; Ye, 2016). In other words, fixed notions of others can be productively altered.

Although most of the literature remains contested about which public settings are most effective for intercultural encounter, emerging research (Spijkers & Loopmans, 2018), suggests that all types of settings (including private) facilitate meaningful intercultural encounters, albeit in different ways. Open-public spaces are geared more to frequent fleeting encounters amongst a greater diversity of people, whereas parochial spaces, such as community centres and youth clubs are geared more to longer/more intense encounters amongst a smaller diversity of people. Therefore, all forms of encounter in all forms of setting have some value, which points to 'the importance of weaving a web of different places where various types of learning reinforce instead of countervail each other' (Spijkers & Loopmans, 2018, p. 17). The question, therefore, is not which settings are most effective for intercultural encounter, but what role each plays in multi-ethnic cities. In addressing this question, the impact of intercultural encounters in open-public space must be considered (Peters, 2011).

2.7 Impacts

The everyday spatial practices of minority ethnic groups often subvert normative codes of appropriate behaviour set down by the dominant majority. As Ye (2019, p. 490) notes:

By imposing ordered ways of proceeding, legitimized codes of conduct do not only exclude those who do not conform accordingly but also set up a relative and normative form of inclusion where newcomers are welcomed on condition that they behave in socially accepted ways. Social norms and civility then become tools of inclusion, and, subsequently, enclosure and exclusion, that form a particular and politicized logic of diversification.

How minority ethnic groups occupy open-public space is, therefore, a marker of difference. While conformity indicates assimilation, citizenship, and acceptance by the dominant majority, nonconformity is seen as a rejection of, and threat to, nationalism (Bauman, 1991; Beck, 1998; Said, 2004).

For minority ethnic groups, this is doubly problematic, producing both a sense of feeling out-of-place and being seen to be out-of-place (Nowicka, 2015a). While being in public space can produce anxiety among minority ethnic groups (Amin, 2008), being seen to be different can escalate anxiety into fear (Burnett, 1998; Watson, 2006). Bourdieu (2008, p. 17) describes this mismatch in habitus as 'cultural hysteresis', or 'a sense of one's place and a sense of the other's place'. The sharper the contrast appears, the more out-of-place minority ethnic groups feel, and the more negative perceptions of them become among the dominant majority (Bennett, 2007). Habitus has much in common with theories of place (Cresswell, 1996; Dovey, 2009; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). Similar to these theories, habitus is not fixed but changes slowly. However, for migrants, cultural hysteresis can be profound producing a new habitus (Nowicka, 2015b). For example, in a study of migrant resettlement in Australia, Noble (2013, p. 349) notes:

Learning to make yourself at home in Australia, then, is not just learning the differences of a new place, it is learning that you are 'different'. Migrants may experience the difference of arrival and the difference of now as continuous, but of course they are not the same moment. It is this learning to be the difference which is intriguing. This is the formation of an 'ethnicised habitus' rather than a reproduced 'migrant habitus'.

In this sense, there is no guarantee that conforming to the normative codes of behaviour expected by the dominant majority will eliminate prejudice, because, as Noble points out, difference does not entirely disappear, particularly in open-public space that not only produces prejudice, but can also inflame them (see also Dhont et al., 2011; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Nayak, 2017; Wessel, 2009). The persistence of prejudice against minority ethnic groups in open-public space, what Knowles (2003) calls 'race-space', is maintained by the power of the dominant majority. Derrida (2001, cited in Ye, 2019, p.487-488) points to a contradiction in approaches to migrants by some Western countries, noting that, 'on the one hand, there is an unconditional hospitality offering the right of refuge to all migrants and newcomers [but] on the other hand, hospitality has to be conditional: there has to be some limitation on rights of residence'. Ongoing minority-majority spatial inequalities are fuelled by this White spatial and assimilationist imaginary, which has a significant impact on migrant's sense of belonging (Leitner, 2012).

Based on ethnographic studies of mixing in highly diverse neighbourhoods in London, Wessendorf (2013, 2016) argues that repeated encounters among people from different ethnic backgrounds has potential to increase familiarity and comfort. Wise (2005, p. 419) reveals similar findings from studies in Australian cities, suggesting even small 'gestures of care and recognition' can 'translate the abstract other into a concrete other'. Wise and Velayutham (2014) note that these moments of conviviality are more than simple civilities and more than the tolerance of living with difference.

For Gilroy (2004), this form of conviviality moves beyond cosmopolitanism⁸, which he claims, in agreement with Derrida, retains the power of the dominant majority. Following Gilroy, several scholars (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014; Wise & Noble, 2016; Wolf, 2009) have proposed 'convivència' as a more realistic concept than conviviality for understanding intercultural encounter. Originating in the coexistence of Muslims, Jews and Christians in Iberia during the medieval period, Wise and Noble (2016, p. 415) describe convivència as, 'practice, effort, negotiation and achievement ... [a] sense of 'rubbing along' [that] includes not just 'happy togetherness' but negotiation, friction and sometimes conflict ... [signalling] belonging and new forms of community as practice, as hard labour'. In this sense, convivència conveys the productive potential of intercultural encounters for breaking open fixed notions of difference. However, much depends on how intercultural encounters are structured socially and materially, as Wise and Noble (2016, p. 427) note:

These spaces and times of convivial relations rest as much on material environs as they do on interpersonal and social relations. The physical organisation of social space, and the ways humans make use of this space, is fundamental to the logic of connection or disconnection: systems of transport, the flow of bodies through public space, the use of site facilities and so on all represent *affordances* of conviviality through shared social resources.

While the agency of built form is acknowledged, accounts of *how to design* open-public space for intercultural encounter, with a few notable exceptions (Low et al., 2009; Rishbeth & Rogaly, 2018), are lacking.

Wilson (2017b, p. 609), drawing on Mouffe, argues that intercultural encounters have the power to 'rupture, surprise, and shock ... [which] is central to their framing as sites of transformation for it evokes instances in which something is unexpectedly broken

⁸ Cosmopolitanism is the view that all human beings, regardless of ethnocultural differences, can coexist as citizens.

open or destabilised'. The unpredictability of these interactions produces uncertain outcomes for minority ethnic groups, including visibility/invisibility, freedom/oppression, belonging/hostility, fear/comfort (De Backer et al., 2019). These uncertainties are mediated in part by power relations with the dominant majority, which play out at the microscale of open-public space but are simultaneously framed within a global context of cultural and religious intolerance (Appadurai, 2006). Understood this way, intercultural encounters in open-public space are inherently risky, particularly for minority ethnic groups, yet full of potential for improving their situation. In this sense, all intercultural encounters are in some way political. This is the case for Massey (1993) who, drawing on Lefebvre's concepts of 'the right to the city'⁹ and 'centrality'¹⁰, views open-public space as a political site where minority ethnic groups can claim a right to citizenship. Taking this one step further, Di Masso (2012) asserts that open-public space only become public when appropriated by minority ethnic groups as political sites. In this sense, difference produces *open* public space. At the same time, open-public space makes difference (Farías & Höhne, 2016). Hall (2015a), drawing on several studies of multi-ethnic British streets, frames the everyday political actions of minority ethnic groups as a form of creative expression. Following the 'strategy and tactics' of de Certeau (1984)¹¹, Hall argues that these practices are a way into the political life of the city that are otherwise not available. Positioning creativity as a product of intercultural tension, even conflict, as Hall does, usefully reframes what have been considered "problems" of ethnic diversity as

⁹ 'The right to the city' concept is discussed in more detail in section 3.8 (p. 67).

¹⁰ Stanek (2011, pp. 73-74), quoting Lefebvre (1970), notes, 'in a city characterized by centrality, things, objects, people, and situations "are mutually exclusive because they are diverse, but inclusive because they are brought together and imply their mutual presence."' He adds that conflicts in urban space arise from differences, which recognize and test each other. Thus, centrality consists of a collection of contradictory and mutually conditioned elements.

¹¹ For de Certeau, 'strategies' can be seen as formal, top-down actions by those in power (ie, the dominant majority) using various forms of control; whereas 'tactics' are informal, bottom-up reactions to strategies by those without/less power (eg. minority ethnic groups).

advantages; this is similar to the 'diversity advantage' promoted in the emerging policies of interculturalism.

Fleeting intercultural encounters in open-public space, while inherently risky, are full of promise for slowly breaking open fixed notions of minority ethnic groups, for establishing familiarity and becoming more comfortable with difference in everyday urban life. The inherent risks appear conditional for entry into the political life of the city, but entry is nonetheless an opportunity for citizenship. I do not seek to romanticise the struggles of marginalisation, but rather to emphasise the possibilities that exist in these conditions for minority ethnic groups.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter explored two important themes for this research: cities as places of intercultural encounter and the conditions for intercultural encounter in open-public space.

Despite the rationalist and segregating zoning in the post-war period, cities remain, as Jacobs (1964) asserted, places of encounter with difference. The more urban, the greater the density of differences, the higher intensities of differences produced. While on one hand these processes produce diversity, they also diversify cultural practices as difference overlaps, intersects and interacts (Fischer, 1995). Moreover, continuing trends of global urbanisation and migration are increasing the density and ethnic diversity of cities. Despite Hall's (1993, p. 361) prediction that, 'the capacity to live with difference is ... the coming question of the twenty-first century', the West continues to struggle with the "immigration question"¹². Policy responses, from

¹² While there is no clear definition of the 'immigration question', it generally refers to how many immigrants, from which countries and what religious backgrounds should be given citizenship in Western countries.

assimilation to multiculturalism, continue to produce spatial inequalities, where minority ethnic groups are judged on their ability to conform to the normative codes of behaviour of the dominant majority. While some argue that the intercultural turn is nothing more than a reworking of multiculturalism, it views diversity as an advantage rather than a problem, and urban public spaces as productive settings for intercultural encounter.

The intercultural turn is occurring at the same time as a re-emergence of scholarly work on intercultural encounter. However, the literature on what constitutes meaningful encounter remains highly contested. Rather than engaging in reductive hierarchies about the conditions and settings for meaningful intercultural encounter, I argue that all encounters in all settings are in some way meaningful. Unplanned intercultural encounter offers the potential for more productive forms of interaction where differences are, in Haraway's words, grappled with as a process of learning. This form of conviviality aligns with the ideas of Gilroy, which involves negotiation, friction and conflict, but, following Illich (1973), is co-constituted with the material world.

Despite the renewed interest in intercultural encounter, there is a clear gap in the literature about what role the built form of open-public space plays in intercultural encounter. The next chapter further explores this gap in two parts. The first part explores how minority ethnic groups are designed in and out of Western open-public space, while the second part discusses methodologies for understanding the human-nonhuman relations of intercultural encounter.

Chapter 3: Shaping Encounter

3.1 Introduction

In the previous literature review chapter, I presented two key arguments. First, cities have always been places of encounter with difference and remain key sites for intercultural encounter. Second, that all forms of intercultural encounter in open-public space hold the promise of meaningful social interaction, with the potential to break apart fixed notions of differences and strengthen social cohesion. In this second literature review chapter, I explore the role and shape of open-public space, as a mediator for intercultural encounter. The chapter is presented in two parts:

Part I, *Designing in/out difference*, explores how the design and management of open public spaces in Western cities includes and excludes certain groups. It begins with an examination of the evolution of public space, beginning with the urban decay of the mid-twentieth century and the subsequent rise of the neoliberal city. Within this context, ways of managing difference are considered through different modes of control, power and representation. This part concludes with some of the prospects from emerging scholarly work on understanding and engaging with difference.

Part II, *Designing for difference*, examines several key theoretical and methodological frameworks for studying human-environment relations. It begins with a discussion of behavioural approaches influenced by the seminal work of Kurt Lewin. Then, the sociospatial turn inspired by Lefebvre and the sensorial turn inspired by Simmel are explored. Finally, the Deleuzian inspired relational-materialist frameworks of Assemblage, Actor-Network Theory, Non-Representational Theory and object-oriented ontology are considered as a precursor to the methodology for this research.

Part I: Designing in/out difference

Issues like recoil from people who differ have no 'solution' in the sense that there is social medicine you can take to cure yourself of this disease. Fear of others constitutes instead a chronic illness which has to be managed. Just as the symptoms of a chronic illness can be put in remission, so too the civic body can enjoy long spells of vigorous health – as when people who differ are able to live together (Sennett, 2018, p. 171).

3.2 Withdrawal

Nineteenth century Western cities were considered places of alienation and contestation, where the poor and rich lived uneasily cheek by jowl, both seeking to benefit from the industrial revolution (Madanipour, 2011). This close proximity of social differences instilled a fear of difference leading to a withdrawal from public life (Simmel, 1908), while the close proximity of toxic industrial production and human habitats created squalid conditions that initiated a fear of, and withdrawal from, cities themselves (Shelston & Shelston, 1990). This urban exodus, mainly by the White middleclass (Kruse, 2007), continued through the twentieth century, aided by the advent of affordable private transport, giving rise to suburbs and urban sprawl (Norton, 2008), leading to several decades of urban decay (Skifter Andersen, 2003). The Garden City movement at the end of the turn of 20th century (favouring the suburbs) and the rationalist city planning ideals of Modernist movement of the early to mid-twentieth century (favouring mass urban renewal) both responded to the decline of cities, but ultimately produced further social and racial inequalities (Madanipour, 2011).

The neoliberal urbanism of the late-twentieth century exacerbated inequalities through a combination of laissez faire policies that, on one hand, facilitated further sprawl by opening up land for new development on urban hinterlands, while on the

other hand drove urban renewal at the centre of cities. At the same time, neoliberalism fuelled globalisation, heralding one of the largest migrations of people in history (Castles et al., 2014), primarily to Western cities (Vertovec, 2014). The resulting increase in ethnic diversity once again instilled a fear of difference (Erdi Lelandais & Şentürk, 2017; Morel Journel & Pinson, 2017). As a result, distance became 'the standard spatial barrier in the modern city' (Madanipour, 2011, p. 487).

Facilitating encounter with difference through social mixing has long been proposed in opposition to the segregation of cities (Jacobs, 1964; Sennett, 1996), both as a form of urban and suburban renewal (Talen, 2008; Tuohy & Talen, 2017). However, these alternate forms of urbanism have, both directly and indirectly, fuelled the neoliberal city through processes of gentrification¹³, which further exacerbated inequalities among lower socio-economic and minority ethnic groups (Day, 2003; Smets & den Uyl, 2008; Tonkiss, 2013b). The revival of urban centres has occurred simultaneously through two visions of the city, which although originating from different political and ideological perspectives, have nonetheless proven complementary in reviving urban centres through gentrification. The 'compact city' imaginary emerged as a response to the negative social, economic and environment impacts of sprawling cities, promoting higher densities, mixed uses, public transport, walking and cycling (Burton, 2000, p. 1969). This vision sought to recreate the vibrant urban life described in the writing of Jacobs. This proximity of people opened up new markets to drive economic growth through the clustering of innovation, technology and entrepreneurialism. This urban renaissance was foretold and widely promoted by several scholars and urban experts, leading to the widespread adoption of urban

¹³ Lees et al. (2008, p. xv) define gentrification as, 'the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential and/or commercial use'.

strategies for ‘creative cities’¹⁴ (Florida, 2005; Landry, 2000; Yencken, 1988). However, the creative city/class movement¹⁵ has been widely criticised for having further intensified the gentrification of urban cores, creating even greater segregation and inequality (Brown-Saracino, 2010; Florida, 2017; Zimmerman, 2008). Minority ethnic groups have been among the most negatively impacted by gentrification, including being forced out of central urban areas where they had established communities and businesses (see for example Agyeman, 2013; Huse, 2014). However, the process of gentrification seems inevitable and unstoppable because given the reliance of cities on private investment to fund urban renewal. In this way, the compact city imaginary in the Western world now appears more closely aligned with the neoliberal city (Smith, 2007).

In the neoliberal city, gentrification has led to the increasing privatisation of open-public space (Dovey, 1998; Huang & Franck, 2018; Iveson, 1998; Kohn, 2004; Madanipour, 1999; Zukin, 2010). Madanipour (2010) argues that privatisation produces fragmented public spaces and, as a result, fragmented cities. Carmona et al. (2010) have criticised privatisation as a means to control who and what happens in public space, leading to exclusion based on gender, disability, age, wealth and ethnicity. Carmona (2010a, 2010b) argues that decades of poor design and management of public spaces by government paved the way for the increasing privatisation of open-public space. This led to an increasing over-management and homogenisation/sanitisation of open-public space, increasingly designed for consumption and those groups who could afford them (Fincher & Jacobs, 1998; Madanipour et al., 2013; Miller, 2018; Sadria, 2012). While forms of temporary and

¹⁴ The term ‘creative city’ was originally coined by Yencken (1988, p. 597), as a city, ‘concerned with the material well-being of all its citizens, especially the poor and disadvantaged ... [and] an emotionally satisfying city and a city that stimulates creativity among its citizens’.

¹⁵ The term ‘creative class’ is used here in relation to the work of Florida (2005, p. 4), who used it to ‘describe the roughly one-third of U.S. and global workers who have the good fortune to be compensated monetarily for their creative output’.

tactical urbanism¹⁶ emerged as a response to the loss of open-public space, this approach has been seized upon by commercial interests further fuelling processes of gentrification and privatisation (Stevens & Dovey, 2019). Neoliberal public space, therefore, does not seek to be inclusive of difference, rather it can be understood as inclusive of economic capital. Allen (2006) describes this as a form of inclusion rather than exclusion, where open-public space is designed and managed in a way that appeals to some but is unappealing to others. For Allen (2006, p. 442), this is a form of 'ambient power', which he defines as:

Accessible yet closed, inclusive yet controlled, the very openness of this commercialised public space is precisely what allows consumers to be constructed through a logic of seduction.

In this sense, open-public space has the illusion of publicness, but following Debord (2014), is more of a spectacle of publicness than the reality. The power of seduction does not appear to discriminate because it is felt more than it is seen (Dovey, 2014; Mela, 2014). As Allen (2006, p. 445) notes:

Crucially ... such spaces are designed to bring about an affective response ... a way of being that can evoke a feeling of openness and inclusiveness. What goes on in such spaces, how they are used, is circumscribed by the design, layout, sound, lighting, solidity and other affective means that can have an impact which is difficult to isolate, yet nonetheless powerful in their incitements and limitations on behaviour.

The collective capacity (agency) of the design and management of open-public space is the creation of a certain 'atmosphere' (Borch et al., 2014), communicating a sense of who is in-place and who is out-of-place. According to Pallasmaa (2014), atmospheres are experienced through multisensory perception on a subconscious

¹⁶ Dovey (2016) defines 'temporary and tactical urbanism' as, 'a broad field of incremental urban transformations that fill interim periods of time and underutilized urban space'. While initially undertaken as informal, bottom-up interventions, they are increasingly utilised by government and private sector actors.

level¹⁷. Böhme (2014, p. 45) argues that this experience is relational, noting '[a]tmospheres are in fact characteristic manifestations of the co-presence of subject and object'. He suggests that atmospheres can be created or staged to affect how a space is experienced, but how they are experienced emerges through everyday life. As such, architectural atmospheres can be manipulated by power, for the purposes of control.

3.3 Control

Cities have always been a balance between freedom and control (Lynch, 1984; Morris, 1974; Pile et al., 1999; Short, 1996). The Agora in Ancient Athens stands as the birthplace of Western open-public space, where politics were discussed and nudity was considered a display of one's civicness (Touaf & Boutkhil, 2008). However, these freedoms were generally afforded to men, whereas the occupation of public space by women and slaves was more controlled (Davidson, 2011; Paga, 2017). The balance of freedom and control was also prominent in the cities of the Roman empire, which were designed as a form of military urbanism (Grimal & Woloch, 1983). In Ancient Rome, open-public space was filled with symbols of power to control the general public (de Souza Briggs, 2004). Managing freedom and control through city planning and design has continued to shape cities throughout history (Cohen & Szabo, 2008). Even the great public spaces of Paris were designed to increase control of the city to prevent revolutions (Saalman, 1971). The balance of freedom and control is rarely evenly distributed, rather it depends on power relations, with greater freedoms extended to some and greater control imposed on others (Dovey, 2014; Pansardi, 2012).

¹⁷ See discussion of Gibson's perceptual systems in section 3.9 (p. 73).

Carmona et al. (2010, p. 154), and others (see for example Incirlioglu & Tandogan, 1999) claim, minorities have suffered most from the control of open-public space, noting that 'exclusion is often used to reinforce or establish connotations of social status'. Leonie Sandercock (2000, p. 22) has even suggested that, 'the history of planning could be rewritten as the attempt to manage fear in the city: fear of disorder, fear of disease ... fear of women, fear of the working classes, of migrants, of gays ... of gypsies'. Sandercock (2000, p. 22) argues that, as a result, 'the solution has been twofold: both exclusion – spatial policing and segregation, keeping certain bodies out of certain areas; and moral reform – the attempt to produce certain kinds of citizens and subjectivities', which she suggests is the West still dreaming the rational city. Sandercock (2000, p. 22) asks, 'does management always imply, as Foucauldians would have it, containment, control, manipulation?'. In responding to her own question, she points to the emergence and prevalence of various control measures implemented under the aegis of crime prevention and safety, such as 'Crime Prevention through Environmental Design' (CPTED).

CPTED evolved from the seminal work of Newman (1973) in *Defensible Space: People and Design in the Violent City*, which he developed in response to the increasing urban decay in American cities during the 1960s and 1970s. Newman's theory framed the built environment as a key determinant in how vulnerable places, particularly residential areas, were to crime. He argued that defensible space could be achieved through territoriality, natural surveillance and image/milieu. Newman (1973, p. 51) defined territoriality as, 'the capacity of the physical environment to create perceived zones of territorial influences', which could be achieved through physical barriers (eg. walls, fences and gates) and symbolic barriers (eg. signs and landscaping). Newman (1973, p. 78) defined natural surveillance as, 'the capacity of physical design to provide surveillance opportunities for residents and their agents', which could be achieved through good lines of sight from buildings and in open

spaces. Newman (1973, p. 102) defined image/milieu as 'the capacity of design to influence the perception of a project's uniqueness, isolation, and stigma', which could be achieved through the appearance of an area; a well-maintained space, he argued, gave the impression of a safe area.

Although Newman's work was initially widely criticised as vague, ill-defined and lacking empirical testing (Reynald & Elffers, 2009), it was widely adopted across the Western world as the foundation for crime prevention strategies, particularly in the UK through the controversial work of Alice Coleman with the support of the neoliberal Thatcher government of the 1980s, where it was developed into the now widely applied CPTED approach (Jacobs & Lees, 2013). A critical divergence emerged in the adaptation of Newman's work by Coleman, where the concept of territoriality, which was originally conceived to give residents control of neighbourhoods (power to), became more widely applied for controlling people in open-public space (power over) (Reynald & Elffers, 2009). This shift coincided with the increasing withdrawal of neoliberal governments from public space.

The impact of CPTED remains highly contested. Some argue it has substantially reduced crime and improved the overall safety of public spaces (Cozens et al., 2005; Crowe & Fennelly, 2013). Others argue that it has merely shifted crime from one location to another, while also creating highly exclusionary urban environments that marginalise the young, homeless, skateboarders, and people from minority ethnic backgrounds (Amster, 2004; Borden, 2001; Daskalaki et al., 2008; Low & Iveson, 2016). One of the most telling impacts of CPTED that has coincided with the increasing privatisation of public space, has been the insidious creep of surveillance measures, such as CCTV (Cybriwsky, 1999; McCahill, 2002), which, some suggest has a disproportionate impact on minority ethnic groups, particularly refugees, who are more vulnerable to distrust and being targeted by authorities (Amin, 2008; Finn et al., 2018; Lobo, 2016). Others have suggested this sense of vulnerability has increased in light of the global terror threat, which has the potential to further reduce the publicness of open-public space (Dalgaard-Nielsen et al., 2016). Some scholars (see for example Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011; Davis, 1990; Flusty, 1994; Low, 2009; Minton, 2009) see CPTED as a form of militarisation geared to the psychological control of marginalised groups (Altman & Zube, 1989).

Carmona et al. (2010), drawing on a considerable body of work (Table 1), note a growing range of control measures applied in open-public space geared to the exclusion of marginalised and vulnerable groups, including people from minority ethnic backgrounds.

Source	Control measures
	Excluding behaviour or conduct
Murphy (2001)	• <i>Exclusion zones</i> (i.e. zones designed to be free of some undesirable social characteristics). Eg. smoke-free zones; campaign and politics-free zones; skateboard-free zones; mobile or cell-phone-free zones; alcohol-free zones; and car-free zones.
	Exclusion through design
Carr et al. (1992)	• <i>Visual access</i> - visibility - is important for people to feel free to enter a space. If people are able to see into a space before they enter it, they can judge whether they would feel comfortable, welcome and safe there. • <i>Physical access</i> concerns whether the space is physically available to the public, with physical exclusion being the inability to access or use the environment, regardless of whether or not it can be seen into.
Flusty (1994)	• <i>Stealthy space</i> cannot be found; it is camouflaged or obscured by intervening objects or level changes. • <i>Slippery space</i> cannot be reached due to contorted, protracted or missing paths of approach. • <i>Crusty space</i> cannot be accessed due to obstructions such as walls, gates and checkpoints. • <i>Prickly space</i> cannot be comfortably occupied (e.g. ledges sloped to inhibit sitting). • Jittery space cannot be used unobserved due to active monitoring by roving patrols and/or surveillance technologies.
Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998)	• <i>Hard</i> (active) control uses vigilant private security officers, surveillance cameras and express regulations either prohibiting certain activities from happening or allowing them subject to the issue of permits, programming, scheduling, or leasing. • <i>Soft</i> (passive) control focuses on 'symbolic restrictions' that passively discourage undesirable activities and on not providing certain facilities (e.g. public toilets).
Allen (2006)	• <i>Symbolic access</i> involves visual cues or symbols suggesting who is and who is not welcome in the space. • <i>Economic access</i> is a form of direct exclusion, for example, is practised by charging an entry fee, whereby the entrance ticket contains an undertaking to obey the rules at the sanction of being ejected from the place.
	Excluding people
Banerjee (2001)	• Exclusions orders, which ban individuals on a legal basis.

Source	Control measures
	Policing
Jones and Newburn (2002)	• <i>Primary (formal) social controls</i> - these are direct and are exerted by those for whom crime prevention, peacekeeping, and investigatory and related policing activities are a primary and defining part of their role. Typical examples are the public police, other policing (regulatory) bodies and the commercial security sector. • <i>Secondary (informal) social controls</i> - these are more indirect and are those exerted by those for whom social control activities are an important secondary aspect of their role. Typical examples include teachers, park-keepers, caretakers, railways guards, bus conductors, etc. • <i>Tertiary (informal) social controls</i> - these are also indirect and are those exerted by 'intermediate' groups within local communities. Typical examples include workgroups, churches, trade unions, clubs and societies, and community groups.

Table 1. Forms of exclusion through measures of control in public space (Carmona et al., 2010)

Over the last two decades, CPTED has evolved from 'First-Generation', through two further iterations. 'Second-Generation' moved beyond the singular focus on the physical environment, adding social, cultural and temporal dimensions, in an attempt to return to some of the original ideas of Newman by reinstating the role of community (Atlas, 2008). More recently, a 'Third-Generation' has been proposed, which, rather than replacing previous approaches, attempts to add to them with the concept of liveability. Mihinjac and Saville (2019, p. 202) suggest, 'that a willingness to take part in street life and pro-social activities does not depend on simply preventing crime ... pro-social activities that produce caring eyes on the street are, if designed accordingly, a form of self-fulfilment and a goal within themselves'. They, and others (see for example Fennelly & Perry, 2018), argue this goal can be achieved through a sustainable, green environment. However, Third-Generation CPTED lacks empirical evidence to support these claims, while CPTED, more generally, remains widely criticised, particularly for lacking an account of the social and cultural variability that

influences crime in public space (Shaftoe, 2008). Barker (2017) notes the increasing emphasis on safety and security by authorities as justification for imposing more control on the use of open-public space, further threatens the vulnerability of the marginalised, including minority ethnic groups (Low et al., 2009). The persistence of this emphasis on controlling open-public space in Western cities is of particular interest to this research, which necessarily focuses attention on power relations.

3.4 Power

Architecture is not neutral because it embodies the biases of the dominant majority (Shah & Kesan, 2007; Yaneva & Mommersteeg, 2019). As a result, built form has the agency to discriminate against and exclude minorities (Brown, 2019; Ehrenfeucht, 2013; Lipsitz, 2007). Schindler (2014, p. 1934), in a detailed examination of the legal dimensions of architectural discrimination notes, ‘the exclusionary built environment—the architecture of a place—functions as a form of regulation; it constrains the behavior of those who interact with it, often without their even realizing it’. Schindler further notes that architectural discrimination is often not recognised as a form of regulation, and even if it was, the legal system is not equipped to deal with it. Nonetheless, a growing body of scholarly work has been devoted to the role of power relations at play in exclusionary open-public space, particularly the creation of territories (Brighenti, 2010; Kärrholm, 2008; Pettas, 2019).

Territorialisation, similar to Allen’s (2006) concept of ambient power, emerges from the design and management of public space for a desired group at the expense of “undesirables”. Several scholars have critiqued the role of the designer in these processes, particularly in light of the increasing ethnic diversity in Western cities (Fincher et al., 2014). As Sandercock (2000, p. 16) notes, ‘the norms and values of the dominant culture are not only embedded in the legislative framework of planning,

but are also embodied in the attitudes, behaviour, and practices of actual flesh-and-blood planners'. This includes prejudices in the form of biases that operate outside the general awareness of the designer/planner (Gawronski et al., 2006). For example, Mandhar and Watt (2011, p. 553), in critiquing global liveable city indices, note, 'despite being represented as universal, performance indicators in these rankings are actually socially-constructed, rely heavily on Western values and standards of living and are inherently biased in favour of Western cities'. Similarly, Edensor (1998), in his comparison of Western and Indian streets, highlights similar biases and points to the increasing sanitisation and homogenisation of Western open-public space that exclude differentiated spatial practices (see also Mehta, 2019; Sennett, 1996). Baird (2012) notes this process of homogenisation is both conscious and unconscious. Whether prejudices are explicit or implicit, the impact is often the same, with the voices, needs and desires of minority ethnic groups excluded from the planning and design of the everyday public spaces they occupy (Burayidi, 2003, 2000, 2015).

Changing how architecture and urban design is practiced, Lukovich (2017) argues, requires serious critical reflection. He points to the contention of Cuthbert (2006) that professional hegemony is maintained through a combination of the state, connections to economic capital, and command over tertiary education. Following, several scholars have suggested that both pedagogy and practice lack sufficient intercultural competency to deal with the growing ethnic diversity in Western cities (Agyeman & Erickson, 2012; Bull et al., 2007; Radović, 2004; Wood & Landry, 2008). This lack of intercultural competency¹⁸ is, according to, particularly evident in participation processes, which fail to adequately engage minority ethnic groups. As Garrett and Nathan (2016, p. 59) note, this is particularly problematic because, 'just as human cultures interact to constantly reproduce and co-produce hybrid cultures, the

¹⁸ Intercultural competences comprise the skills of listening, critical thinking, observing and analysing; an attitude of openness, curiosity, discovery and respect; the capacity to communicate verbally, nonverbally as well as visually; and an appreciation of different values and beliefs (Leung et al., 2014).

professional designer and those users and experiencers of design (at whatever scale) must interact to co-produce spaces and places of activity'. Drawing on a Deleuzian non-hierarchical and emergent ontology, Garrett and Nathan position the co-production of open-public space in-between top-down and bottom-up processes. Mack (2014, p. 179), in a study of Syriac migrants in the Swedish town of Södertälje outside Stockholm, also points to the productive possibilities of the in-between, which she observed occurring within the Syriac's informal process of, what she calls 'urban design from below', and the formal top-down processes of official Swedish planning. This emergent process, Mack (2014, p. 179) claims, created, 'space for new programs, and new publics, to enter the urban scene'. Finding approaches that facilitate bottom-up and top-down processes of urban planning and design appear even more urgent in light of the 'undocumented' (Tuohy & Talen, 2017) and the 'stateless' (Hayden, 2008), who have no legal rights to participate in formal planning and design processes.

3.5 Representation

Symbolic representation is one of the main strategies in architecture and urban design to provide for ethnic diversity in Western cities (Di Leo Browne, 2016; Frampton, 1980). These aesthetics and semiotics communicate meanings and functions, as a form of affective agency, influencing who uses open-public space and how it is used (Hattenhauer, 1984). This agency is part of the particular social, political, economic and cultural ideas carried in meanings (Dovey, 2002), which act as forms of capital to produce and maintain certain power relations (Jones, 2009).

The study of signs, *semiology*, was initially developed by de Saussure (2011), who proposed that all forms of expression were forms of language, as 'signs' that held meanings to be interpreted. He proposed the terms 'signifier' to explain what a sign

expresses and 'signified' for how it is interpreted. Barthes (1968, 1982), advanced de Saussure's concepts to enable all physical objects to express meaning. In doing so, Barthes provided architects with the basis to develop a language of built form to communicate meaning; 'the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language' (Barthes 1975, 92; cited by Ellin, 1999).

Barthes' work coincided with the end of the Modernist movement in architecture¹⁹ and the advent of Postmodernism²⁰. Although Modernism claimed to universalise ethnocultural differences (Le Corbusier, 1971), it was widely criticised as stark, imposing and based on predominantly Euro-North American ideals that simply erased difference (al-Asad, 2012; Bonnett, 2002; Cripps, 2004; Frampton, 1980). As Venturi (1988, p. 16) notes, Postmodernism sought to address these failings:

Architects can no longer afford to be intimidated by the puritanically moral language of orthodox Modern architecture. I like elements which are hybrid rather than "pure," compromising rather than "clean," distorted rather than "straightforward," ambiguous rather than "articulated," perverse as well as impersonal, boring as well as "interesting," conventional rather than "designed," accommodating rather than excluding, redundant rather than simple, vestigial as well as innovating, inconsistent and equivocal rather than direct and clear. I am for messy vitality over obvious unity. I include the non sequitur and proclaim the duality.

The academic and architect, Charles Moore, was one of the earliest proponents of Postmodernism, designing the first Postmodernist open-public space, *Piazza d'Italia* in the centre of New Orleans, which drew heavily on the cultural representation of the local Italian community (Figure 2).

¹⁹ Modernism refers to a style of architecture from the 1930s to the 1960s, which rejected ornament in favour of minimalism and rationalism.

²⁰ Postmodernism refers to a style of 'eclectic, colourful and decorative' architecture originating in the 1970s, as a rejection of Modernism (RIBA, n.d.).



Figure 2. Charles Moore's Postmodernist Piazza d'Italia in the centre of New Orleans (Cohen-Rose & Rose, 1990).

Moore advocated themes of inclusiveness and democracy. He claimed to be influenced by the architecture of Disneyland, which he argued strongly resonated with everyday people (Moore, 2001). However, the success of Piazza d'Italia has been widely debated, while some have lauded it (Klotz, 1988), many accused Moore of kitsch and reducing ethnic diversity to mere aesthetics (Adamson et al., 2011; Freeman, 2004; Lang & Marshall, 2017). Moore's enthusiasm for the inclusiveness of Postmodernist architecture was shared by several prominent academics and architects, including Venturi and Scott Brown (1988; 1977), and Jencks (1991; 1969). However, others (see Larice & Macdonald, 2013; León, 2017) have criticised Postmodernist architecture and urbanism for falling into the same trap as Modernism and eliminating differences.

Jencks (2002), widely considered one of Postmodernist architecture's strongest advocates, also supported the Post-structuralist movement in architecture that emerged in the 1980s, known as 'Deconstructive Architecture'. This movement emerged out of the relationship between the architect Peter Eisenman and French philosopher Jacques Derrida. Eisenman adopted Derrida's proposition that, in

opposition to Structuralism, texts could be understood in multiple ways and applied it to the language of architecture (Wigley, 1993). Several other prominent architects were also instrumental in the Deconstructionist movement, including Frank Gehry, Daniel Libeskind, Rem Koolhaas, Coop Himmelblau and Bernard Tschumi, who sought to express cultural pluralism²¹ that defied singular meanings, as Soltan (1996, p. 236) notes:

Their work seems to argue that the catastrophes of our recent past (holocaust, nuclear attack, global warfare, totalitarian dictatorship), as well as the perceptually bewildering reality of our present life within multinational capitalist economies, belie the structural integrity of the values and meanings cherished by Western European culture.

However, as Sarkis (1997, p. 156) has pointed out, the tendency to fragment the public by design reinforces the original problem, and as a result, 'pluralist architecture would turn out to match the private developers' need for marketing flexibility more than it would support the concerns of disempowered groups'. In this sense, symbolic representation is easily corruptible as a strategy of inclusion that can mask underlying power relations.

This is not to completely diminish the value of symbolic representation, rather, as Husband et al. (2014, p. 44) note, 'the symbolic environment of the streetscape, with its layering of multiple meanings through signage and architectural features, has been revealed to show the power of the social encoded into the material environment of the city'. They point to the potential of everyday objects, such as street signs, and the more impactful presence of Mosques, which, they argue, contribute to a sense of identity and belonging for minority ethnic groups. However, more recent empirical

²¹ Cultural pluralism can be traced to the work of William James and John Dewey and first appeared in the USA at the start of twentieth century during a period of mass immigration from southern and eastern Europe. It was proposed in opposition to the idea of the *Melting Pot*, where difference is dissolved into an homogenous society (Bernstein, 2015).

studies criticise the overemphasis of symbolic representation at the expense of everyday spatial practices of minority ethnic groups, which offer a more fertile ground for creating inclusive open-public spaces (Husband & Alam, 2013; Li, 2014; Rishbeth, 2004; Stanfield & van Riemsdijk, 2019). This, and other emerging research, provides some important prospects for designing open-public spaces that enable intercultural encounter.

3.6 Prospects

In *Designing the City of Reason*, Ali Madanipour (2007) suggests that cities evolve from tensions between the desire for/imposition of order and the corresponding forces from the desire for alternative systems (see also Indovina, 2016). For Madanipour, the hegemony of rational thinking in Western cities has fragmented urban space, creating places where ethnic and cultural minorities feel insecure and trapped, with the effect of fixing difference in place and definition. Madanipour (2007, p. 145) calls for, 'a sensitive urban design that tries to understand who it is working for and what needs it is addressing', one that can move with the evolving complexity of diversity (Vertovec, 2015). Therefore, for Madanipour (2007, p. 298), cities should move away from rigid, closed systems to be more, 'open to challenge and adaptive to changing circumstances, to become more accurate, coherent, expressive and inclusive'. To achieve this, Madanipour (2007, p. 299) argues, 'urban design, rather than contributing further to fragmentation, or to support hierarchies and rigid conventions, needs to create spaces of flexibility and overlap; places where the fragmented sociospatial fabric can be mended, and where co-presence of difference can bring about new democratic possibilities'.

Madanipour's concept of cities of reason echoes Sennett's oeuvre, which began with *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life* (1971), and recently culminated

in *Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City* (2018). Throughout his academic career, Sennett has consistently argued for the idea of openness, both socially and spatially, where encounter among difference in public spaces is part of everyday life. For Sennett, and others (Franck & Stevens, 2013; Hou, 2010; Kim, 2015; Mukhija & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014), disorder and informality, in opposition to formal top-down planning processes, have always been a productive force in city/place-making. For Sennett, closed systems are brittle, weak, and vulnerable to the increasing uncertainties and complexities facing cities through neoliberalism, globalisation, migration and climate change. On the other hand, open systems are more flexible, adaptable and resilient. Sennett's concept of openness appears to be gaining traction through both bottom-up and top-down processes for the design and management of open-public space. Temporary and tactical urbanism is an emerging area of research that attends to the ideas of openness as primarily bottom-up processes, with the goal of providing more open-public space (Silva, 2016; Tonkiss, 2013a). The informal nature of temporary and tactical urbanism also provides opportunities for minorities to engage in placemaking outside the formal processes that tend to exclude them (Goonewardena & Kipper, 2005; Stevens & Dovey, 2019). At the same time, principles of openness have also been proposed for more formal processes of design and management of inclusive open-public spaces (Garau, 2015; Haas & Mehaffy, 2019; Sofoulis et al., 2008). While acknowledging criticisms of normative urban design frameworks, Carmona (2019) proposes a set of principles for openness based on empirical studies carried out in London. However, other top-down design guidelines (see for example CfAD, 2018) still revert to the normative and prescriptive frameworks that Carmona criticises, which, while attempting to promote cultural diversity, also appear to persist with many of the control measures that sanitise or, as Zukin (1995) argues, domesticates open-public space. Koch and Latham (2013) provide an alternate take on Zukin's negative take on domestication, based on an empirical study of the Prince of Wales Junction in London's multi-ethnic North Paddington. Koch and

Latham's (2013, p. 19) findings suggest the domestication of open-public space can also be viewed as a form of placemaking, 'part of how people come to be at home in cities', which opens up 'new ways of thinking about how we might help to produce urban public spaces embedded with a greater sense of inclusiveness, conviviality and democracy'. In another empirical study, exploring the use of open-public space by Chinese people in American cities, Li (2014) emphasises the potential of openness, proposing the idea of 'polychronic space', based on the work of Hall (1969), to highlight the importance of underdetermined and flexible space for minority ethnic groups, which she contrasts with the overdetermined 'monochronic spaces' more typically found in Western cities²². While these studies shed new light on the design and management of more inclusive open-public space, other work is also emerging into the measurement and evaluation of ethnic diversity and intercultural encounter (Gehl Institute, 2015; Mehta, 2014).

There is also an emerging body of work focusing more specifically on intercultural encounters in open-public space (Low & Iveson, 2016). One aspect of this research attends to questions of how to engage with minority ethnic groups, much of which challenges and advances traditional models of research and participation (Berg & Nowicka, 2019; Finney & Rishbeth, 2006; Low et al., 2009; Rishbeth, 2001), including the design of open-public space (Rishbeth et al., 2018). Other studies have focused more on the relationship between intercultural encounter and specific aspects of the built environment. For example, Alian and Wood (2019), in an empirical study in a multi-ethnic suburb of Sydney, found that public and private interfaces both enabled and constrained social interactions, but were often overlooked elements of the built environment in studies of encounter. Similarly, Rishbeth and Rogaly (2018), in an empirical study of public benches in the UK, found these everyday urban objects not

²² Hall's polychronic and monochronic concepts are discussed further in section 3.8 (p. 67).

only played a role in intercultural encounter, but also enabled productive interactions that challenged normative perceptions of minority ethnic groups. In a global empirical research project of intercultural encounter undertaken in New York, Singapore and Johannesburg that identified several common sociospatial patterns, Vertovec (2015, p. 248) found:

In all urban settings, people do commonly notice and engage others whom they come to recognize in places they regularly traverse (*route-ines*); not surprisingly, people do interact in small groups, based on various kinds of familiarity, within large public spaces (*rooms without walls*); and in cities everywhere, there are certain spaces where variously defined groups of people choose to, or are effectively forced to, gather away from others (*corridors of dissociation*). However, what we found of particular interest is that these otherwise unremarkable urban patterns become significant forms through which processes of diversification are experienced and made sense of.

The findings from this research usefully situate intercultural encounter and, although they imply the agency of the built environment to enable and constrain interactions, they do not directly address it. However, other emerging research has begun to explore the agency of urban design. For example, in an empirical study of social interaction in the public spaces of the *Park of the Nations* in Lisbon, Aelbrecht (2016) proposed the idea of ‘fourth spaces’, or ‘in-between spaces’, as temporal places that are more conducive to social interactions because they tend to blur the boundaries of use and presence, becoming more open / more public in the process. Aelbrecht identifies a range of spatial properties – thresholds, edges, paths, nodes and props – that play some role in structuring encounters. Interestingly, ‘fourth spaces’ are found within quasi-public spaces, arising from the ambiguity of their in-betweenness.

New research is also emerging attending to specific design interventions, objects and props as mediators for encounter in open-public spaces. For example, Mitchell and

Olsson (2019), examined the agential qualities of several urban art installations to mediate encounter and proposed three urban design principles for reducing the anxiety of encounters with strangers in public spaces. First, ‘automation’ suggests the environment should *appear to* instigate the encounter, thus giving the impression no one was responsible for it. Second, ‘ambiguity’ is similar to the first condition but allows one person to instigate an encounter but still have the choice of redirecting responsibility to the environment. Third, ‘deflecting’ suggests that having multiple opportunities for encounter at the same time allows individuals to turn their attention away from an encounter at any given time. These design principles all aim to mitigate the risks that encounters with difference pose.

An important commonality across this emerging body of research is an emphasis on the empirical and ethnographic study of ethnically variegated everyday spatial practices, to better understand, engage with and design for intercultural encounters. However, with few notable exceptions, there is a clear gap across the literature on the agential qualities of the built environment and what role they play in mediating intercultural encounters.

Part II: Designing for difference

The link between public space and public culture should be traced to the total dynamic—human and non-human—of a public setting, and my thesis is that the collective impulses of public space are the result of pre-cognitive and tacit human response to a condition of ‘situated multiplicity’, the thrown togetherness of bodies, mass and matter, and of many uses and needs in a shared physical space (Amin, 2008, p. 8).

3.7 Behavioural

In the mid-twentieth century, a behavioural turn occurred leading to new fields of research exploring the relationship between people and environment, including Environmental Psychology, Human-Environment Relations and Environment-Behaviour Studies. Of these terms, 'environmental psychology' has persisted. It was first coined by the German psychologist Willy Hellpach in 1911, who studied aspects of the built environment including form, colour and crowding (Steg et al., 2019). However, wider area of research originates in the 1950s from the work of the social psychologist Kurt Lewin (Kopec, 2018). Lewin's heuristic equation $B=f(P,E)$, where behaviour (B) is a function (f) of the interaction between people (P) and the environment (E), became the foundation for seminal theories in the field, most of which were developed during the 1960s and 1970s (Cassidy, 1997).

The first study examining the role of the built environment in social interaction and encounter was undertaken by Humphrey Osmond. Based on research in hospital settings Osmond (1957) proposed the terms 'sociopetal' (enabling) and 'sociofugal' (constraining), to describe how spatial arrangements mediated social interactions. Osmond's work was later developed by one of his students Robert Sommer (1969) in *Personal Space: The Behavioral Basis of Design*. Sommer undertook research across a broader range of settings, including schools, pubs, hotels and public spaces. As the title of his text suggests, Sommer's work was primarily concerned with individual privacy. Much of his thinking attends to establishing and protecting territories or avoiding 'spatial invasions'. Despite identifying variegated spatial practices across different cultures, Sommer's work contains a strong Western bias. However, it is seminal in its methodological approach for studying how encounters emerge from the relationship of people and the built environment, and in his attempt to engage with designers of these spaces.

Sommer's work drew on other seminal researchers in the field, including Hall (1959, p. 158) in *The Silent Language*, who had already identified cultural differences in how people occupy and interact in open-public space, particularly how different cultures lay claim to space; what he called 'territoriality'. Hall (1969) developed this work further in *The Hidden Dimension*, where he proposed two important concepts for understanding how culture influences the use of space. The first was 'proxemics', what he termed, 'the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture' (Hall, 1969, p. 1). Hall identified four social distances, based on observations in different cultural contexts: 'intimate space' operating at a distance of 0.45 metres of the body; 'personal space' operating at a distance of 1.2 metres of the body; 'social space' operating at a distance of 3.6 metres of the body; and 'public space' operating at a distance of 7.6 metres of the body. Proxemics has continued to have a significant influence in architecture and urban design (Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011; Hünefeldt & Schlitte, 2018). Hall's (1969, pp. 173-174) second important contribution was his proposition of 'monochronic' and 'polychronic' time. Hall proposed that much could be derived about how cultures use space from how they approach time, arguing some are more formal about time than others. For Hall, monochronic is mainly associated with Western cultures who prefer undertaking one task at a time, becoming disorientated with multitasking. Polychronic, on the other hand, Hall associated with cultures in much of the rest of the world, who appeared more comfortable with multitasking and ambiguity. Applied to an urban context, monochronic space can be understood as more formal, controlled and singular in function, whereas polychronic space is more informal, open and flexible in use (Li, 2014). Hall's concepts are useful in understanding how different cultures interpret open-public space, drawing attention to the challenges of designing for multi-ethnic cities. However, Hall's work is arguably socially deterministic with only passing regard for the agency of the built environment.

Erving Goffman also undertook some of the seminal research on encounters in public space during this period. Goffman's (1959) 'dramaturgical perspective', set out in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, posited open-public space as a stage on which people perform based on given cultural norms and beliefs. For Goffman (1963, p. 29), cities were alienating places where people tried to avoid one another, as exemplified by his concept of 'civil inattention'. Whereas civil inattention was considered a respectable way to behave in public towards strangers, Goffman also proposed the concepts of the 'hate stare' and 'nonperson treatment' to define racist interactions. Goffman's generally negative attitude toward urban encounters must be understood in the context of this period of urban decline and the more formal expectations for public behaviour in American Society. Nonetheless, his significant contribution was to frame behaviour relative to the setting in which it takes place, even if he failed to elaborate on the agency of the built environment.

Roger Barker (1968) proposed a more developed and relational account of settings in his seminal text *Ecological Psychology: Concepts and Methods for Studying the Environment of Human Behavior*. Barker's 'behaviour settings', is considered both a well-developed theory and well-defined methodological framework (Popov & Chompalov, 2012). Barker's contribution was to frame behaviour relative to specific settings, and how certain behaviours are controlled. He posited that the congruence between the behaviour of people with the structure or arrangement of a setting led to predictable, or standing, patterns of behaviour; a process he called 'synomorphy'. However, Barker's work has been criticised for being overly quantitative, highly deterministic and lacking a breadth of empirical application beyond school settings (Memmott & Davidson, 2008; Rapoport, 2005). Nonetheless, the concept of behaviour settings, more than the theory and methodology, remains widely applied in studies exploring the relationship of people and the built environment (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019; Whyte, 1980).

Amos Rapoport, one of the founders of environment-behavior studies, drew on Barker's work in his conception of architecture as a relationship between settings, activities and meanings. He argued that the stronger the fit between these elements, the more supportive an environment would be for people's well-being. Rapoport (1992, p. 37) proposed the term 'cultural landscapes', as a 'system of settings' or 'organizations of space, time, meaning and communication' that are 'highly variable cross-culturally'. As such, Rapoport (1992, p. 37) notes:

In other words, the question "who does what, where, when, including or excluding whom (and why)?" receives very different answers ... the extent of the various systems needs to be discovered, not decided *a priori*.

Rapoport's (2008) 'culture-environment relations' provided an account of how different cultures found meaning in the built environment, how they read built form as nonverbal communication, and how this shaped behaviour (Rapoport, 1976, 1977, 1987, 1990, 1994, 2005). He proposed three levels of meaning: 'high-level meanings' include, for example, world views; 'middle-level meanings' include, for example, status and wealth; and 'low-level meaning' include everyday objects and practices. He argued that not enough attention was paid to everyday life in architecture and urban design (Rapoport, 1990). Methodologically, Rapoport proposed that cultural differences could be observed in how space was structured through arrangements of 'semi-fixed' and 'fixed' features, providing an ethnographical approach for studying difference in urban environments.

Rapoport was strongly influenced by the work of perceptual psychologist James J. Gibson (Lawson, 2001), particularly affordances. Gibson's (1977) *Theory of Affordances*, has been widely adopted as an account of the mechanism for how people interact with the built environment. Affordances are an emergent process through the interaction between the abilities of a person and the properties of the environment (Chemero, 2003; Tillas et al., 2017). In doing so, Gibson provided a way

to understand the relational agencies of humans and nonhumans. Although affordance theory was criticised for emphasising the role of vision in these associations, Gibson (1966) later integrated all senses as a series of perceptual systems – discussed in more detail in section 3.9 (p. 65).

The work of these scholars, and others (see for example Altman, 1975; Altman & Chemers, 1980; Canter, 1977), influenced a number of important seminal studies in architecture and urban design, including Lynch's (1960) *The Image of the City*, Alexander's (1977) *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction*, Whyte's (1980) *The Social Life Of Small Urban Spaces*, Sack's (1983) *Human Territoriality: A Theory*, and Gehl's (1987) *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*. However, scholarly work in environmental psychology slowed considerably from the late 1980s onwards, which Steg et al. (2019) claim occurred because of the difficulty in grounding some of the theories methodologically. Others suggest the decline of behavioural approaches can be traced to social and material determinism (Cuthbert, 2006; Hillier & Leaman, 1973; Lipman & Harris, 1980; Shah & Kesan, 2007). Nonetheless, these theories are still widely applied in urban design research and practice (Nasar, 2011). Furthermore, a new area of research is emerging out of this tradition, which is focusing on the relationship between the mind (neuroscience) and the built environment, sometimes referred to as 'neuroarchitecture' (see for example Danze & Sonnenberg, 2012; Robinson & Pallasmaa, 2015; Sussman & Hollander, 2015). Although very recent, one of the main contributions of this work is the use of technologies to correlate subjective and objective measures of the relationship between people and the built environment.

3.8 Sociospatial

During the behavioural turn, a sociospatial turn also took place, but with a stronger emphasis on the conceptual framing of the relationship between society and the built environment. The sociospatial turn reconceptualised the unfolding of everyday urban life as an interplay between social, cultural, political, and economic forces together with urban space (Gottodiener et al., 2015)

The sociospatial turn was primarily influenced by the work of the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, particularly *The Right to the City* (1968) and *The Production of Space* (1991b). Lefebvre's main contribution was to theorise the right to practice difference in urban space and the role of difference in the production of urban space (Soja, 2009). The marginalisation of minority ethnic groups was an important dimension for Lefebvre, particularly in the development of the 'right to the city' concept, which argued the city was a site of social interaction and exchange, and, therefore, everyone, including migrants, had a right to the city and citizenship (Gilbert & Dikec, 2008). Lefebvre's ideas provide a theory of difference for thinking open-public space as a site of intercultural encounter, particularly his concepts of 'abstract space' and 'differential space'. For Lefebvre, abstract spaces are the tools of domination; the homogenised, privatised, gentrified, racialised and gendered urban spaces of capitalism and neoliberalism geared to managing difference through exclusionary strategies. These spaces tend toward, what Lefebvre calls, 'minimal difference', an acceptable level of difference, incorporated through, for example, branding and commodifying ethnic diversity within processes of gentrification. In opposition to minimal difference, Lefebvre proposed 'maximal difference':

Maximal, or produced, difference implies a "shattering of a system." It points to festive, creative, affective, unalienated, fully lived forms of plurality and individuality that assume rich social relations unfettered by forms of "indifference" (individualism, pluralism, imitation, conformism, naturalized particularism). Maximal difference is

incompatible with the alienations of private property, the state-like, decorporealized knowledge, linguistic abstraction, phallocentrism, and neo-colonialism. Sources for maximal difference can be found both within the interstices of everyday life and in the midst of uprisings (Kipfer, 2008, p. 203).

For Lefebvre, differential space, stands in direct and defiant opposition to abstract space, and can, therefore, only be achieved through revolution. The right to difference, 'the right to the city', must be claimed by minorities, including migrants, women and other marginalised groups. He argues that without revolution, abstract spaces will continue consuming and homogenising difference. Lefebvre's revolutionary ideas were heavily influenced by the civil unrest that brought France to a standstill in 1968. The extreme dualism of Lefebvre's theory of difference, unlike the Deleuzian concept of becoming-minor, appears to leave little space for the small forms of resistance that are possible through the everyday spatial practices of minority ethnic groups. However, Lefebvre's concept of abstract space foregrounds the exclusionary open-public spaces of that have emerged in the neoliberal city and offers a potential role for differential space as an aspiration for sites of intercultural encounter. Although Lefebvre alludes to the role of reconfiguring the built environment to achieve differential spaces, his concept is more difficult to operationalise in practice.

The French philosopher Michel Foucault (1970), a contemporary of Lefebvre and another key influence for the sociospatial turn, also provides a useful theorisation of difference through his concept of 'heterotopias'. For Foucault, heterotopias are spaces of difference, produced by difference, particularly by the marginalised in society, including migrants and minority ethnic groups (Cenzatti, 2008). Heterotopias, as in Lefebvre's theory of difference, are produced and reproduced, they form out of a set of relations between people, practices, and meanings in physical spaces. However, Foucault's heterotopias do not derive anything from the physical aspects of these spaces, rather they are defined only by their social and cultural dimensions,

specifically the meanings they communicate (West-Pavlov, 2009). In other words, for Foucault physical space has no agency²³. Heterotopias are produced by the difference of particular minority groups and how difference is practised in a given space, relative to what would be considered the normative behaviour:

The layering of public spaces in the same physical location brings counter-publics in contact and confrontation with each other. Confrontation between different publics is an essential element of plurality, since it is through disagreement and conflict that different social groups avoid isolating themselves or being pushed into isolation and it is there that 'an additional *space* on which members of different, more limited publics talk across lines of cultural diversity' (Fraser 1992: 126) develops. This space of confrontation is a confrontation of heterotopias, a place where Lefebvre's three moments of space come visibly together and where Foucault's 'juxtaposition of incompatible spaces' occurs (Cenzatti, 2008, pp. 83-84).

Unlike Lefebvre, Foucault does not need revolution to enable intercultural encounter, rather social interaction between difference is possible through the proximity of heterotopias, as spaces of relations. However, like Lefebvre, Foucault's treats physical space as a passive stage for social action, and his theories are no less difficult to operationalise in practice.

Lefebvre and Foucault inspired several Marxist, political, and cultural geographers, including Doreen Massey, Edward Soja and Tim Cresswell, to reconceptualise the production of space as a socioplacial process. One of the main contributions by Massey to the socioplacial turn was to flatten the hierarchy and dichotomy between the global and local (Gielis, 2009). For Massey (1994, p. 156), places are produced as a relationship between the local and global; what she called, 'a global sense of the local, a global sense of place'. Massey's (2005, p. 141) three propositions for the

²³ This is contrary to Foucault's concept of the 'panopticon', where the spatial arrangement of the physical setting had some agency to control human behaviour (Foucault, 1979).

production of space presented in *For Space* – (1) space as a product of interrelations, (2) space as a sphere of the coexistence of difference, and (3) space as always being made – conceptualises open-public space as a ‘throwntogetherness’ that ‘demands negotiation’. For Massey, although these entanglements of difference are unpredictable and subject to the power relations of class, race, and gender, they contain possibilities for breaking down fixed notions of difference and, therefore, effecting social change (Vertovec, 2015). Soja (1996, p. 311), building on Lefebvre and Foucault with feminist and post-colonial theories of, among others, bell hooks, Homi Bhabba and Rosalyn Deutsche, proposed the concept of ‘Thirdspace’:

A lived space of radical openness and unlimited scope, where all histories and geographies, all times and places, are immanently presented and represented, a strategic space of power and domination, empowerment and resistance(p. 311).

Thirdspace can be read as ontological argument, as Soja sought to overcome the dualism between ‘Firstspace’ (the built form of space) and ‘Secondspace’ (the representations of space) by merging them together; as Soja (1996, pp. 56-57) notes:

Everything comes together ... subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history.

Thirdspace aims to break apart fixed notions of difference by framing identity as a continual process of becoming, freeing minorities from the baggage of the past. In doing so, the dominant majority and minorities produce and reproduce sociospatial relations, over and over, through negotiation. The radical openness of Soja’s concept is both its main strength and weakness. While framing the productive possibilities of a sociospatial perspective, it appears almost impossible to operationalise. Furthermore, despite being radically inclusive, it lacks an account of the agential

qualities of physical space. In *In Place/Out Of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*, Cresswell (1996, pp. 8-9) added a new dimension to sociospatial thinking by theorising 'the way in which ideas about what is right, just, and appropriate are transmitted through space and place', and how space and place are, 'used (intentionally or otherwise) to question that normative world'. He draws on the concept of habitus, but rather than privilege the social, Cresswell adopts a relational ontology. As such, he advocates for an empirical approach where transgressions, or what appears *out-of-place* can be observed. For Cresswell (1996, p. 166), 'people acting "out of place" suggest different interpretations' of place and how to act accordingly. Rather than conform to normative codes of behaviour, usually established by a dominant authority, he argues for the political power of acting out-of-place, and its transformative capacity for social change. Although Massey, Soja and Cresswell offer useful conceptualisations for the production of spaces/places for encountering difference, they are difficult to operationalise in architecture and urban design practice.

Space Syntax, a software programme to simulate and test the level of connectivity between spaces within a building or city, is one of the most developed attempts to operationalise sociospatial theorisations (Hillier, 1996; Hillier & Hanson, 1984). Space Syntax is primarily a measure of integration, defined as:

Locations with high levels of network access generally attract higher flows of movement, higher density development and higher levels of land-use mix. This nexus of connectivity, concentration and co-functioning tends to produce high levels of streetlife and 'co-presence' in public space. Locations with a high level of integration are where the public life and sociality of the city is most intensive (Pafka et al., 2018, p. 2).

As such, Space Syntax is useful in understanding the flows and interactions of people through public spaces, providing a quantitative measure of social interaction.

However, several scholars (see for example Netto, 2016; Pafka et al., 2018; Ratti, 2004), are critical of Space Syntax for being reductionist and deterministic, particularly in reducing spatial practices to movement, social interaction to co-presence, and all but eliminating culturally varied spatial semiotics. On this basis, lacking in qualitative analysis, Space Syntax appears unsuited to the microscale and nuance of social interaction in everyday urban life. Nonetheless, it does offer an analysis of the integration of an open-public space within the city, providing a measure of what degree a given space functions as a node connecting flows of everyday life – referred to as ‘axial analysis’. A further form of analysis in Space Syntax, called ‘isovist analysis’, helps to understand the degree to which people are drawn into and through an open-public space. Isovist analysis measures the extent of the field of vision, which is a measure of how much urban space can be viewed from one point. As such, isovist analysis is a measure of visual encounter. Taken together, axial and isovist analysis can provide a measure of how well an open-public space is connected to other places, spaces and destinations, and how likely people are to be drawn into and through it. The intersection of these flows produce the random encounters Jacobs (1964) argued were so important to the vitality and vibrancy of urban life. On this basis, the location and size of an open-public space are also important dimensions of how well, and to what degree, it might enable intercultural encounter.

3.9 Sensorial

There is a long tradition in research of the role of senses in the relationship between people and the built environment dating back to the start of the twentieth century, particularly the work of the German sociologist Georg Simmel (1908), and his seminal book *Sociology: Studies on the Forms of Socialization*. For Simmel, society is produced and reproduced through urban encounters with strangers, mediated by the senses through distance and proximity (Carnevali, 2017). Although Simmel situates

encounters in open-public space, no account is provided of the role of the built environment in his sociology of the senses.

This gap was partially addressed in the seminal work of phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty, particularly in *The Structure of Behavior* (1963) and *Phenomenology of Perception* (2012). Phenomenology, based on the work of Husserl and Heidegger, considers how experience is structured from a person's perspective; how the world is experienced. Merleau-Ponty's contribution to the sociology of the senses, was to reframe physical space as an active rather than passive backdrop in human experience. For Merleau-Ponty, the body and the environment, built and natural, are entwined in a reciprocal relationship through the senses, as a form of sense making (Degen, 2008). Although Merleau-Ponty acknowledges the built environment as an active agent, he does not attempt to explicate its agency. Furthermore, his phenomenology lacks an account of the role of varied meanings and interpretations as constructed through class, gender, age and ethnicity (Newton, 1988; Stoller, 2009).

James J. Gibson (1966), built on Merleau-Ponty's sociology of the senses, in the development of his theory of sensory perception, presented in *The Senses Described as Perceptual Systems*. For Gibson, rather than operating as five discrete modes, the senses overlap and interact as a set of perceptual systems. He placed these systems into two categories; one comprising senses operating in close proximity of the body, and the other comprising senses operating at a distance from the body. The category of 'near space' includes the 'basic-orienting system', is geared to balance based on the body's relationship between ground and vertical planes; the 'haptic system', is geared to feel and touch; and the 'taste-smell system'. The category of 'far space' includes the 'visual system' and the 'auditory system'. Although Howes (2003) criticises Gibson's early work for privileging sight, the concept of perceptual systems work in unison, as a form of simultaneous perception operating primarily on a

subconscious level (Bader, 2015; Hiss, 1990; Ingold, 2000). In this way, the primacy of sight in Western epistemology and scientific method, as well as architecture and urban design, is decentred (Classen, 1999; Urry, 2000). This is important because sanitised Western open-public space has reduced sensory experiences to mere visual interaction, with consequences for class, gender and ethnic relations (Cresswell, 2014; Edensor, 2007; Sennett, 1996). Gibson (1977) further developed his concept of perception in *The Theory of Affordances*. For Gibson, people interpret the world through the senses, looking for complementary agencies between their own biomechanical and cognitive capacities/abilities and the physical properties of spaces. In other words, we experience the world by, ‘touching, smelling, tasting, hearing and seeing objects and places’ (Degen, 2008, p. 48). Unlike phenomenology, Gibson’s theory of affordances, while not directly attending to cultural variability, does provide an account of how agency is co-constituted between humans and nonhumans.

Cultural variability has been given much greater attention in other fields, such as anthropology, particularly during the corporeal turn of the 1990s (Howes, 2006). In *Foundations for an Anthropology of the Senses*, Constance Classen writes:

When we examine the meanings associated with various sensory faculties and sensations in different cultures ... these sensory meanings and values form the sensory model espoused by a society, according to which the members of that society “make sense” of the world, or translate sensory perceptions and concepts into a particular “worldview.” There will likely be challenges to this model from within the society, persons and groups who differ on certain sensory values, yet this model will provide the basic perceptual paradigm to be followed or resisted (quoted in Howes, 2006, p. 114).

Classen's references to 'model' and 'worldview' have a connection to Bourdieu's concept of habitus, and the potential mismatch that can arise from intercultural encounters, or 'cultural hysteresis'²⁴. Howes (2003, p. xi) notes, the senses are,

The most fundamental domain of cultural expression, the medium through which all of the values and practices are enacted ... every domain of sensory experience is also an arena for structuring social roles and interactions, where we learn social divisions, distinctions of gender, class and race, through our senses.

The corporal turn led to the emergence of 'sensory ethnography', as a methodology for exploring how the senses mediate urban experiences and social encounters. Some sensory ethnography studies of intercultural encounter in open-public space have revealed that the hypervisibility of racialised bodies can inflame prejudice against minority ethnic groups (see for example Lobo, 2014; Munt, 2016). However, other sensory ethnography studies suggest multi-ethnic environments, experienced through different/unusual/exotic sounds, sights and smells, can also productively mediate social relations (Rhys-Taylor, 2013, 2017; Wise, 2010). Recent research suggests sensory ethnography may offer a more productive way of understanding the urban experience of minority ethnic groups, particularly those marginalised in urban regeneration projects (Palipane, 2019).

Two aspects of the sensorial literature are relevant for this research. First, the senses play an important role in mediating intercultural encounter, as the mechanism through which the built environment is interpreted. Secondly, following the previous point, the senses also reveal certain agential qualities of humans and nonhumans. The smell and taste of culturally distinctive food, the sound of foreign languages, the sight of foreign bodies (skin, clothing and practices), and the feeling of an unfamiliar person's presence, are all agencies of humans and nonhumans that carry the power to enable

²⁴ Discussed in section 2.7 (p. 33).

and constrain intercultural encounters in open-public space (Haldrup et al., 2006; Simpson, 2013).

3.10 Material

Materialism takes the position that existence can be understood only in material terms, as everything is comprised of material, including humans. In doing so, materialism rejects abstract ideas like spirituality. This philosophy can be traced to Ancient Greece when the philosophers Democritus and Empedocles proposed that everything in the world comprised of atoms (Wolfe, 2016). Materialism has been at odds with humanist perspectives for several centuries, producing the dichotomies of mind-body, nature-culture, subject-object, and material-social. For example, the materialism of Marxist and structuralist sociology in the early twentieth century provoked a humanist turn towards the end of the twentieth century (Fox & Alldred, 2015). This provoked a relational turn in the 1990s called New Materialism, which sought to overcome the aforementioned dichotomies through a shift from essentialism towards an emergent relationalism (Law, 2004). New Materialism has also gained currency in explicating the social and material production of cities and urban life, as Watson (2019, p. 328) notes:

Cities are material/social spaces which are historically contingent and can be made and unmade in different configurations over time, constituted by sociomaterial and technological connections and networks, and entangled spaces of bodies, affects, things, urban infrastructures, pleasures, aesthetics, which are formed within fluid temporalities, spaces of flows and interconnections. In this complex array of connections, interconnections and networks, differences and socialities are performed and enacted, both constituted in the spaces of the city, and themselves constitutive of the very city itself.

New Materialism is therefore important for this research because it reasserts the role of the built environment, what Latour (1992) calls ‘the missing masses’, in the production of intercultural encounter. New Materialism builds on the aforementioned behavioural, sociospatial and sensorial theories and frameworks, by giving the reality of nonhumans equal status with that of humans and ascribing both with agency, while attending to the relationships formed between them (Barad, 2003).

The Assemblage philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari Deleuze and Guattari (1988) has been highly influential in the development of several key new materialist frameworks that emerged during this period (Watson, 2019). Latour’s Actor-Network Theory (ANT) has been one of the most debated and widely employed of these frameworks, which has also significantly informed the development of other new materialist frameworks, including Thrift’s Non-Representational Theory (NRT) and Harman’s Object-Oriented Ontology (OOO) (Watson, 2019). ANT and Assemblage are employed as the main frameworks for this research²⁵. The remainder of this section, therefore, considers the usefulness and limitations of NRT and OOO for this research. NRT is a useful point of departure because it draws on a diverse body of work, including ANT and Assemblage, as well as some dimensions of the aforementioned behavioural, sociospatial and sensorial turns. OOO, on the other hand, while also emerging from a similar body of work, takes a counter position to the flat ontology of NRT, ANT and Assemblage.

NRT was developed by Thrift (1996) as a response to what he considered an overemphasis on representation in cultural geography. According to Thrift (2008, p. 2), NRT is, ‘the geography of what happens’, as the actual practices performed through everyday life, or, as Lorimer (2005, p. 84) notes:

²⁵ Discussed in detail in chapter four: *Methodology & Methods*.

The focus falls on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions. Attention to these kinds of expression, it is contended, offers an escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgement and ultimate representation.

Buser (2014, p. 229) notes Thrift was strongly influenced by the work of several post-structuralists, particularly Deleuze's criticism of representation for failing to 'capture the world of difference'. In Deleuzian terms, as Buser further notes, 'objects and matter – things in the world – are subordinated to a system of knowledge where differences emerge only through negation, as difference from already existing stable identities', such as Western and non-western. In this sense, NRT can be seen as an argument against attempts to limit, close down and take-for-granted the relations between people and the built environment. Rather, NRT reframes these relations as emergent processes, through which, following Deleuze, 'stable identities are dissolved' in place of 'the instability and creativity of pure difference', as such, 'there is only *becoming*' (Buser, 2014, p. 231). The process of becoming occurs through the entanglement of humans and nonhumans; how these different actors *affect* one another. 'Affect', in this way, is applied in NRT to explicate the agential qualities of humans and nonhuman, in a relational sense, as Boyd (2017, p. 39) notes:

For the most part, non-representational theory adopts a Deleuzo-Guattarian formulation of affect (after Spinoza) understood as the capacity of bodies to affect and be affected by other bodies, be they human, non-human, animate or inanimate.

For Thrift (2004, p. 57), affect is ubiquitous in cities, he notes:

Cities may be seen as roiling maelstroms of affect. Particular affects such as anger, fear, happiness and joy are continually on the boil, rising here, subsiding there, and

these affects continually manifest themselves in events which can take place either at a grand scale or simply as a part of continuing everyday life.

As Boyd (2017) points out, in NRT, affect is linked to the spatial and material dimensions of atmospheres (see discussion on atmospheres pp.43-44). As such, affect can be produced and, therefore, has a relationship with power. Nonetheless, Watson (2019) notes that two main criticisms of NRT. First, that the flat ontology of NRT not only decentres humans, but also human experience. In response, Lorimer (2005) proposed a 'more-than-representational' approach to reinstate representation without being reduced to it. Second, that NRT all but eradicates power relations of class, gender, age and ethnicity. As a result, Simpson (2013, p. 180) proposed an 'ecology of experience' approach, 'to pay attention to the co-constitutive relatedness of practices and the social-cultural-material environments in which they take place'. Both ANT and Assemblage have also been criticised in the same vein (Simpson, 2013). However, NRT is neither theory (Thrift, 2008) nor methodology (Buser, 2014), but rather a broad framework for relational thinking in geography that has evolved in diverse ways (Anderson & Harrison, 2016). Watson (2019, p. 338) argues that the usefulness of NRT, and other relational thinking frameworks has been to shift 'the making and unmaking of publics and differences, and understandings of social worlds, from earlier frameworks which tended to disregard non-human actors in the city'. Although both ANT and Assemblage influence NRT, they do not outrightly reject representation/subjectivism (Metzger, 2014), nor are they devoid of power (Buchanan & Thoburn, 2008; Latour, 1998), or differences (Deleuze, 2001; Latour, 2004a). Furthermore, both ANT and Assemblage are more geared to an empirical focus on processes and interactions and therefore, more easily operationalised in research (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014).

Harman's (2009) OOO, although strongly influenced by Latour's ANT, deliberately avoids flattening the social and material. Harman's 'Immaterialism' (2016) differs from New Materialism in nine main ways, as shown in Table 2.

	Axioms of New Materialism	Axioms of Immaterialism
1	Everything is constantly changing.	Change is intermittent and stability the norm.
2	Everything occurs along continuous gradients rather than with distinct boundaries and cut-off points.	Everything is split up according to definite boundaries and cut-off points rather than along continuous gradients.
3	Everything is contingent.	Not everything is contingent.
4	We must focus on actions/verbs rather than substances/nouns.	Substances/nouns have priority over actions/verbs.
5	Things are generated in our "practices" and therefore lack any prior essence.	Everything has an autonomous essence, however transient it may be, and our practices grasp it no better than our theories do.
6	What a thing does is more interesting than what it is.	What a thing is turns out to be more interesting than what it does.
7	Thought and the world never exist separately, and therefore "intra-act" rather than interact (see Barad 2007).	Thought and its object are no more and no less separate than any other two objects and therefore they interact rather than "intra-act".
8	Things are multiple rather than singular (see Mol 2002).	Things are singular rather than multiple.
9	The world is purely immanent, and it's a good thing, because any transcendence would be oppressive.	The world is not just immanent, and it's a good thing, because pure immanence would be oppressive.

Table 2. Contrasting axioms between new materialism and immaterialism (Harman, 2016, pp. 14-16)

For Harman, nonhumans have agency outside of their relations with other actors; they have autonomy. Harman argues that something important is lost when describing an object either by reducing it to its parts/properties/abilities (undermining – denying emergence) or by its effects/relations (overmining – denying change). For Harman, ANT is guilty of overmining. Harman's emphasis on the autonomy of nonhumans appears to draw on some of the perceived incompatibilities between Assemblage and

ANT²⁶. Whereas the former is more concerned with agentic potentialities, the latter is more concerned with agentic actualities. However, ANT does not deny nonhumans the potential to act, rather, for Latour, the social is the *association* of things (human and nonhuman). According to Campbell et al. (2019, p. 19), this leaves OOO, ‘stuck in a no-man’s-land of *not-quite-nonhuman-not-quite-human*’, making Latour’s posthuman relationism a more convincing account of social theory. Furthermore, the emphasis on nonhuman autonomy in OOO leaves it at risk of falling into the trap of material determinism, whereas the flat and relational ontology of ANT avoids both social and material determinism.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter explored two important themes for the research: how intercultural encounter has been designed in and out of the public spaces of Western cities, and relational frameworks as a basis for designing for intercultural encounter. From this review, two key arguments emerge.

First, although there is an established body of literature on inclusion and exclusion in open-public spaces, less attention has been paid to issues facing minority ethnic groups (Madanipour, 2016). Moreover, even less attention has been given to the role of the built environment in shaping encounter between minority ethnic groups and the dominant majority. Second, although several relational frameworks consider the role of space and place, only posthuman relational frameworks attend to the agency of built form (Watson, 2019). However, limited attention has been paid to these frameworks in the study of intercultural encounter, particularly ANT. Furthermore, these frameworks emerged in large part from the assemblage ontology of Gilles Deleuze, which cuts across various Western dichotomies and dualisms, including

²⁶ Discussed in more detail in section 4.2 (p. 85).

mind-body, nature-culture, social-material and subject-object. Both Assemblage and ANT offer productive frameworks to study the human-nonhuman relations of intercultural encounter in open-public space (Metzger, 2014). These frameworks underpin the methodology for this research, as discussed in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 4: Methodology & Methods

4.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters established several important foundations for the research approach in this thesis. First, open-public space is an important setting for intercultural encounter. Second, proximity and gestures are important conditions for intercultural encounter. Third, attending to the spatial practices of multi-ethnic groups is important in designing for intercultural encounter. Fourth, agency is important in understanding the role of the built environment in intercultural encounter. This chapter builds on these findings to address the research question: *How can Actor-Network Theory be operationalised to study the agency of built form in mediating intercultural encounter in open-public space?* It is structured in five main sections, with relevant subsections. The first section discusses the methodological framework, including key theories and its flat, relational ontology. The second section presents a description, justification and the application of each research method. The third section discusses the analytic framework for the study. The fourth section presents the case study research approach, selection criteria and introductions for each case. The fifth and final section presents my reflections on the methodology and methods.

4.2 Methodology: Actor-network ethnography

It was once suggested that ANT would be better termed ‘actant-rhizome ontology’²⁷ (Lynch, 1995). However, Bruno Latour rejected the suggestion, claiming it was, ‘a horrible mouthful of words—not to mention the acronym ARO? Yet, Lynch has a point’ (Latour, 1999a, p. 19). The point, Ignacio Farías suggests, is that Lynch’s alternative name ‘makes evident the Deleuzian framework in which ANT operates’ (Farías & Bender, 2010, p. 7). The following section presents the methodological framework for this research, as a form of actor-network ethnography framed within assemblage thinking (Figure 3).

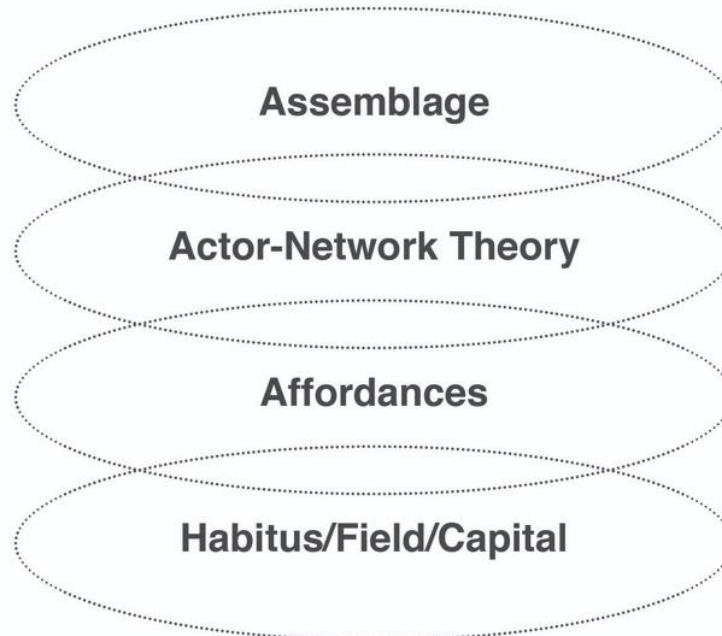


Figure 3. Methodological framework

²⁷ Latour proposed the term ‘actant’ in reference to a human or nonhuman actor that changes the relationship between other actors. Lynch argues for the use of actants in place of actors, as they represent the key focus of Latour’s ANT. ‘Rhizome’ is a key concept from the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari (1988) to describe how all things are connected, often in unstructured and hidden ways. Lynch claims that rhizome more accurately captures the relations Latour argues for, whereas ‘network’ problematically implies a formal structure. Given ANT is not a theory, Lynch further claimed that ‘ontology’ more accurately captured the equal status attributed to the social and material.

Assemblage and ANT

Assemblage originates from the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze, particularly in his collaboration with Félix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus* (1988), which proposed a counter position to the essentialist, reductionist and totalising philosophies of structuralists. For Deleuze, the world is not stable or fixed, rather it is forever in a state of becoming or emerging, and therefore the future cannot be fully determined or predicted. According to Deleuze (2002, p. 69), an assemblage is:

A multiplicity which is made up of many heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them across ages, sexes and reigns – different natures. Thus, the assemblage's only unity is that of co-functioning: it is a symbiosis, a 'sympathy'. It is never filiations which are important but alliances, alloys; these are not successions, lines of descent, but contagions, epidemics, the wind.

The emergent capacities of an assemblage both enable and constrain its parts, and can therefore be understood as potentialities or possibilities (DeLanda, 2006). Deleuze saw these possibilities as contained within the agency of the heterogeneous assemblage of people, objects, events, and meanings. Agency is realised through interactions within and between assemblages. These interactions or relationships modify the assemblages, destabilising them, causing changes to take place, before they stabilise again, albeit temporarily (DeLanda, 2006). This relational aspect of assemblages is characterised by two dimensions or poles. The first is referred to as the 'material-expressive' dimension, which relates to the role of the component parts of the assemblage. The material pole represents the physical characteristics, whereas the expressive role represents meanings, gestures, and practices. The second pole is the 'territorialisation-deterritorialisation' dimension. Territorialisation (or coding) is a process of stabilisation, where the boundaries of the assemblage sharpen, and it becomes more homogenous and fixed. This coding takes place through the imposition of rules, regulations, and control measures. Deterritorialisation involves decoding, where the assemblage becomes more heterogeneous and open. Decoding

has relations with informality, and can take place when, for example, there is an intentional relaxation of formal codes, or when a new entity enters the assemblage.

In urban studies, assemblage thinking has been widely adopted and debated across design, planning and policy (Brenner et al., 2011; Dovey, 2016; Farías & Bender, 2010; McFarlane, 2011; Tonkiss, 2011). Urban assemblages, according to Dovey (2016, p. 264), can be understood as follows:

A street is not a thing or a collection of things. The buildings, houses, shops, residents, signs, shoppers, cars, hawkers, rules, pavements and goods form the street, but it is the assembled *connections* between them that are crucial – the *relations* of buildings to pavement to roadway; the flows of traffic, people, goods and ideas; the *interconnections* of public to private space, and of the street to the city. An assemblage is dynamic – it is the flows of life, traffic, goods and money that give the street its intensity and its *emergent* sense of place. From this view all cities and parts of cities are assemblages. [emphasis added]

The emphasis here is on connections between the parts of the assemblage, which connote ‘indeterminacy, emergence, becoming, processuality, turbulence and sociomateriality of phenomena’ (McFarlane, 2011, p. 664). Assemblage thinking, therefore, is useful for three key reasons. First, its emphasis on emergence avoids the structuralism and essentialism of material and social determinism (Dovey, 2011). This is important in the study of human-environment relations, particularly when considering ethnic diversity, because assemblage thinking avoids *a priori* understandings of relations and outcomes. Second, the processual nature of assemblage thinking provides an account of the dynamic and complex conditions found in cities (Duffy & Stojanovic, 2018). Through the process of assembly, assemblage thinking moves away from the totalising and reductive nature of thinking of the city as a form of predetermined, rational whole or ‘closed-system’ (Sennett, 2018), to thinking of the city as an assembly of parts that give rise to processes of

emergence (Sendra, 2015). This is important because of the challenges facing cities arising from global migration, population growth and the resulting increasing densities of difference experienced in public space (Vertovec, 2015). Third, assemblage thinking is geared to multiscalar thinking – horizontal rather than vertical – that opens up urban analysis to explore the relations between assemblages (Kamalipour & Peimani, 2015). In other words, assemblage thinking avoids the reductive gaze of the city that seeks to understand it from above, as a fixed or static whole, one that can be easily controlled. Rather, assemblage thinking seeks to understand cities as situated relations of humans and nonhumans, where the interaction of different desires continually produces and reproduces everyday urban life. Assemblage thinking does not seek to close down or limit our understanding of the city, but to open it up to new possibilities and potentials.

The optimism of assemblage thinking can be found in the work of seminal urban space scholars including Massey's (2005) three propositions for public space: (1) space as a product of interrelations, (2) space as a sphere of the coexistence of difference, and (3) space as always being made. This optimism and openness can help urban designers to conceptualise new ways of shaping urban public spaces (Sendra, 2015), and to think 'how urbanism might be produced otherwise' (McFarlane, 2011, p. 667), rather than some fixed notion of what it should be. Assemblage thinking can therefore not only help urban designers understand public space as a process of 'becoming', but also the potential to reimagine it in an increasingly ethnically diverse city. What is less evident in assemblage thinking is a methodology for studying the relations between the parts of the assemblage. However, according to Dovey et al. (2018b, p. 271), 'assemblage [thinking] is not a theory where all the parts fall into line with strict orthodoxy but rather a loose set of alliances between different modes of thought'. In other words, assemblage thinking can work together with complementary theories and frameworks, such as ANT.

ANT has been described as an assemblage theory, based on some key similarities (Farías, 2011). First, they share a flat, relational ontology, which emphasises emergence through relations between the parts of an assemblage, or, in ANT, between networks of human and nonhuman actors. Second, both ascribe agency to these parts/actors. Third, both are concerned with how these assemblages/networks come together, stay together and break apart. Despite these similarities, some have argued against their compatibility (Brenner et al., 2011), primarily because ANT, it is claimed, simply accepts what is observed without explaining how and why, and would therefore be guilty of 'implicitly justifying all sort of inequalities and injustices' (Farías, 2011, p. 366). On the contrary, as with assemblage thinking, ANT seeks to open up rather than close down (Latour, 2014; Law & Hassard, 1999; Mol, 2010). This is not to deny their differences, rather there is a lot to be gained by the cross-fertilisation of assemblage thinking and ANT (Müller & Schurr, 2016).

Some of the key differences appear to place ANT and assemblage thinking at odds with one another. For example, Martin Müller (2015) notes in ANT, agency emerges from the relations of actors, whereas assemblage argues that the parts/actors have agency outside of these relations; what Deleuze refers to as 'potentialities' (Deleuze, 2001). Affordance theory (Gibson, 1977), also a relational theory, offers a bridge between these seemingly conflicting perspectives, particularly when affordances are defined as emerging from the interaction between the capacities of a person and the properties of an object (Chemero, 2003). The potential (as in assemblage thinking) is present but cannot be realised (as in ANT) until associations are formed. ANT does not deny the capacities of a person or the properties of an object/environment, rather it emphasises the actual from a methodological perspective. Müller has claimed that 'compared to assemblage thinking, ANT offers a more concrete conceptual and methodological apparatus that can be applied to empirical work' (Müller, 2015, p. 31). Elsewhere, Farías notes that 'if the ontological stance of ANT should be credited for

any one particular thing, this should be the immense ethnographic accuracy and analytical sophistication to follow and conceptualize objects' (Farías & Bender, 2010, p. 8). ANT provides the urban researcher with a methodological framework to study the actual, which can inform an urban design based on possibilities and potentials. As such, ANT and assemblage thinking open up the possibilities of public space as a process of emerging built form, informed by and supporting the spatial practices of ethnically diverse cities.

Flat and relational

ANT was developed through a collaboration of scholars, including Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, John Law and Madeleine Alrich (Blok et al., 2019; Dant, 2007). The origins of ANT can be found in the work of Trevor Pinch and Wiebe Bijker (1987), and Thomas Hughes (1983), who were exploring the social construction of technology. According to Dant (2007), Latour adapted this body of work by giving nonhumans agency – what he calls 'the missing masses' – equal status with human agency. ANT should, therefore, be understood, first and foremost, as an ontological argument (Farías & Mützel, 2015). This was a bold move by Latour, given his aim to 'redefine the notion of social' [by scrutinizing] more thoroughly the exact content of what is assembled under the umbrella of a society' (Latour, 2005, p.2). This controversial move put Latour at odds with many sociologists and philosophers.

To properly understand, and grasp the importance and applicability of ANT, one must therefore come to terms with its flat and relational ontological position (Latour, 1996). It is this position, which distinguishes Latour's work from that of Pinch, Bijker and Hughes (Dant, 2007). Latour not only gives agency to nonhumans; he gives this agency equal status with that of humans. This flattening was a controversial, but necessary, move that opened up an important ontological debate about several long-standing dichotomies including, nature-culture, social-technical, and subject-object.

Latour regularly uses exaggeration and provocation, sometimes even dramatization, to make his case for a flat, relational ontology. For example, in *Reassembling the Social*, Latour (2005) deliberately dismantles and castigates sociology and sociologists, before reinstating them at the end of the book. Elsewhere, Latour (2002, 2007, 2014) provokes with assertions that there is no society, no economy and no markets. He does not deny society, rather he argues that instead of being an abstract, hidden, all-powerful force, society is actually empirically observable in the associations between humans and nonhumans, thus it has objectivity. In doing so, Latour is privileging neither the social nor the material, but rather the association or interaction between them. He similarly denies what he considers to be the abstract notions of global and local, and macro and micro. For him, there is no hierarchy because he is concerned with the objectivity of associations, as he notes 'it is not the sociologist's job to decide in the actor's stead what groups are making up the world and which agencies are making them act' (Latour, 2005, p. 184). For Latour, it is not possible to say whether humans or nonhumans have more or less power than the other. Do the properties of a chair afford sitting or is it the biomechanics of the person? For him, it is both. Although humans give form to the chair, the properties of materials enabled them to shape it. Only vanity can explain why humans would be more important in these relationships.

Actors and agency

In ANT, 'actors' are the parts of an assemblage, and can be either humans or nonhumans. Human actors vary by age, gender, ethnicity, physical and cognitive abilities, wealth and social connections. Nonhuman actors include benches, streetlights, signs, surfaces, walls, and bins, but they also include documents, permits, websites, animals, grass, weather, sounds and smells. In ANT, actors are always doing something or changing something; 'they act; their competence is deduced from their performances' (Latour, 2004b, p. 237). Actors are never alone in this endeavour,

rather they are always engaged with other actors (Blok et al., 2019). For Latour, there are different types of actors because some mediate changes in the relations between other actors; he calls these actors 'actants'. Latour defines actants, a term he borrows from Greimas (1986), as 'literally ... anything provided it is granted to the source of an action' (Latour, 1996, p. 373). Actants have no intent to intervene but they do have the agency to change the relationship between other actors. For example, two people, strangers, could be drawn to steps in a public space as a place to sit and eat their lunch; as a result, some form of encounter might take place. There is no intent on the steps part to bring these other actors into contact with one another, but the properties of steps have the agency to attract the actors and enable the encounter. Although actants have been criticised as an unnecessary complication (Michael, 2017), they provide a link between the possible and the actual, which ANT is accused of ignoring (Bloor, 1999). Returning to the previous example, the steps have potential agency in their properties, but it is only actualised when associations are formed with other actors.

In ANT, human and nonhuman actors both have agency. Latour has written extensively about the agency of nonhumans in a range of contexts, including door-closers (Johnson, 1988), car seat belts (Latour, 1992), stop signs (Latour, 2005), buildings (Latour & Yaneva, 2008), and even cities (Latour & Hermant, 1998). However, ANT has been accused of failing to properly account for the agency of nonhumans (Sayes, 2014). For example, Dant (2007, p. 81) has accused ANT of failing to, 'study closely the interaction or the lived relationship between human beings and material objects ... it is noticeable that there are very few accounts of the perceptual or tactile interaction between humans and objects'. Although several scholars working in architecture (Yaneva, 2009a, 2009b), planning (Rydin & Tate, 2016), and urban design (Teh, 2014) have provided accounts of agency, the mechanism of human-nonhuman relations is largely absent.

The theory of affordances²⁸ can, with some adjustments, help address the aforementioned gap in ANT (Craig & Wayne, 2016; Daly, 2019; Davis & Chouinard, 2016). Some have even suggested that the revival of affordances in scholarly literature has been a direct result of this weakness in ANT (Dant, 2007). Even Latour (2005) finds the concept of affordances useful in understanding human-nonhuman associations, but he has never explicated *how*. Affordance theory was developed by Gibson from his work on perceptual psychology in the 1950-70s, particularly from his concept of direct perception (Gibson, 1950). Gibson sought to develop an account of how people perceive the world around them, which he claimed occurred as a result of the senses working in unison, a form of ‘simultaneous perception’ (Gibson, 1966; Hiss, 1990). For (Gibson, 1977, p. 119):

The affordances of the environment are what it offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill. The verb to afford is found in the dictionary, but the noun affordance is not. I have made it up. I mean by it something that refers to both the environment and the animal in a way that no existing term does. It implies the complementarity of the animal and the environment.

Gibson’s opening sentence implies affordances are ‘out there’ in the environment, waiting to be found, which has caused much debate, misunderstanding and misapplication of the concept of affordances in academic work and design practice, with some believing that affordances can be designed into the environment (Evans et al., 2016; Oliver, 2005). However, the last sentence clarifies Gibson’s concept, where affordances emerge from the interaction of the animal and the environment. In other words, they are actualised, much like the agency of ANT. (Gibson, 1977, p. 119) further clarifies the relational nature of affordances with the following example:

If a terrestrial surface is nearly horizontal (instead of slanted), nearly flat (instead of convex or concave), and sufficiently extended (relative to the size of the animal) and

²⁸ Briefly discussed in the previous chapter (p. 66 and pp. 74-75).

if its substance is rigid (relative to the weight of the animal), then the surface affords support. It is a surface of support, and we call it a substratum, ground, or floor. It is stand-on-able, permitting an upright posture for quadrupeds and bipeds. It is therefore walk-on-able and run-over-able. It is not sink-into-able like a surface of water or a swamp, that is, not for heavy terrestrial animals.

Affordances are, therefore, actualised only 'between the abilities of animals and features of the environment' (Chemero, 2003, p. 184). This is similar to Callon's concept of 'convergence', to describe the growing relationship between the production of knowledge and the production of objects (Callon, 1990). Some have claimed that affordance theory denies the 'social' of agency, particularly the role of social learning (Costall, 1995; Gaver, 1996; Parchoma, 2014; Weeks & Fayard, 2007). For example, Costall (1995, p. 472), quoting Leontiev (1981), notes:

We do not merely encounter things: we are introduced to them: [The] notion of an individual, a child, who is all by itself with the world of objects is a completely artificial abstraction. The individual is not simply thrown into the human world; it is introduced into this world by the people around it; and they guide it in that world.

As a result, Gaver (1996), Hutchby (2001) and Fayard and Weeks (2007) proposed the concept of 'social affordances'. For example, Fayard and Weeks claim Hall's (1969) concept of 'proxemics' - the study of social distances - is an example of social affordances. Although Fayard and Weeks claim social affordances account for cultural differences, there are significant limitations in this account. While it is likely that social learning plays an important role in how people perceive and interact with environments, this knowledge is embodied and performed through the movements of the body from childhood (Inoue, 2006; Katan-Schmid, 2016); what Bourdieu calls 'practical knowledge'.

Bourdieu (1977, p. 9) describes habitus as 'dispositions acquired through experience, thus variable from place to place and time to time. This 'feel for the game ... is what

enables an infinite number of moves to be made, adapted to the infinite number of possible situations which no rule, however complex, can foresee' (p. 9). In other words, habitus is our understanding of how to be in the world, which we acquire from childhood. Maton (2014, p. 53) notes that habitus is both 'structured' and 'structuring':

It is "structured" by one's past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences. It is "structuring" in that one's habitus helps to shape one's present and future practices. It is a "structure" in that it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned. This "structure" comprises a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices.

For Bourdieu (1977), this process is an unconscious relationship between a habitus and a field of practice. He claimed that the social world could be understood as a series of fields of practice, such as education, religion, sport and politics, each with their own set of rules and knowledges. These field are structured by different forms of capital: economic (what one has), cultural (what one knows), social (who one knows) and symbolic (the image or perception of someone, produced by the accumulation of the other forms of capital) (Bourdieu, 1984). These fields interact and overlap and, rather than being fixed, are in a constant state of play as different actors seek to better their position through the accumulation of capital. What people have, who they know and what they know, distinguishes their position in the field relative to others. In other words, dominant positions determine class and power. Social status is determined and maintained by the accumulation or consumption of high culture over low culture. Bourdieu's concepts are, therefore, useful in helping to understand the position of minority ethnic groups who find themselves disadvantaged by a lack of capital and a mismatch between multiple fields and habitus (Nowicka, 2015b). However, as noted, fields are dynamic in which minority ethnic actors can accumulate capital, including symbolic capital, to acquire a higher social status, even power.

The relational aspect of habitus and field bears some resemblance to Deleuze's (1988) concept of assemblages. However, whereas Deleuze recognises the role of materiality in assemblages, for Bourdieu a field remains an abstract concept. Latour (2016) argues that the abstract nature of habitus is its main limitation because, in his attempt to wrestle agency back from materialism, Bourdieu stubbornly refuses to acknowledge any role for physical space (see also Gieryn, 2002). However, as Latour points out, Bourdieu constantly refers to real, physical space to make a case for both habitus and field (see also Noble, 2013). For example, Bourdieu's (1977) seminal text *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, evolved from his own ethnographic fieldwork studying how the Berbers of Algeria inhabited their houses:

The dark and nocturnal, lower part of the house, place of objects that are moist, green or raw - jars of water placed on benches in various parts of the entrance to the stable or against the wall of darkness, wood and green fodder - natural place also of beings - oxen and cows, donkeys and mules - and place of natural activities - sleep, the sexual act, giving birth - and the place also of death, is opposed, as nature is to culture, to the light-filled, noble, upper part of the house: this is the place of human beings and, in particular, of the guest; it is the place of fire and of objects created by fire - lamp, kitchen utensils, rifle - the symbol of the male point of honour (*ennif*) and the protector of female honour (*horma*) -- and it is the place of the weaving-loom - the symbol of all protection; and it is also the place of the two specifically cultural activities that are carried out in the space of the house: cooking and weaving (Bourdieu, 1970, p. 153).

Here, in Bourdieu's own words, habitus is situated relative to physical space (see also Bourdieu, 1999). Bourdieu's ontological privileging of the social over the material, as with his debates with Latour (Kale-Lostuvali, 2016), is more concerned with establishing a prominent position in his own *field* of sociology studies. As much as Bourdieu might disagree, or object, Schinkel (2007, p. 725) notes that habitus and ANT share an important ontological position:

Bourdieuian sociology sees one kind of relations; Latourian sociology sees many kinds of assemblages. They differ, moreover, on the kinds of actors that are included in the web of relations. But they nonetheless involve statements formed by the underlying idea of entities that are related and, although they differ vastly in their articulations thereof, they hold that these entities would not be what they are if they weren't related.

Maton (2014, p. 56) also highlights this common ontological position:

Central to how habitus works as an explanatory tool is the relationship between habitus and field ... [as] relational structures and it is the relation between these relational structures that provides the key for understanding practice.

Although Bourdieu and Latour stood in scholarly opposition to one another, their common ontological position pushes the door ajar, just far enough, to allow both frameworks to work together.

Habitus, as embodied knowledge, acquired and practiced relative to different settings, provides an account, not just for social learning but also cultural learning²⁹; as Bourdieu (1994, p. 80) notes:

Between people of the same group, equipped with the same habitus . . . everything goes without saying, even conflicts; they can be understood without people having to spell things out, and so on. But when different systems of dispositions are involved, there appears the possibility of an accident, a collision or a conflict.

Nowicka (2015b) notes the potential mismatch between habitus and setting can produce a sense of 'out-of-placeness' among migrants. She argues, 'habitus allows us to address the dispositions that migrants 'bring with' them to a new country, as well as how they evolve with time in a new social setting' (Nowicka, 2015b, p. 11). As a result, she claims that 'Bourdieu's theory of practice brings us clear advantages and

²⁹ See also Ingold (2000) and Withagen et al. (2012) for a discussion on the embodiment of cultural learning.

a very sophisticated and complex toolset to understand the complexity of intercultural encounters in urban spaces' (Nowicka, 2015b, p. 17). Moreover, it provides an account of how habitus evolves through migration, what Noble (2013) calls an 'ethnicised habitus', as Maton (2014, p. 56) notes:

Crucially, they are also both evolving, so relations between habitus and field are ongoing, dynamic and partial: they do not match perfectly, for each has its own internal logic and history. This allows for the relationship between the structure of a field and the habituses of its members to be one of varying degrees of fit or mismatch.

Bourdieu describes this mismatch as 'cultural hysteresis', highlighting the potential disruption in everyday urban experience for migrants in public space, as a 'logic of difference' (Hardy, 2014). In the context of this research, habitus, field, capital and practice provide an account of both observable differences in spatial practices and those that cannot be observed in-situ, as part of intercultural encounters, but can be revealed through dialogue with key actors.

Associations and networks

Associations are critical to understanding and applying ANT; they are the links or connections that are made between actors [and they are] engendered when one actor interposes itself between other actors, translating their interests, severing other associations, and aligning those actors with itself' (Michael, 2017, p. 154). The emphasis on associations in ANT is also found in assemblage thinking. The word 'assemblage' is a translation of the French word 'agencement', from the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, meaning 'arrangement', 'fitting' or 'fixing' (Phillips, 2006). In this research, affordances are used to describe how these associations are arranged, or put together, using Heft's (1988) functional taxonomy of affordances, which captures at once the agency of humans and nonhumans; eg. sit-on-able, shelter-under-able, skate-on-able, jump-over-able, and lean-on-able –

conjunctions of human and nonhuman agency. Affordances cannot fully account for the range of possible relations between actors, and are, therefore, operationalised within the actor-network ethnography of this research only for the purposes of describing observable human-nonhuman relations in the three case studies. Where these relations are elaborated upon, for example through interviews, descriptions step outside Heft's taxonomy. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital are useful in addressing this gap through, for example, drawing attention to associations between certain actors and certain forms and types of capital.

Public spaces comprise various nonhuman actors, such as steps, ledges, walls, ground, streetlights, signs, bins, benches, kiosks, building facades, canopies, CCTV, vegetation, tables, kerbs, footpaths, railings, fences, water features, and sculptures. They also comprise various human actors, including people of different ages, genders, physical and mental abilities, who are going to work, school, university, shopping, socialising, site-seeing, policing, cleaning, fixing, building, performing. Some human actors also introduce other nonhuman actors temporarily into these assemblages, such as skateboards, bicycles, wheelchairs, and musical instruments. The association formed by actors are sometimes fleeting, while others hold together for longer, repeating over and over, they become stable but never permanent. When associations are formed among actors, they become 'networks', which Latour (2005, p. 131) notes should be understood as 'a concept, not a thing out there ... a tool to help describe something, not what is being described'. Networks, for Latour (2005, p. 131), 'provide an ... account of topics which have in no way the shape of a network'. This has led to comparisons with Deleuze and Guattari's 'rhizome' (Jensen, 2019; Michael, 2017), a multiplicity of connections without a structure or hierarchy; a process that is ever becoming (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). It is a network only as a set of connections, not as an entity. These connections/associations are not static or fixed, therefore, they must be 'traced anew' (Latour, 2005, p. 132). ANT is concerned with

how these associations come together, how they are assembled, hold together, disassemble and reassemble. Methodologically, the researcher must follow the actors to trace and describe their associations. Which actors, how many of them, and where to start are guided by the research questions; the sharper the questions the more focused the fieldwork will be (Baiocchi et al., 2013; Blok et al., 2019).

Mediation and translation

ANT proposes two concepts to explicate the process of associations between actors and how networks are assembled. The first is 'mediation', which occurs when actors 'transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry' (Latour, 2005, p. 39). These actors, act as 'mediators' between other actors, modifying associations (Latour, 1999b). Mediators 'are both changed by their circulation and change the collective *through* their circulation. They act and, as a result, demand new modes of action from other actors' (Sayes, 2014, p. 138). Nonhuman mediators are a key concern for this research, which seeks to understand how the built form of public space enables and constrains intercultural encounter. Returning to affordances, an object, such as public bench, is designed for people to sit on, but many more possibilities can be actualised when associations are formed with other actors. For example, the bench could mediate between a skateboarder and his/her skateboard creating a slide-on-able affordance. In this process, the meaning of the bench is translated from a seat to an obstacle or prop for skateboarding.

This process is called 'translation', first introduced by Michel Callon (1984), and developed by Latour (Law, 1986); it has subsequently been referred to as 'ontological politics' (Mol, 1999), 'cosmopolitics' (Stengers, 2010), and 'generalised symmetry' (Latour, 1993). Translation is the process of the formation of a network; 'through translation actors become enrolled into an actor-network' (Michael, 2017, p. 164). The process of translation is also concerned with power relations between actors, because

although ‘for ANT, all entities ... stand on equal ontological footing to begin with . . . associations established between them make the difference of whether one becomes more powerful than the other’ (Müller, 2015, p. 30). An example of the accumulation of power through actor-networks is provided by Latour (1998) in *How to Write ‘The Prince’ for Machines as well as for Machinations*. Latour uses the example of *The Prince*, a 16th Century political treatise, in which Machiavelli argues the power of a Medici prince was not preordained but achieved through the number of associations he developed with others, and the quantity of weapons and fortresses that he acquired. In other words, a prince’s power emerges through an assemblage of humans and nonhumans that had to be maintained and expanded in order to survive and grow. The power relations at play in urban public space can also have much at stake, as demonstrated by the *Arab Spring* and *Occupy* movements. The ebb and flow of power relations in actor-networks are, therefore, also a key concern in this research because they speak to issues of territorialisation, modes of control, appropriation and expression, openness, sense-of-belonging, sense-of-place, and out-of-placeness.

ANT and ethnography

ANT is a particular way of doing ethnography that attends to the agential qualities of human and nonhuman actors (Baiocchi et al., 2013; Latour, 2005; Mol, 2010; Tummons, 2010; Yaneva, 2009a). An ethnographic approach fits with ANT, because, as Nimmo (2011, pp. 112-113) notes:

Ethnography is a deliberately “messy” methodology, putting its faith in the interpretative competence of the researcher when immersed in a social milieu in all its complexity. Rather than seeking the security of pre-conceived analytic categories, ethnographers typically steer a far more inductive course by cultivating an openness to the multiple and overlapping phenomenological worlds of their subjects.

An ANT ethnography focuses on the spatial practices in everyday life, which emerge from the interactions of people and things/objects/environments:

A fundamental connection between actor-network theory and ethnography is their focus on [spatial] practices: everyday sayings, doings, and relations with objects that make up what people do in their everyday lives (MacLeod et al., 2019, p. 180).

Focusing on everyday spatial practices helps the researcher avoid falling into the trap of social and material determinism, enabling the processual nature of human-nonhuman relations to be studied:

[Spatial] practices are by their nature an imbroglio or “mangle” (Pickering, 1995), so that a methodology which takes practices as its object effectively side-steps purification processes in the construction of knowledge, instead generating a kind of “thick ontology” – multiple, overlapping and messy (Nimmo, 2011, p. 113).

Furthermore, ANT-driven ethnography moves ‘beyond reliance on traditionally human-centred methods like interviews, focus groups and surveys . . . to attune to the mundane—specifically lending an eye to everyday objects and spatial practices that we may otherwise not notice, nor bring to the fore’ (MacLeod et al., 2019, p. 180). What to observe and what to document are the key actors and actants involved in the processes of translation. However, the ANT researcher does not observe everyday spatial practices at a distance, rather they become part of the assemblage:

This means that a situation is only brought about through intermingling of particular social and material elements, of which the researcher is a productive part. In other words, no assemblage exists independently of the researcher. Positioning the researcher within the phenomenon means that researchers actually (re)configure the world under study (MacLeod et al., 2019, p. 180).

ANT researchers, therefore, ‘follow the actors’ (Latour, 2005) by, for example, observing them, interviewing them, mapping them, photographing them, and videoing them. While these research methods fit neatly within ANT’s flat, relational ontology

because they take place in the present, some actors reside in the past, in history, and must therefore be retrieved from texts, which at first appears problematic because:

This renders the straightforward solution of treating texts as windows on practices – thereby enabling an ANT “ethnography of the text” (Woolgar, 1988: 14) – unworkable, since texts are at once too “flat”, too “mute” (Hodder, 2000: 703), too inert and “non-reactive” (Bryman, 2004: 370). With texts it seems the heterogeneous practice is always already absent, and we are left only with traces distilled into symbols and abstracted from the rich and multiple worlds in which they emerged, leaving little scope for ethnography as such (Nimmo, 2011, p. 113).

However, Richard Nimmo (2011, p. 114), in his ANT-inspired historical research on the socio-material history of dairy milk in the UK, argues, ‘texts as mobile and material inscriptions are active agents which assemble, shape and connect [spatial] practices, and in doing so enact objects, constitute subjects, and inscribe relations, ontological boundaries and domains’. He points to Latour’s own ANT study of pasteurization in France, where texts ‘are used in order to show that the historical transformations involved were simultaneously socio-political, scientific and material in character’ (p. 114). In the context of this research, historical texts help to show how present-day public spaces have been shaped by actor-networks in the past, and how they continue to influence ‘matters of concern’ in the present (Latour, 2004c). Evoking William Faulkner’s (1951, p. 85) *Requiem for a Nun*, ‘the past is never dead. It’s not even past’.

4.3 Methods: Following the actors

As noted previously, mobilising ANT, epistemologically, in ethnographic research means following the actors (Latour, 2005). The heterogeneity of actors, their movements and interactions require multiple modes of ‘following’, in order to trace their associations. ANT-driven ethnography, therefore, involves a multiple research methods approach; an established approach for public space research (Low, 2000). This approach has the benefit of *triangulation*, which is ‘highly recommended ... consists of multiple perspectives which converge on the phenomenon under investigation ... minimising bias and/or establishing validity’ (Farquhar & Michels, 2016, p. 3). Four main modes were deployed to follow human and nonhuman actors (Figure 4).

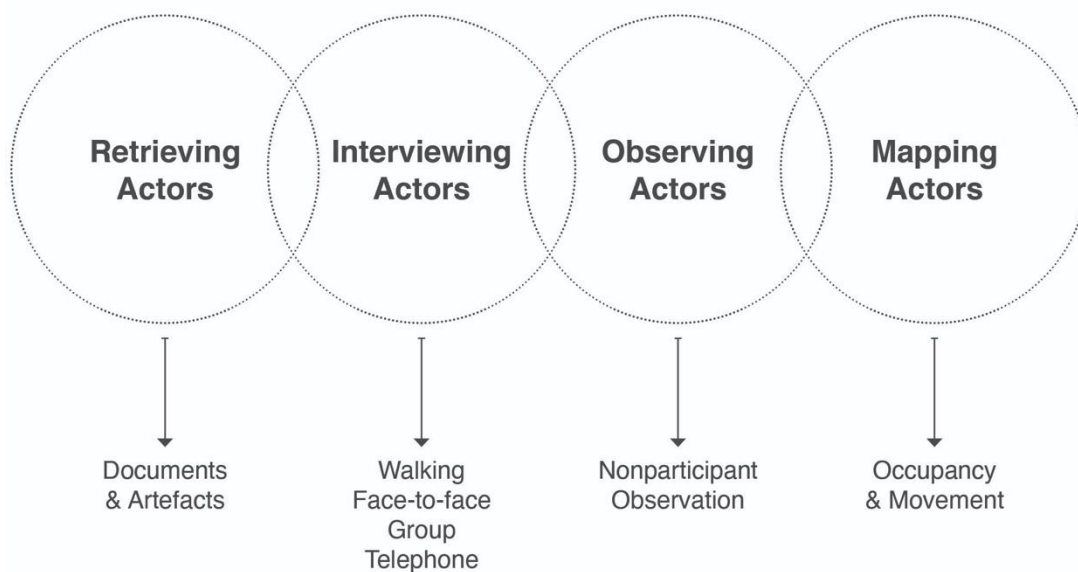


Figure 4. A mixed methods approach for following the actors in an actor-network ethnography.

Retrieving actors

There is no clear guidance in ANT research for where to start, what actor to begin following, so existing available documents and artefacts pertaining to the case studies were used as a point of departure. Documents and artefacts, as actors, 'can have predictable but also unintended effects on what and how humans interact with their environment' (MacLeod et al., 2019, p. 181); they become actants. For example, viewing online images and videos of a public space may influence how it is occupied when visited (Percy, 1975). Furthermore, documents and artefacts are 'tools through which some things are made present and others absent, some things visible and others invisible' (MacLeod et al., 2019, p. 181). Reviewing these documents and artefacts revealed key human and nonhuman actors, and their associations in the events that instigated the urban design schemes, that informed the development of a design brief through to the design process, and actualisation of the built form. They also revealed key controversies, conflicts and competing desires, power relations and politics, which informed the design of interviews and fieldwork observations (Yaneva, 2012).

Documents and artefacts had to be retrieved from physical libraries and archives, as well as virtual libraries and depositories. A wide range of sources were explored at this stage, including policy documents, strategies and plans; design briefs, renders, drawings and plans; professional and amateur photographs; journal papers, articles, essays and books; mainstream and social media stories; and online videos. All of which provided a window to some of the spatial practices taking place in each public space. Some documents and artefacts were not directly available online and had to be retrieved by emailing a key actor involved in the design or management of the public spaces being studied, which led to introductions to and interviews with other key informants/actors: project team members, community leaders, design competition entrants, journalists, historians, academics studying the same spaces, and activists.

Some of these actors became actants, generating new trails of documents and artefacts. The process of retrieving actors remained ongoing throughout the research.

Interviewing actors

Interviewing is a widely employed method in ethnographic research generally (Bryman, 2016). Although interviewing is also a common method in ANT-driven ethnography (Fenwick & Nimmo, 2015), the focus is on exploring ‘the agentic role, effects, and work of material elements in the field’ (MacLeod et al., 2019, p. 183). Nonetheless, in ANT ethnography, interviewing follows established protocols, while facilitating the use of flexible, open-ended questions (Bryman, 2016). As such, semi-structured interviews were employed, giving the discussions with informants some necessary structure through the use of a set of key themes, but providing sufficient flexibility to give interviewees space to respond where needed with more depth and/or breadth (Bryman, 2016).

During the research design phase, a single mode of interviewing, in the form of ‘walking interviews’, was proposed, which ‘generate richer data, because interviewees are prompted by meanings and connections to the surrounding environment and are less likely to try and give the “right” answer” (Evans & Jones, 2011, p. 849). Furthermore, interviewee can perceive the environment or context and respond to it directly (Ingold, 2004; Pink, 2007). As such, this mode of interviewing fits well within the ANT-based ethnographic approach, allowing the researcher to ask questions from within assemblages of interest. Interviewees are able to point to and touch the built form of the public spaces, while also self-demonstrating and using the example of others to reveal key human and nonhuman relations. Furthermore, and importantly in the context of this research, walking interviews ‘can more subtly engage the heterogeneous socio-spatial practices and embodied experiences of different and

diverse people, thus revealing, in turn, finer grained insights into geographies of in/exclusion in urban public space' (Warren, 2017, p. 803).

During fieldwork, some actors were not able to visit the spaces, while others were located in another country. Furthermore, opportunities arose during fieldwork to interview groups of informants in single gatherings, such as a large group of Muslim women in Toronto who were learning English through a local community organisation. I was invited to attend one of their sessions and facilitate a focus group with the women, supported by several interpreters. As a result, I adapted my approach in the field, undertaking four additional modes of interviewing: face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews, group interviews and focus groups.

Three core categories of informants were interviewed. The first category comprised experts: including the professionals who designed the scheme; representatives from the local government who commissioned and project-managed the scheme, and those responsible for maintenance; community leaders who were involved in the project from inception to completion; other design professionals who participated in the competition who had key insights on the project; journalists/historians/critics who had written about the scheme or had useful contextual insights; and local activists/community organisers who represent minority ethnic groups. These interviews explored the historical and political context of the public spaces; the policy and design approaches for ethnocultural differences in each city; the design process of each scheme, from inception through to construction; and how it was influencing the everyday life of minority and majority ethnic groups.

The second category of informants comprised people from minority ethnic backgrounds, primarily newly arrived; those who have migrated within the last five years (Easthope et al., 2018). Interviewees were recruited through local minority ethnic community groups (Galanakis, 2013; Woodcock, 2016) and directly in the

public spaces (Peters & de Haan, 2011). All interviewees were 18 years of age or older, unless supervised by a parent or guardian. These interviews explored desired and actual spatial practices, both in the subject site and in public spaces in their country of origin; and experiences of intercultural encounter and conflict in the subject site and more generally in everyday life.

The third category of informants comprised people of the dominant majority group of the city in which each public space was located. In the case of Melbourne (English speaking, white) and Copenhagen (ethnic-Danish), the majority ethnic group have a clear numerical dominance. In Toronto, although the distinction is less clear numerically with 51.5% of the population identifying themselves as visible minorities in the 2016 census, 'English-speaking, White' are the dominant majority because this group is still considered to hold the balance of power in politics and across a range of institutions. These interviews explored the same topics as those outlined for minority ethnic groups.

Table 3 presents the number of participants by mode of interview, across the three categories for each public space:

Mode	Superkilen			Federation Square			Nathan Phillips Square		
	Experts	Minority	Majority	Experts	Minority	Majority	Experts	Minority	Majority
Walking	4	22	20	2	14	12	2	10	22
Face-to-face	10	-	-	3	-	-	5	-	-
Telephone	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Group	4	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Focus group	-	-	-	-	8	6	-	18	-
Total participants	18	22	20	5	24	18	11	28	22
Total Interviews	60			47			61		

Table 3. Number of participants interviewed by different mode for each case study.

A total of 168 interviews were undertaken across all three case studies. All interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and analysed using NVivo.

Observing actors

Observing the formation of associations between human and nonhuman actors represents the very heart of actor-network ethnography (Blok et al., 2019; Latour, 2005; MacLeod et al., 2019). The primary mode of observing associations in this study was nonparticipant observations, which can be defined as a relatively unobtrusive qualitative research strategy for gathering primary data about some aspect of the social world without interacting directly with its participants (Williams, 2012). I also found myself engaged in a form of participant observation, which can be defined as ‘a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture’ (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 12). This occurred when undertaking walking interviews with informants in public spaces, particularly when the interviewees drew attention to the spatial practices of others. In

such circumstances, the distinction between interviewing and observing becomes blurred (Pink, 2009).

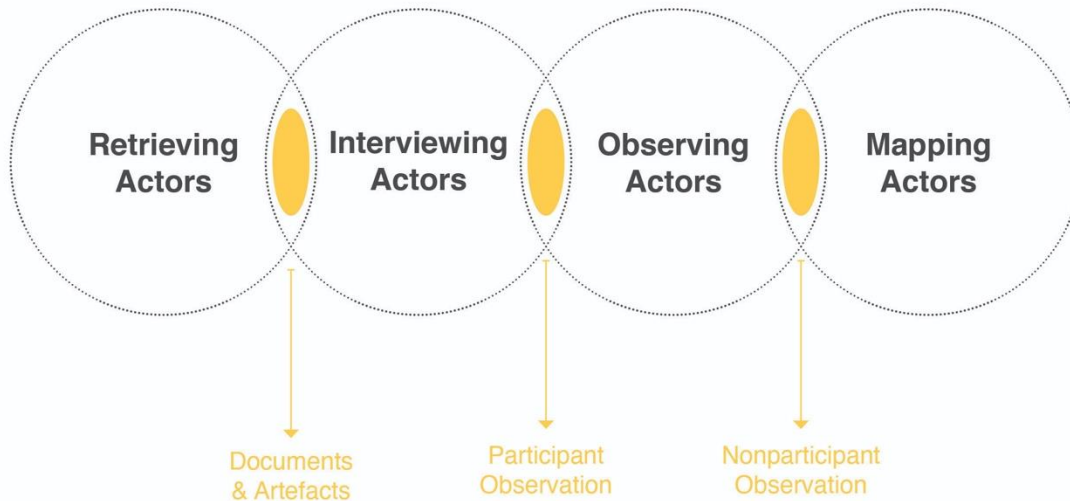


Figure 5. The overlapping of methods during fieldwork.

More than 200 hours of observations were undertaken over an eight-week period for each case. The majority of observations were conducted across all days of the week and between the hours of 08:00 and 22:00, with some additional observations made outside this timeframe. Fieldwork for all cases was undertaken during periods of the year when weather conditions were moderate to avoid extreme heat and cold that could affect the quality of the data. On this basis, observations were undertaken in Copenhagen during August-September (Summer, 11-22°C); in Melbourne during April-May (Autumn, 10-21°C); and in Toronto during May-June (Spring, 10-24°C). The initial two to three days of observations focused on getting a feel for the rhythms of each space, the flows of people, the occupants, types and places of occupation, as well as identifying good observer vantage positions. The total period of observations per case study captured occupation on each day of the week and across several

weeks, which included variations in weather. The total duration of observations enabled patterns to be established in the formation of actor-networks.

The focus of my observations were the human-nonhuman associations that enabled and constrained intercultural encounter, particularly those that became stable through repetition. These actor-networks were recorded using a combination of field notes, photography and video. I noted the time of each observation and where it took place; the human actors (ethnicity, gender, age) and nonhuman actors, such as objects, materials, spatiality, and weather; the emergent affordances, including the human abilities and nonhuman properties that enabled them; the type of encounters and their durations. Photography was critical for capturing the patterns emerging in my data, particularly where and how intercultural encounters took place. Throughout my observations I continued to monitor the rhythms of the space, as well as noting the human-nonhuman relations of specific/special events, such as appropriations, territorialisations and conflicts.

The classification of human actors as 'dominant majority' or 'minority ethnic' was chosen for observing intercultural encounter. The problems of categorising ethnicity in research studies are well established (Bradby, 2003; Deaux, 2018; Piché, 2017), particularly the tendency to create dichotomies that frame white-Western against the rest of the world, such as Western/Non-western (Kaufmann, 2004; Nandi & Platt, 2015). Following the Deleuzian concept of 'becoming-minor', I consider the use of a majority/minority categorisation appropriate for several important reasons that all attend to power relations associated with ethnicity, race, class and migration status. First, the point of departure for this study was the claim that the design of urban public spaces in Western cities was largely based on the values and beliefs of the dominant majority (Ellin, 1997; Rishbeth et al., 2018; Sandercock, 1998; Wise, 2010). Second, and following from the previous point, public space in the neoliberal city tends towards

the exclusion of minority ethnic groups (Madanipour, 2016). Third, minority ethnic groups are often seen to be, and feel, out-of-place, based on expectations of normative behaviour set down by the dominant majority (Murphy & Costa, 2015). Finally, while using the majority/minority categorisation to discuss intercultural encounter more generally, the experiences of particular groups are attended to when describing specific events (Spijkers & Loopmans, 2018).

A review of census statistics for each of the three countries in which my case studies are located show that in all three cases, 'European/English-speaking, White' are statistically the majority ethnic group. In Australia, Anglo-Celtic continues to be majority ethnic group with 76.1% of the population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2019a). In Canada, although 32.23% identify separately as Canadian, 45.7% identify as Anglo-Celtic making them the majority ethnic group (Statistics Canada, 2013). In Denmark, the majority ethnic group is much more distinct with 86.9% identifying as ethnic-Danish (Statistikbanken, 2005). More importantly, 'European/English-speaking, White' are also the dominant majority in Australia (Berry, 2017), Canada (Ghosh, 2018) and Denmark (Schmidt, 2016).

The challenge of applying the majority/minority categorisation in the field is complicated by the physical similarities between Anglo-Celtic groups and other groups with European ancestry. Because this research is concerned with urban design in Western cities, the majority ethnic category was expanded to include those with a European physical appearance. This is not to deny differences between ethnic groups from Europe, rather it is a useful categorisation in this research, because those (the dominant majority) who perceive the out-of-placeness of others in Western public spaces (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014) associate people who look them, to be like them, and therefore are less likely to perceive them negatively (Valentine & Sadgrove, 2012). The definition of dominant majority in this research, therefore, seeks to focus

on minority ethnic groups most likely to be perceived negatively because of their perceived out-of-placeness.

In order to operationalise majority/minority categorisation in the field, I reviewed several studies from a range of fields that employed observations of ethnic diversity in public spaces, including landscape architecture (Rishbeth, 2004; Rishbeth et al., 2018), sociology (Hall, 2015b), human geography (Peters & de Haan, 2011) and cultural anthropology (Wessendorf, 2013). However, only Priest et al. (2014), who undertook observations of intergroup contact between the dominant majority and minority ethnic groups across a range of public spaces in Melbourne, provided detail on their method of observation. Their approach was to identify the dominant majority as 'English-speaking, White', and minority ethnic groups as researcher-assigned through observation of physical appearance (eg, skin colour), clothing (eg, hijab, turban) and/or language use and linguistic cues (Priest et al., 2014, p. 34). As noted earlier, the dominant majority category was adapted for this research to include those with a European physical appearance.

Mapping actors

The final mode of following actors in this research involved mapping spatial patterns of occupation in, and flows through, the spaces in each case. Mapping is a well-established research method for establishing connections between spatial practices and the design of public spaces (Gehl & Svarre, 2013; Whyte, 1980; Zeisel, 2006). Mapping spatial patterns of occupation focused on where actors lingered (were stationary) in the space, relative to the built form and other actors. This data revealed densities of human-nonhuman associations and mixing between the dominant majority and minority ethnic groups. Mapping the flow of actors through the space revealed opportunities for random encounters between actors relative to the spatial arrangement and built form (Cattell et al., 2008).

Both dominant majority and minority ethnic groups were mapped by sex (male/female) and age (child/teen/adult/senior), for a ten-minute segment of every hour of observation (Gehl & Svarre, 2013). This data was used to establish the rhythms of each space across the day and week. However, the mapping was not intended to be a quantitative analysis, but rather to establish an indication of occupation patterns. As such, the data for each day was averaged to provide a morning, midday and evening sample. Notes and photography were employed to capture some of the observations made during mapping. As discussed previously, just as the distinction between interviewing and observation can be blurred in the field, so too can the distinction between mapping and observation.

4.4 Analysis: Describing the relations

Actor-network theory informed approaches orient us to the assemblage as the unit of analysis: the network of connections between social and material elements (MacLeod et al., 2019, p.184).

Constant comparison

The four modes of following the actors (data collection) aimed to help uncover and describe the assemblages of humans and nonhumans (actor-networks) that enabled and constrained intercultural encounter (Kraal, 2007). These assemblages, as units of analysis, were described in terms of the how they were composed; how the associations between actors actualised. This was partially achieved using Heft's (1988) taxonomy of affordances for observations, which captures the conjunction of human and nonhuman agency in action. These relational agencies were further unpacked to define specific human abilities and nonhuman properties. In order to compose the descriptions of these key assemblages, the data was first analysed, which Neuman (2014, p. 447) defines as:

To systematically organize, integrate, and examine; as we do this, we search for patterns and relationships among the specific details. To analyze, we connect particular data to concepts, advance generalizations, and identify broad trends or themes. Analysis allows us to improve understanding, expand theory, and advance knowledge.

In ANT research, the process of analysis begins during fieldwork and, therefore, works well with 'constant comparative analysis', because 'data collection and analysis are iterative and concurrent ... [allowing ANT] researchers to follow the actors and [facilitate] ongoing reflection and revision, in line with the fluid, uncertain, and emergent nature of practice' (MacLeod et al., 2019, p.184). Constant comparative analysis has its roots in 'grounded theory', which has an inductive process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In this research, describing the process of assemblage formation began in the field. In between periods of observation, interviewing, and mapping, fieldnotes, photographs, videos, and counts were organised thematically, first by day and time, then by spatial practice. A photographic inventory of nonhuman actors was also established. During this process the analysis of new documents and artefacts continued, while also referring back to those previously reviewed. At the end of each day in the field, reflections and emerging thematic codes from the data (open coding) were documented, which were then returned to iteratively across the entire period of fieldwork to establish relationships between the thematic codes (axial coding).

Upon completion of fieldwork, the process of analysis entered a new stage where interviews were transcribed and fieldnotes formally written up to be analysed using NVivo. This process ran concurrently with formally mapping the spatial occupation data and sorting through the vast collection of photographs I amassed during fieldwork:

Getting into the data—being both systematic but also playful—involves looking for patterns, exploring oddities or outliers, looking for silences, etc' (MacLeod et al., 2019, p.184).

From here, I established new thematic codes and relationships, and identified patterns where assemblages repeated over and over again. The stabilisation of these associations became the focus of my descriptions. The failure of an assemblage to become stabilised was also of interest as it indicated situations where intercultural encounter was constrained.

Description

For Latour (2005, pp. 146-147), ANT researchers, 'are in the business of descriptions ... we go, we listen, we learn, we practice, we become competent, we change our views ... it's called inquires ... [and] good inquires always produce a lot of new descriptions'. He further asserts that, 'only bad descriptions need an explanation'. Latour makes his case for description by drawing heavily on Wittgenstein (Curry, 2000; Vries, 2016), particularly his assertion that philosophy is not science:

Philosophers constantly see the method of science before their eyes, and are irresistibly tempted to ask and answer in the way science does. This tendency is the real source of metaphysics, and leads the philosopher into complete darkness. I want to say here that it can never be our job to reduce anything to anything, or to explain anything. Philosophy really is "purely descriptive" (Wittgenstein, 1958, p. 18).

Description is also at the heart of ethnographic fieldwork more generally (Ingold, 2014). This research aimed for a form of 'thick description', which Wortham-Galvin (2012, p. 232) notes is, 'useful only in a discipline that does not search for universals and laws, but for particulars and meaning. It is, thus, useful when one conceives not of a culture but of many cultures'. Thick description therefore supports the bottom-up or emergent nature of ANT, which emphasise the particular rather than the general. Furthermore, thick description as, 'the process of paying attention to contextual detail

in observing and interpreting ... takes into account not only the immediate [practices] in which people are engaged but also the contextual and experiential understandings of those [practices]' (Dawson, 2010, p. 942). In other words, thick description lends itself to describing the reciprocal relationship between practices and the built environment in which they take place. Furthermore, thick description (Geertz, 1973) has particular relevance for case study research:

The goal of case study research is to illuminate the characteristics and particularities of the case in question. Thick description contributes to achieving this outcome through the emphasis it places on detail; context; thoughts; feelings; webs of relationships; and meanings that are both spoken out loud and those that are communicated by gesture, silence, and innuendo. Case study researchers, in seeking to examine the distinctive attributes of a particular case, are encouraged to pay attention to matters of history, context, and physical setting that are typically the focus of attention in thick description (Dawson, 2010, p. 943).

Several important connections are highlighted here between thick description, case study research and ANT. First, thick description and case study research have a strong relational emphasis, particularly situating observed phenomena in a physical setting. Second, attention is paid to indirect or gestural interactions, similar to the fleeting nature of encounters in public spaces. Third, case study research also takes into account the temporal or historical aspect of observed phenomena.

4.5 Cases: Plunging into plasma

Real-world case studies are a well-established mode of inquiry in ANT studies (Hassard & Alcadipani, 2010; Law & Hassard, 1999). However, Thrift has suggested that ANT research is only suited to strongly defined environments, such as Latour's work in laboratories (Farías, 2010). He even claims of Latour's (1998) works on cities, 'Paris in a sense almost is a laboratory: it's small, it is quite controlled, and it works

reasonably well as a city' (Farías, 2010, p. 113). Thrift's argument is that ANT is not useful for studying phenomena at the macroscale of, for example, globalisation, which is not bounded by space. However, as Farías (2010, p. 114) notes, 'what Latour is doing [in Paris] is a study *in* the city [not *of* the city], looking at how the city, which is a circulating reference, is actualized in different places'. This is the very epistemology of ANT, to study the city from the ground, to be *in the thick of it*; in, what Latour (2012, p. 91) calls, 'the plasma'.

What would the view of Paris be if it could be refreshed so swiftly that you found yourself in real time and, above all, *real space*? To refresh a space and make it a little more realistic, it is not a map that we need, irrespective of the number of pixels, but *oligopticons*. By this neologism I mean narrow windows through which, via numerous narrow channels, we can link up with only some aspects of beings (human and non-human) which together comprise the city.

For Latour, the actors that need to be followed in order to study the formation of networks/assemblages are in the plasma. The ANT researcher, therefore, must plunge into the plasma to find the actors; but into which plasma should they plunge? In other words, what cases should be studied?

Selection criteria

The point of departure for selecting cases began with the focus on Western cities. The Western world covers a large geographical area, including Northern Europe, Western Europe, Southern Europe, Central, Eastern Europe, Southeastern Europe, North America and Oceania (Dragolov, 2016). While the aim of this study was to capture a sample of this vast terrain, it was not possible to select several cases per region. Furthermore, ANT research aims for depth as a form of descriptive case study (Tobin, 2012). On this basis, it was deemed appropriate, and given the constraints of time and resources, that one case would be selected from Europe, one from North America and one from Oceania. However, this still left a vast range of countries and cities to choose from, therefore, five criteria were used to narrow the field through a process of filtering. First, cases were limited to countries with relatively high levels of immigration from Asia, Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, either historical or recent. Second, within these countries, cases were limited to main cities, as the primary destinations for newly arrived migrants (International Organization for Migration, 2017). Third, within these cities, cases were limited to centrally-located public spaces, where difference is most likely to be encountered (Lefebvre, 2003). Fourth, the different types of public space located in the centre of cities was narrowed to civic squares as settings of proclaimed inclusiveness (Piekut & Valentine, 2017; Sun et al., 2017). Fifth, in order to select a specific urban square, the design/competition brief included provisions for ethnic diversity, ethnocultural differences or intercultural encounter. The location of the three selected cases is presented in Figure 6.

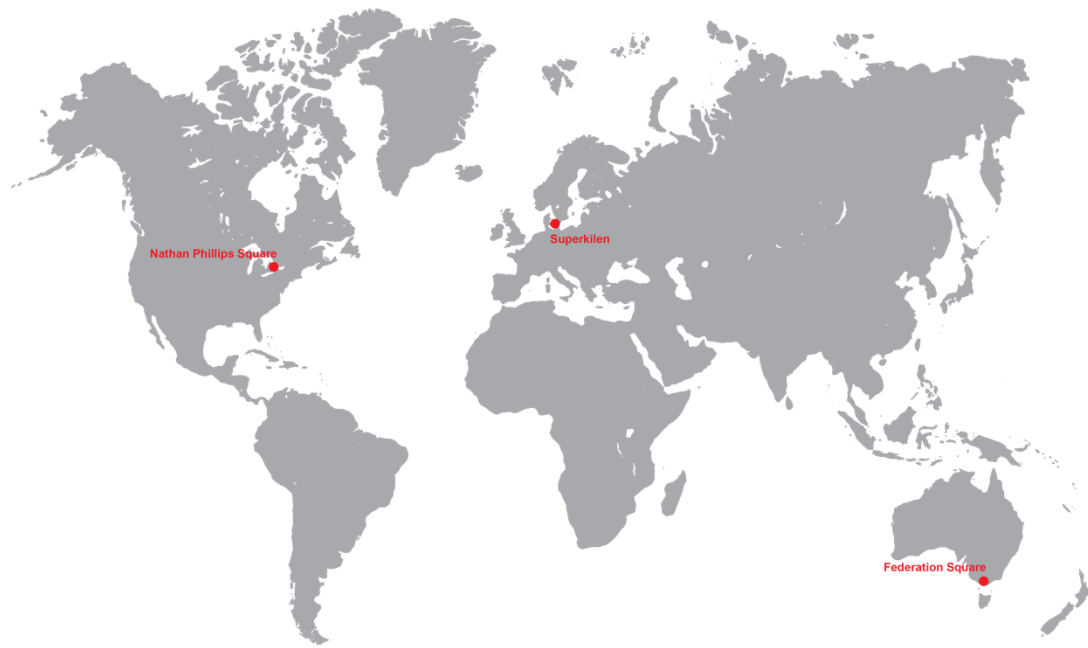


Figure 6. Geographical spread of the selected case studies.

Federation Square

Within Oceania, Australia was chosen as the country in which to select the case because, with 26.3% of the total population born overseas it is the most ethnically diverse in the world (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). The population comprises more than 300 ethnic ancestries, with 83% of all migrants living in a major city. Approximately 50% of Australia's total population growth comes from immigration. Australia is often referred to as an 'immigration nation'. However, it has endured a difficult relationship with diversity since colonisation in 1788 by the British, as the dominant majority. The aboriginal people were immediately subjected to racial discrimination and dispossessed of their lands, while many were murdered or placed in reserves. The first act of parliament following the federation of Australia in 1901 was to pass an immigration act, infamously known as the 'White Australia policy'. Over the next 70 years this policy was gradually relaxed as the need for new labour to drive economic growth increased. However, the assimilationist government policies of this period towards immigration attempted to force integration by making migrants

adopt the cultural practices of the dominant majority. In the 1990s, government policy shifted to multiculturalism following the failures of the assimilation approach. In 1999, the federal government launched a national multicultural policy, *A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*. Today, the federal government have a multicultural statement rather than a policy, *Multicultural Australia: United, Strong, Successful*. Multicultural statements are also in place at state government level, such as Victoria's *Victorian. And proud of it*. At a political level, it is common for Australia to be proclaimed 'the most successful multicultural society in the world'.

Within Australia, Melbourne was selected as the city with the highest population growth driven by migration (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018). In terms of non-western countries, the majority of migrants originate in Asia (37.7%), Africa (6.3%) and the Middle East (4.9%). The City of Melbourne is a member of the global Welcoming Cities network, which benchmarks cultural diversity and inclusion policies for local governments. Since 2013, surveys measuring social cohesion in Australia have reported a consistently positive attitude towards immigration. However, several polls undertaken between 2016 and 2019 indicate that, at best, Australians are divided on the question of immigration, with between 43 and 45% calling for a reduction in population growth through immigration. Negative attitudes to immigration are primarily driven by the pressures of perceived overcrowding in cities, rising house prices and an ongoing failure to manage population growth. As a result, there has been a rise in far-right politics in Australia, including the re-emergence of white supremacy groups, particularly in Victoria. Negative attitudes towards people of the Muslim faith and those from Middle Eastern and African countries continue to rise. They are exacerbated by the persistent use by some media outlets of racial and national identity labels when migrants are involved in news stories, such as 'African gangs'. As a result of these growing tensions, there has been a reported increase in racist issues in urban public spaces, including altercations between minority ethnic

groups and white supremacists in prominent sites like Federation Square in Melbourne.

Within Melbourne, Federation Square was selected as my Oceania case because it is the main civic public space, located on the southeast corner of the Central Business District, 600 metres from Melbourne Town Hall. It was commissioned to mark the centenary celebrations of the federation of Australia in 1901, and to represent Melbourne's growing ethnic diversity (Brown-May & Day, 2003). Federation Square has been heralded as Melbourne's most important civic space, hosting festivals for various ethnic groups throughout the year. However, how well Federation Square enabled intercultural encounters among the city's multi-ethnic communities has thus far been under-researched.

Nathan Phillips Square

Within North America, Canada was selected because it has a higher proportion of foreign-born residents (21.9%) compared with the United States of America (13.7%). Canada was first colonised by the French in 1608 and then by the British in 1763, with the confederation of Canada taking place in 1867. Although Canada was already multicultural at the time of confederation, there was a significant growth in immigration during the 19th and 20th centuries, particularly from other European countries, China, Japan and black people from the USA. The 1901 census shows that 88% of the population was British and French, whereas in the 2001 census 63% were British and French, with more than 200 different ethnic groups recorded (Guo & Wong, 2015). In 1971, following a decade long threat of a French-English speaking separation, Canada became the first nation in the world to enshrine multiculturalism policy in its constitution. This step aimed to protect ethnocultural differences and a fairer distribution of power and privilege (Guo & Wong, 2015). In the intervening decades, Canada's multiculturalism policy evolved through several key stages, as Guo and

Wong (2015) notes, 'from *song and dance* in the 1970s, to *anti-racism* in the 1980s, to in the 1990s, and to *fitting in* in the 2000s.

Within Canada, Toronto was selected as the city in which to select my North American case because it is the main destination for migrants, with 46.1% of the population born overseas; accounting for 35.9% of Canada's total migrant population. Approximately 68.8% of Toronto's migrants come from the global regions of Asia and the Middle East, with 9.8% from the Caribbean, Central and South America combined, and 8.3% from Africa (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2016). The City of Toronto motto reads, 'Diversity is our Strength'. In 2014, the city signed up to the Integrating Cities Charter, making a commitment to equal rights for all migrants. They also have a range of policies to support migrants including a Refugee Resettlement Program and a Toronto Newcomer Strategy. Toronto has been lavished with much praise for its evolution into one of the most successful multicultural cities in the world. However, some of this rhetoric masks important structural challenges, including race and inequality (Ruble, 2012). For example, black people are more likely to be stopped by the police, live in segregated communities, and face racist aggressions in public space (Ruble, 2012). Furthermore, areas of the city with the highest rates of socio-economic inequality are also the places where most minority ethnic groups live (Macdonnell et al., 2011).

Within Toronto, Nathan Phillips Square, which forms part of City Hall, is the main civic urban square and was selected as my North American case for several important reasons. First, it marks the point when Toronto turned its back on its largely monocultural past and embraced its emerging ethnic diversity (Kapelos, 2015). Second, its architecture embraced the universalising ideals of Modernism that sought to overcome difference and diversity (Cripps, 2004). Third, a major renovation of the square was undertaken between 2005 and 2012, offering the opportunity to explore

how Toronto's modern-day ethnic diversity was considered in an important urban design scheme for the city.

Superkilen

Within Europe, the selection of a case was first dictated by the practical requirement that fieldwork had to be conducted in English. This narrowed the selection of European countries to Ireland, United Kingdom, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Netherlands. However, at this point I decided to break with the filtering process applied in the selection of the other cases, upon discovery of a contemporary urban square in Denmark's capital city Copenhagen, designed specifically to promote intercultural encounter.

Within Denmark, Copenhagen is the capital city with a population of 1,333,888 million inhabitants, of which 73% are ethnic-Danish, 8% from other Western countries and 15% ethnic origins are from non-Western (primarily Middle Eastern) countries. Prior to the arrival of 'guest workers' from Lebanon in the 1960s and 1970s, migrants living in Copenhagen mainly came from Sweden and Germany. However, there has been a significant increase in migrants, particularly refugees, from non-Western countries since the beginning of the twenty-first century. In 2001 a local newspaper controversially published twelve caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad leading to protests and riots by Muslim people in Nørrebro and around the world. Since then, public attitudes towards migrants have become increasingly hostile resulting in the election of the populist political parties with strong anti-immigration agendas (Haldrup et al., 2006). New laws have been enacted, including a burqa ban on Muslim women and mandatory lessons in Danish values for children from designated "ghettos". Migrants, particularly Muslims, have faced increasing discrimination, including harassment and attacks in public spaces (Schmidt, 2016). Many of these issues play out in the area called Nørrebro, where most migrants reside and where

Mjølnerparken, dubbed “Denmark’s number one ghetto” is located. As such, Nørrebro has become the focus for discussions about immigration in the city and across Denmark.

Superkilen was commissioned under an urban renewal program designed to improve social cohesion in multi-ethnic Nørrebro. The scheme was completed in 2011, and gone onto win numerous awards, including the prestigious Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The jury noted Superkilen is a ‘public space promoting integration across lines of ethnicity, religion and culture’ (Aga Khan Foundation, 2016). It is also now one of the top ten most visited locations in Copenhagen. Despite these accolades and acclaim, Superkilen remains empirically under-researched with regards to how well it enables intercultural encounter and to what degree it has improved social cohesion in Nørrebro.

4.6 Reflections

The researcher’s position

What does a White-Western male have to offer the inclusion for minority ethnic groups in cities? I have asked myself this throughout my research, particularly when interviewing newly arrived refugees and migrants in Toronto, Muslim community leaders in Danish ghettos and a large group of African women in Melbourne. My fieldwork took place against the backdrop of major global justice movements like *Black Lives Matter* and *Me Too*. How could I, with my extreme privilege in an increasingly unjust and unequal world, approach questions of power, domination and exclusion?

The personal history and characteristics of the researcher can strongly influence qualitative research (Herod, 1999; Merriam et al., 2001), and my personal background

as an Irish Catholic growing up in Northern Ireland gives me much empathy for people who have faced oppression because of their ethnicity, religion and culture. I was born and raised at the centre of ‘the murder triangle’; an area of Northern Ireland covering parts of Tyrone and Armagh where, between 1972 and 1978, an estimated 120 Irish Catholic women, children and men were murdered by the Glenanne gang, an alliance of British soldiers, Protestant police officers and loyalist terrorists (Lesley-Dixon, 2018; McGovern, 2017). These events are set within the context of the wider sectarian violence (‘the troubles’) in Northern Ireland during the 1970s through to the *Good Friday Peace Agreement* in 1998. I was part of a demographic in Northern Ireland, referred to as ‘a child of the troubles’:

*I was a child of the troubles
Got to know about bombs and bullets
Empty parked cars were avoided
If you were a child of the troubles
-- Douglas McClarty*

My childhood is challenging for most people, but it did prepare me for some surprising circumstances during my fieldwork in Copenhagen, where I discovered I had arrived into an ongoing turf war between local minority ethnic gangs who were fighting over Superkilen as a profitable market for drug dealing – discussed in more detail in Chapter five. In the month before I arrived in Copenhagen, there had been twenty-six gang-related shootings in and around Superkilen, and one occurred during my fieldwork. This, coupled with the ongoing occupation of gang members and the daily presence of the police in the space, created conditions that seemed familiar and untroubling. The gangs evolved from experiences of discrimination and harassment by authorities (Schmidt, 2016). I shared similar experiences as an Irish Catholic, even though I held no actual religious beliefs. I experienced discrimination as a minority ethnic when I travelled to, and I lived in, England. Worse, I’ve had a gun put to my head three times; once by a police officer, once by a British soldier and once by a

masked terrorist. Like the minority ethnic gangs in Mjølnerparken, I know what it is like to fear the people who are supposed to protect you. Like many of the people interviewed for this research, I also know what it's like to hide who you are in public space by avoiding certain types and colours of clothing, keeping quiet, and not occupying space in certain ways. My childhood and history revealed some unlikely connections with interviewees during fieldwork, such as the Palestinian man in Superkilen who called me 'brother' because of the parallels between the oppression of Northern Irish Catholics and the people of Palestine. By sharing my personal background, I make no claims to know and feel what it's like to be a refugee, to be stateless or even someone from a minority ethnic background living in a Western city. Nor do I claim that my experiences even begin to touch on the degree of cultural hysteresis experienced by people who find their ways of being out-of-place in Western cities (Murphy & Costa, 2015). Rather, my approach to ethnographic research comes from a place of empathy and understanding of the negative impacts of exclusion and oppression.

Engaging with difference

A further challenge, following the previous point, presented itself in the very diversity of people I engaged with in the research. Cities have grown increasingly complex with waves of migration occurring over time, where ethnicities and cultures overlap and intersect (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). It is challenging both in undertaking the research and also in presenting the findings and conclusions in ways that designers can apply them. As my interviews with many practitioners in the fields of architecture and urban design revealed, the challenge of understanding and designing for ethnic diversity often leads to outcomes that claim to provide for everyone, but, simultaneously, also no-one in particular. It appears that by turning a blind eye to diversity, we somehow produce an inclusive built environment. However, this seems very close to the Modernist ideal of a "universalising" form of architecture, which managed only to

sanitise public spaces of all types of diversity. Given the complexity of diversity, I needed a practical framework to study the human-nonhuman relations of intercultural encounter in public space. ANT provided a path to navigate this complexity (Peters & de Haan, 2011; Priest et al., 2014). However, it leaves much terrain to explore and is one of several limitations of this research. My research is a humble attempt to break new ground in its engagement with the agency of built form. As such, I am merely *opening the door* a little further to a vast and largely unexplored terrain. One of my many conversations during my fieldwork, stands out in this respect, with an architect, who, in response to my research, argued that ‘we do not design for Somali mothers, but we do not design them out either’. I replied, ‘how do you know?’. The architect had no response, and I felt I had made a strong point about the value of my research. I have long reflected on this conversation and I must acknowledge that my research also fails to answer the specificity of Somali mothers, or any other particular ethnic group and subset therein. This is, therefore, fertile ground for further research, particularly from a methodological perspective.

Observing difference

Another challenge of this research, following the previous point, was the operationalisation of the majority/minority classification in observing actors in each case. As a privileged white, Western male, I felt uneasy about profiling minority ethnic groups in public using the researcher-assigned method of observing physical appearance, clothing and language. Although this approach was adopted from previous peer-reviewed research (see Peters & de Haan, 2011; Spijkers & Loopmans, 2018), the negative connotations of “profiling” raised some ethical and moral issues for me personally. I am grateful to the *Refugee and Forced Migration Studies Interdisciplinary PhD Program*, hosted by the Melbourne Social Equity Institute at the University of Melbourne, in which I participated, for the opportunity to discuss this issue in workshops on ethics and fieldwork, which confirmed the approach was both

ethical and appropriate. Applying the classification in the field presented challenges of its own; how to effectively observe someone as majority/minority ethnic. This was particularly challenging in Toronto and Melbourne, where people from different ethnic backgrounds share accents, clothing and spatial practices. My approach was to test my ability to apply the researcher-assigned method by first deciding if someone was majority/minority ethnic and then approaching them in the form of a short survey about ethnic diversity in the space. The results of this trial proved the method was successful when all three factors (physical appearance, clothing and language) were taken into consideration.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has argued for an actor-network ethnography, as methodology approach for the research, framed within an assemblage thinking theoretical framework. The proposed research methods derive directly from the ethnographic approach to 'follow the actors' in each case study. Using assemblages as the unit of analysis, descriptions of the human-nonhuman relations of intercultural encounter form the main output of the research.

In the following three findings chapters, covering the three case studies, these descriptions are presented in three parts addressing three of the four research questions. The first section attends to the key 'matters of concern' that instigated the need for an intercultural public space. The second section describes how intercultural encounter is addressed in the design process and built form. The third section addresses the main research, concerning how the materiality, spatiality and programming enables and constrains intercultural encounter. A detailed discussion is provided at the end of each chapter theorising the key findings. These three discussions are then brought together in the final chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 5: Superkilen

5.1 Introduction

Superkilen (“Super wedge”) is located in the Mimersgade quarter of Nørrebro, three kilometres north of the centre of Copenhagen, the capital city of Denmark (Figure 7).

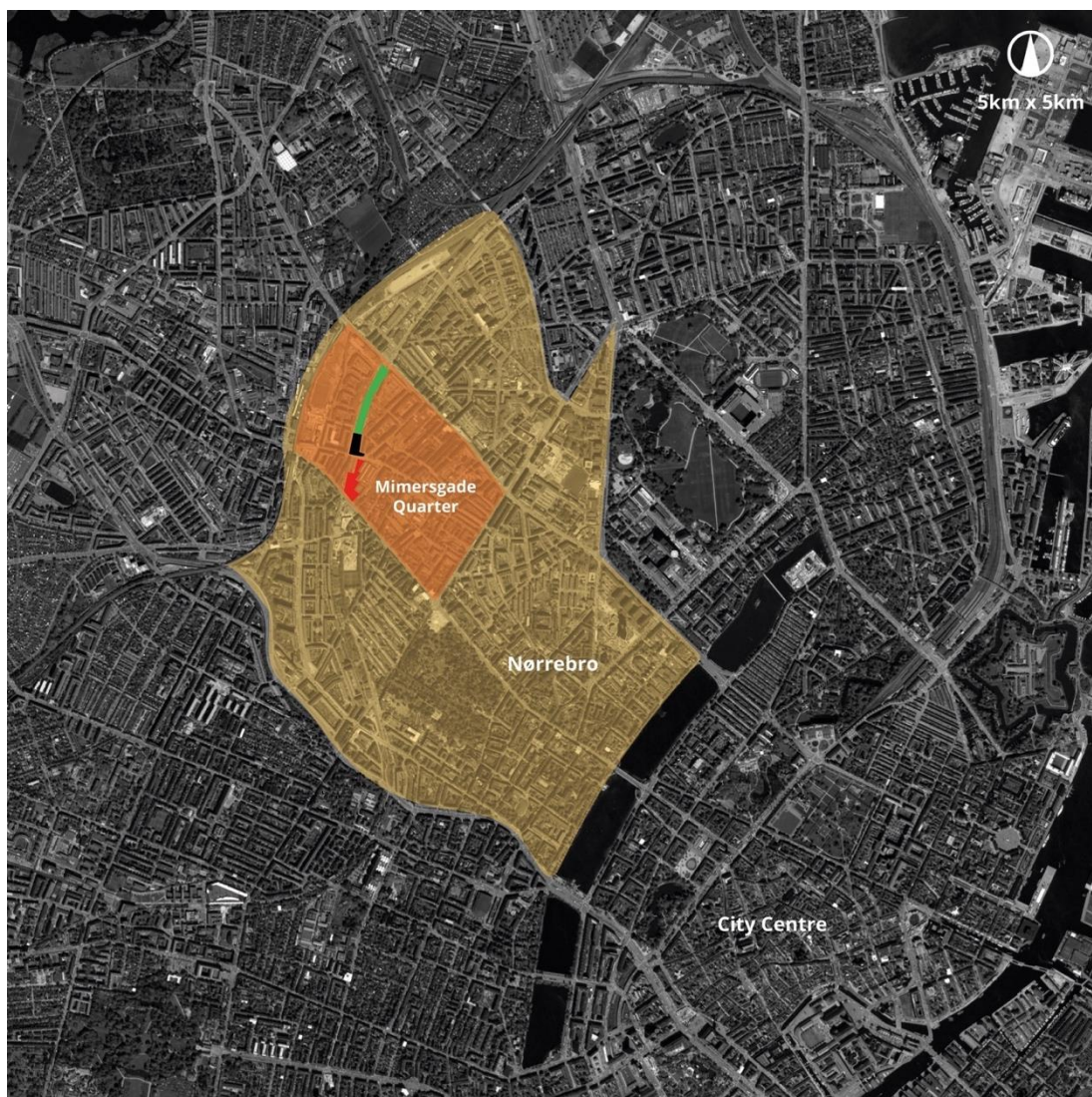


Figure 7. Location map showing the Red Square, Black Square and Green Park that comprise Superkilen; located within the urban renewal area of Mimersgade Quarter; which is situated in the district of Nørrebro (Based on Google Earth, 2017)

The space formed part of an urban renewal project to improve social cohesion within the most ethnically diverse area of the city, which had been the site of escalating intercultural tensions between ethnic-Danes and migrants, particularly those from Middle Eastern countries living in the Mjølnerparken housing estate.

Superkilen is a 750-metre-long (30,000 m²) linear series of three adjoining spaces, comprising the Red Square, the Black Square and the Green Park, all connected by a bi-directional bicycle path that forms part of the city's network of cycling superhighways. The Red Square is programmed primarily for play, with the main open space used for special events. The Black Square is programmed as an 'urban livingroom'; a place to linger, and a more family-oriented space. The Green Park is programmed as a space of leisure; a more traditional urban park.

The scheme was designed by a consortium led by the Copenhagen-based and globally renowned architectural practice BIG (Bjarke Ingels Group), together with landscape architects Topotek1 from Berlin and local artist collective Superflex. Since its completion in 2012, Superkilen has become a much-lauded urban public space that has been widely photographed (Figure 8) and the subject of numerous public talks, articles, interviews, short films, books and awards. In 2016, it received the prestigious Aga Khan Award for Architecture, which is given every three years for projects that build social cohesion in communities around the world with a strong Muslim presence.

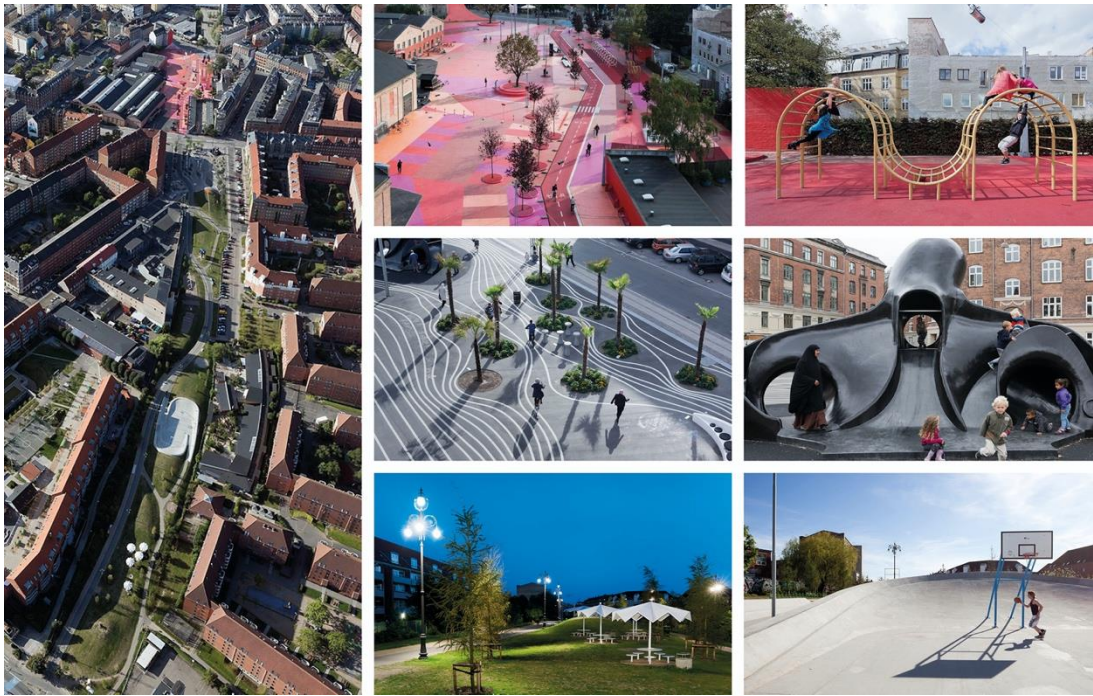


Figure 8. Professional photographs of Superkilen: (Left) Aerial image of the three spaces (Top row – middle and right) The Red Square; (Centre row – middle and right) The Black Square; (Bottom row – middle and right) The Green Park. (Baan, 2013).

This chapter is structured to address three of the research questions, as they apply to Superkilen. Sections one and two address the secondary research questions: What key ‘matters of concern’ in the everyday life of Nørrebro instigated the need for an intercultural public space? And; How is intercultural encounter addressed in the design process and built form of Superkilen? The third section addresses the main research question: How does the materiality, spatiality and programming of Superkilen enable and constrain intercultural encounter? The final section presents a discussion on the findings.

5.2 Matters of concern

This section explores the matters of concern in the everyday life of multi-ethnic Nørrebro that led to the commissioning of Superkilen.

Nørrebro

Nørrebro (North Bridge) was initially a Jewish cemetery established in 1691, before evolving into an informal settlement for migrants from Sweden, Norway and Germany, and people from rural areas of Denmark. It was not until 1852 that it was officially recognised as part of Copenhagen when the city expanded to relieve issues of overcrowding and disease. Schmidt (2016) claims that Nørrebro has always been a place of difference and of antagonism, and, as such, always at the centre of national discourse on immigration, ethnicity and diversity. Nielsen (2012, p. 98) notes that 'Nørrebro has expanded and developed on the basis of immigration', particularly at different times in its history, such as in the 1960s with the arrival of 'guest workers' from Pakistan and Morocco, and again in the 1980s with new arrivals from the Middle East, including Iran, Iraq and Lebanon. As a result, ethnocultural differences became more visible through clothing, skin colour, language and spatial practices, produced by what Bourdieu (1994) calls 'habitus'; the dispositions that migrants bring with them. This mismatch between habitus and setting creates a sense of 'out-of-placeness' for migrants (Nowicka, 2015b, p. 16), which are most striking at the street level of Nørrebro, in comparison with much of Copenhagen. Although the morphology remains consistent across the city, the interface along the streets in parts of Nørrebro create a distinctly different intensity of urban life. This contrast is particularly striking on Nørrebrogade (Figure 9), the main thoroughfare connecting Nørrebro with the city centre, with its many Muslim clothing shops, which local Middle Eastern migrants call 'Shawarmagade', a reference to its many Shawarma restaurants. Many of these shops extend trading out onto the footpath, where shopkeepers and customers interact and negotiate, often loudly and in different languages.



One of several Muslim clothing shops on Nørrebrogade.



Locals often refer to Nørrebrogade as 'Shawarmagade' because of the many Shawarma restaurants.



Middle Eastern grocery shop/bazar on Nørrebrogade.



Speciality African shops off Nørrebrogade.

Figure 9. Nørrebrogade reflects the minority ethnic groups in Nørrebro.

Nørrebro has also long been home to working class people, students, artists, anarchists, as well as other marginalised groups in the city (Schmidt, 2011). This ‘throwntogetherness’ (Massey, 2005) of difference and diversity has contributed to the area’s reputation as a contested and volatile place, where resistance and protest have long been a part of everyday life (Schmidt, 2016).

There have been several well-documented conflicts; however, the story of ‘Byggeren’ (“Square Building Site”) has particular relevance to Superkilen. Byggeren was an informal playground constructed by the local community in 1973 on a vacant lot that emerged during a city government slum clearance program. The ‘vacancy’ agency of the space became an actant for appropriation by locals, and the resulting playground became a space of encounter between migrants and local ethnic Danes (Schmidt, 2017). However, in 1980, the City of Copenhagen (“City Council”) sent in a demolition crew and 800 police officers to remove locals and dismantle the playground, resulting in protest and violence. Despite a temporary halt to the demolition works, the space was eventually cleared for new housing.

While Byggeren ended in protest and violence, Superkilen emerged from intercultural conflict. Tensions had been growing in Nørrebro because of significant growth in, mainly non-western, immigration between 1980 and 2000. These tensions, which typically played out in public spaces, dominated the 2001 national elections (Schmidt, 2016). They prompted a series of posters by local artists bearing, *Foreigners, please don’t leave us alone with the Danes!* To be placed in public spaces around Nørrebro (Figure 10). The posters became actants, prompting face-to-face and online discussions about intercultural conflict and tensions, within and outside the area. According to some informants for this research, these actants challenged perceptions of difference, prompting some new alliances between ethnic-Danes and minority ethnic groups, while strengthening others.



Figure 10. 'Foreigners please don't leave us alone with the Danes' posters by local artists in Nørrebro responding to immigration debate (Superflex, 2002)

The processes of gentrification were also an important influence on tensions in Nørrebro. While Nørrebro had historically been considered a haven for crime and anti-social behaviour, poor housing and amenities, it became increasingly more attractive as other more desirable areas of the city became less affordable. Its close proximity to the city centre, cheaper property, and vibrancy appealed to young ethnic Danish professionals and families; as Schmidt (2016, p. 16) notes, 'Nørrebro became Nørrebronx, where diversity was cool and commoditised'. The growing interest in the area highlighted its relatively poor housing and public realm, which prompted the City Council to begin an urban renewal process in 2004. However, in the same month that the renewal program was signed off, Danish newspaper 'Jyllands-Posten' controversially published twelve caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad leading to protests and riots by Muslim people in Nørrebro and around the world (Figure 11).



Figure 11. Protest against the cartoons outside City Hall ("Danish Muslims gather near Copenhagen's city hall to protest," 2005, September 30)

The caricatures published in print and online, became actants which expedited the urban renewal process focused on 'Mimersgade Quarter', an area that includes Mjølnerparken, the predominantly minority ethnic housing estate dubbed Denmark's 'number one ghetto'.

Mimersgade

Mimersgade Quarter is an area of four-square kilometres, located in outer Nørrebro, with a population of 16,000 people. Approximately one third are migrants or descendants of migrants, primarily from the Middle East (34% from Lebanon; 13% from Iraq; and 8% from Pakistan), Africa (9% from Somalia) and the rest of Asia (9%) (Schmidt, 2017). Mjølnerparken was constructed in 1987 and now houses 1780 residents, of which 82.6% are from non-western countries, predominantly the Middle East. Mjølnerparken has a history of social problems and serious crime, including associations with the minority ethnic gang 'Brothas', who have been linked to drug

dealing and various shootings in and around Nørrebro. This includes an ongoing territorial war with another minority ethnic gang called 'Loyal to the Familia', and the predominantly ethnic Danish version of 'Hells Angels'. The renewal program proposed three major projects to address the deficiency of community facilities and public space: a large sports and leisure park called Mimersparken; a community building called Nørrebrohallen; and Superkilen.

Superkilen

The 750-metre linear tract of land now known as Superkilen comprising the Red Square, the Black Square and the Green Park, was formerly part of Copenhagen's tram network, which operated between 1896 and 1972. Superkilen was not a new urban public space but rather the renovation of an existing one (Figure 12). What is now the Red Square, was formerly a tram yard with a small plaza fronting onto Nørrebrogade. Nørrebrohallen, the sports hall and community facility adjacent to the Red Square, was formerly the tram depot building but had been operating as a community facility since 1972 when the depot closed. What is now designated the Green Park and the Black Square were both open green spaces. All three spaces were also previously connected by a bicycle path. Upgrading the former spaces, buildings and bike path were central in the development of Superkilen.

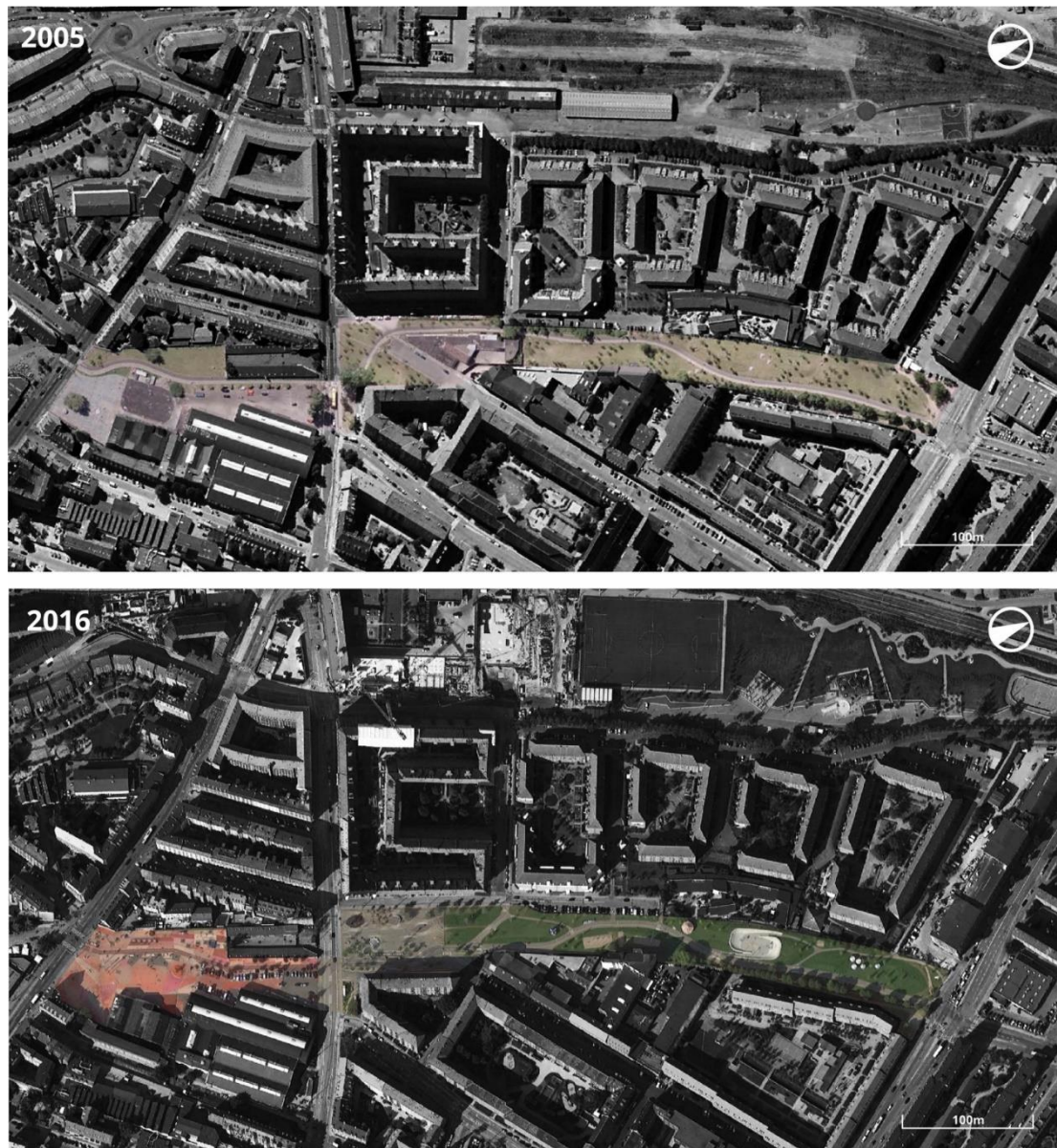


Figure 12. (Top) Aerial view of the tract of land before construction of Superkilen from 2005 (Based Google Earth, 2005). (Bottom) Aerial view of Superkilen from 2016 (Based Google Earth, 2016).

5.3 Design actants

This section examines the relations of human and nonhuman actors in the development of Superkilen, beginning with the design brief, then the design competition and subsequent participation process, and finally the built form of the scheme.

Brief

The brief for Superkilen emerged out of the urban renewal program for Mimersgade Quarter (both key actants), which commenced with a public meeting in December 2004, attended by 250 locals, which generated 500 ideas for projects. Following this meeting, a steering committee was formed comprising representatives from the community, the City Council, and Realdania (a philanthropic organisation for the built environment) who cofunded the project. The committee's first action was to shortlist the initial 500 proposals to 120, which were then assessed in more detail against twelve key criteria, of which three had particular importance for this research: 'integration', 'cooperation and neighbourhood' and 'a safe, spacious and well-maintained neighbourhood'. Superkilen emerged by combining a series of the shortlisted proposals, including the creation of 'Mimers Plads' (now the Black Square), the opening up of Mjølnerparken onto the open public space, and the establishment of a park (now the Green Park) on the land owned by DSB who operate rail services in Copenhagen.

The urban renewal program notes of the proposed opening of Mjølnerparken onto the DSB lands, 'the interaction between the residents of the settlement and the area's other inhabitants must be strengthened' (City of Copenhagen, 2004, p. 14). However, this proved a step too far for the ethnic Danes on the more gentrified southside of Superkilen who were concerned about the various social problems associated with the minority ethnic Mjølnerparken on the northside. Specific reference was also made

in the urban renewal program to the renovation of Nørrebrohallen to enhance access to sports and recreation in the area, which necessitated upgrading the adjoining public space (now the Red Square). Finally, it was proposed that the existing bicycle path running through the three spaces be upgraded to become part of an emerging network of new 'Cycle Superhighways' being constructed across Copenhagen and the region.

Once the details of the proposal were finalised, a competition brief, another important actant, was developed; the opening paragraph of which states:

Superkilen will become a landmark for Nørrebro and, with its special character, show the city's diversity. Superkilen must become the district's recreational cross-band, which helps to give the quarter its identity. Superkilen should reflect the neighbourhood's diversity of citizens with different cultural, social and age-related backgrounds (City of Copenhagen, 2005, p. 2).

The use of words such as 'character', 'show', 'identity' and 'reflect' placed a strong emphasis ethnic representation and reinforcing difference. Sixty different nationalities, in addition to Danish, were listed in the brief to be reflected in the built form of the space. The brief also emphasised the importance of engaging the community to achieve the desired ethnic representation:

It is an important purpose of the competition that the winning design team are able to collaborate with citizens in an exciting and constructive way. This process will be the basis for creating an urban space for the life and activity of the neighbourhood (City of Copenhagen, 2005, p. 2).

The brief sought to produce a set of social relations among the multi-ethnic community of Nørrebro, mediated by the built form of Superkilen. Two important questions arise here: firstly, to what degree and how would the design team balance the objectives of 'exciting' with 'constructive'; and secondly, to what degree and how would they relate the everyday life of people in Nørrebro in the physical form of Superkilen. I return to these questions in the discussion on participation in the next section.

There is a recurring theme in the brief about using a 'different' form of public space to solve the social problems of 'difference'. Words like 'visionary', 'ambitious', 'innovative', 'experimental' and 'landmark' all point to the potential for a new type of urban public space. This language implies a call for unconventional and even disruptive ideas, around the central theme of social cohesion:

The project is intended to be an ambitious, holistic plan to revitalize and promote, among other things, the architectural, experimental, peace-building and integration conditions in outer Nørrebro (City of Copenhagen, 2005, p. 5).

In terms of programming, the brief emphasises inclusiveness for all ages, gender, abilities, and ethnicities, proposing a range of spaces to accommodate different levels of physical activity from lingering to play and recreation.

Total funding for Superkilen was 54 million DKK, of which 45.8 million DKK was provided equally by the City Council and Realdania, with the remaining 6.8 million DKK provided by the Danish Government.

Competition

The design competition was initiated and completed in 2005, with a jury comprising representatives of the City Council, Realdania, local residents, and the Academic Architectural Association. A shortlist of five was made from a total of twenty-six entries, including a proposal from BIG, reportedly at the behest of Realdania (Lenler & Benner, 2010a), which was subsequently selected as one of two for final consideration. At this stage the other shortlisted proposal, from GHB Landscape Architects, emerged as the community's preferred scheme, largely because it more directly addressed their need for shade and retaining the green character of the site (Lenler & Benner, 2010, July 14). However, the competition became mired in controversy during the final stage, when Realdania are alleged to have threatened the withdraw of funding unless the project was awarded to BIG:

The chairman [of the design competition jury] made it unequivocally clear to Peter Christensen [Project Manager for the Area Renewal Secretariat] that if the citizens [did not support] BIG's proposal, Realdania would withdraw, thus the entire project would fall apart (Lenler & Benner, 2010, July 14).

Although denied by Realdania (Lenler & Benner, 2010, July 14), these claims were repeated by several informant for this research, including members of the jury, competition entrants, and several local industry practitioners. These informants suggested Realdania decided BIG's reputation for avant-garde architecture and Bjarke Ingels's status as a global 'starchitect' would deliver a 'bold statement', locally, nationally and globally; as one informant noted:

Bjarke Ingels is not afraid to take any kind of challenge. He really had proven that things can be done differently. I think it is part of his way of working that he is not afraid of new fields. He has made a lot of mistakes, but he has also done a lot of things that has never been done before ... that other people had a more conventional way of doing. The managing director of Realdania who was in charge of the whole project loved Bjarke, and he wanted him to win from the very first moment (city council representative).

Realdania would have been aware of BIG's rising local and global reputation and it is also likely that BIG were equally aware of Realdania given their prominence in Danish urbanism. According to their website, Realdania was founded in 2000, as a 'member-based philanthropic organisation' funding projects 'to create quality of life for all through the built environment'. However, the origins of the organisation date back to 1851 when they were established as Denmark's first mortgage lender at the same time when Copenhagen's city boundary was extended to incorporate informal settlements like Nørrebro (Nielsen, 2012). According to several media reports, they are a controversial actor in urban development across Denmark (Bech-Danielsen, 2016, June 27; Lenler & Benner, 2010, July 9; Madsen, 2013, August 6). A survey conducted in 2010 by local newspaper *Politiken*, the *Academic Architectural*

Association, and the *Architectural Association*, revealed that more than fifty percent of Danish architects feel Realdania have too much influence on urban projects; as the chairman of the Danish *Architectural Association* noted at the time:

Nobody dares to criticize them. They have become so great a power that it is almost they who set the agenda for government and state architecture policy, and which projects should be supported (Lenler & Benner, 2010, July 9).

Some informants for this research suggested that Realdania viewed Superkilen as a catalyst for gentrification, with the aim of opening up development opportunities in outer Nørrebro. Whether intentional or not, there are parallels with the impact of the High Line project in New York City, a unique public space scheme in a relatively low socio-economic area that drew global attention and ultimately initiated a process of gentrification which forced many local residents out of the area due the unaffordability of housing (Morenas, 2013). Despite these controversies, the competition was only the first stage, with the participation process giving the design team an opportunity to work more closely with the local community.

Much has been made by, and of, the design team's community engagement process, which they eventually branded 'Participation Extreme'. This emerged from the design team's scepticism towards traditional participation processes, as Topotek1's Martin Rein-Cano noted:

Participation processes are kind of trendy, but for ambitious design they are quite an impediment. One tries to involve people in things that they do not have a clue about. Usually the outcome is just chaotic, leading only to mediocre results (quoted in Steiner, 2013, p. 49).

Although the design team considered this a genuine alternative to traditional engagement approaches, according to Superflex's Jakob Fenger, they initially employed traditional methods including, 'public meetings, announcements in newspapers, handouts, poster on libraries, and . . . a call out on the internet', to select

ethnically-specific objects for the space (quoted in Steiner, 2013, p. 55). When this approach proved ineffective, they selected the objects themselves and created a brochure, another key actant, which was then distributed amongst the community (Figure 13). However, Sandström (2015) suggests the brochure may have been the first point residents were actually engaged in the participation process. She cites interviews with locals who claim the objects were chosen not by them but by the design team. In an interview for this research, a member of the design team confirmed some of the objects had been chosen by the team.

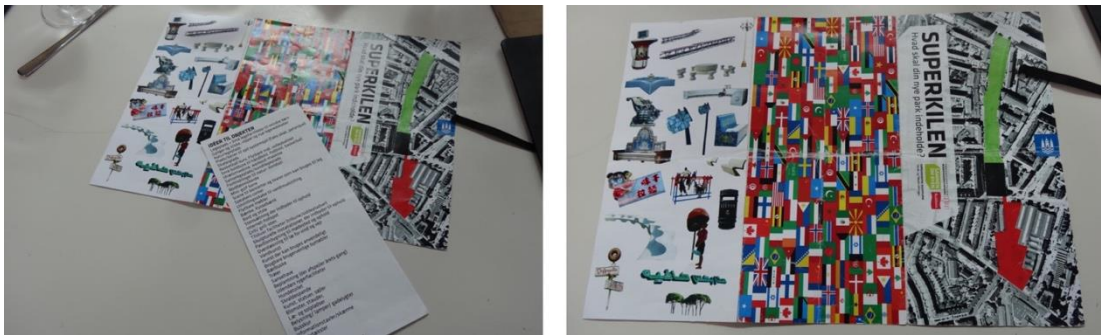


Figure 13. Brochure of preselected objects used in the participation process (Sandström, 2015)

The limitations of the design team's initial approach led to the creation of a new participation project to travel overseas and obtain objects specified by local residents. This project was funded separately through a grant obtained by Superflex from the Danish Arts Council. The grant covered the cost of overseas travel and filming of the journeys³⁰, while Realdania and the City Council covered the costs of the objects (Steiner, 2013). The project sought to engage older and younger locals as a demographic that had until then not (or not been) engaged in the participation process. According to the design team, five pairs of residents, who previously suggested ideas outside of the formal engagement process, were selected to be taken overseas by members of Superflex, to obtain ethnically-specific objects of special personal meaning (Figure 14).



Figure 14. Objects Chosen through 'Participation Extreme': (A) Afro-Jamaican sound system (Tibrand, 2015); (B) Thai boxing ring; (C) Palestinian soil (Eskerod, 2012); (D) American dance pavilion from Texas; and (E) Andalusian (Spain) Osbourne Bull.

³⁰ Films are available here <http://www.superflex.net/tools/superkilen>

The sound system from Kingston in Jamaica was selected by teenagers Nicklas, an ethnic Dane, and Benjamin, who has an ethnic-Danish father and mother who is half Afro-Jamaican. They selected this object because of their passion for rap music. The boxing ring from Bangkok in Thailand was selected by young adults Ali and Billal, both of whom are of Arabic descent, whose parents migrated to Denmark from the Middle East. They selected this object because they are actively involved with the local kickboxing club. The Osbourne Bull from the Costa del Sol in Spain was selected by seniors Conny and Tove, who are both ethnic-Danes. They chose this object because they go on holiday to this area of Spain every year. The dance pavilion from St. Louis in the American state of Texas was selected by Inga and Bent, both of whom are senior ethnic-Danes and long-term residents of Nørrebro. They selected this object because of their passion for American line dancing. The soil from the State of Palestine was selected by Alaa and Hiba, who are young adult females of Arabic descent, whose parents migrated to Denmark from Lebanon. They chose this object because Palestinian migrants often take soil from trips to Palestine to place on the graves of deceased relatives buried in Nørrebro. The sound system immediately proved controversial because it could be controlled by anyone through the use of a smartphone app, which became a key actant in the ultimate removal of the object. While these agencies attracted some human actors to engage with the sound system, others were repelled by the resulting types and levels of sounds produced. These actors were then able to form more powerful networks that led to the permanent removal of the sound system (Oehlenschläger, 2012, October 5). The Palestinian soil was also removed (discussed later), while the boxing ring, Osbourne Bull and dance pavilion remain in place.

Form

The name 'Superkilen', or 'Super-wedge', is derived directly from its spatiality; a 750 metre (30,000 m²) linear tract of land wedged between local residential and

community land-uses. It comprises not one, but three distinct urban public spaces – the Red Square, the Black Square and the Green Park (Figure 15). The Red Square opens on one side onto the busy shopping street of Nørrebrogade and local street of Mimersgade on the other (Figure 16 and Figure 17). This supports a range of pedestrian movements across both the Red and Black Squares (Figure 18), including access to Nørrebrohallen. The main movements funnel along the bike path towards Mimersgade and into the Black Square, which opens onto local streets on three sides and the Green Park. Pedestrian movements typically crisscross the Black Square to access residential housing estates. The Green Park is permeable where connections have been provided to local residential streets, but impermeable where it abuts residential housing estates, including Mjølnerparken. Pedestrian movements typically flow along the bike path in the Green Park.

The three spaces are connected by a bi-directional bicycle path. The bike path existed prior to Superkilen but was significantly upgraded as part of the urban renewal program to integrate into the City of Copenhagen's emerging Cycle Superhighway Network. Based on observations for this study, the bike path is heavily trafficked by cyclists of all ages, genders and ethnicities across the day and week. Although volumes peaked during commuting periods, the flow remained constant throughout the day and late into the evening. The bike path is complemented by a range of bike parking options programmed across all three spaces (Figure 18).



Figure 15. The three colour-defined spaces of Superkilen: The Red Square, The Black Square and the Green Park.



Figure 16. Permeability between Superkilen and local public and private space in Nørrebro.



Figure 17. Functional mix of the Mimersgade Quarter.

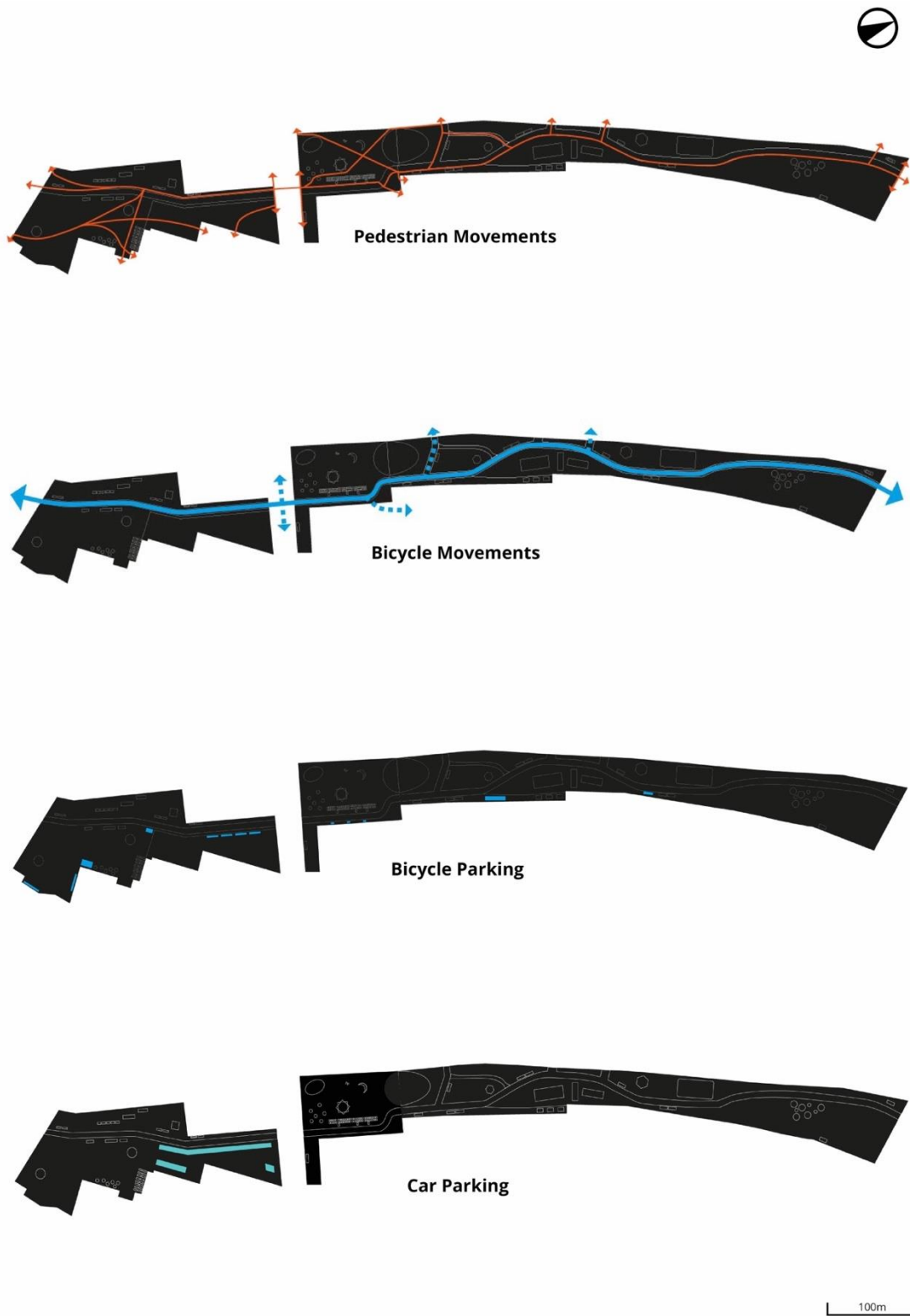


Figure 18. Movement and parking in Superkilen.

The Red Square is programmed with several play-related objects located along the northwestern boundary, which accommodate younger children to adults. The main open space adjacent to Nørrebrohallen is programmed for special events, with a significant area used for car parking outside of these events. Although skateboarding was not programmed as part of the scheme, it later emerged informally with skaters attracted to the materiality and spatiality of the Red Square (discussed further in 5.4 under 'Territoriality'). A range of seating options have been provided in the Red Square, mainly along the bike path. Two areas adjacent to Nørrebrohallen are programmed for eating (Figure 19); circular tables are associated with the community café in Nørrebrohallen, whereas the picnic tables are open to use by anyone.

The Black Square was envisioned as an 'urban livingroom'; a place to linger, and a more family-oriented space. As such, there are several different seating typologies supporting different social interactions. A linear arrangement of seats and chess tables, together with three large BBQs, enable sitting, eating, and a lighter form of play (chess). The main programming for play, targeted primarily at young families, is provided by the octopus-shaped slide. Other lighter forms of play are also programmed in the form of a mound, which rises up from the Black Square and flows down into the Green Park, and the fountain just off-centre in the square.

The Green Park was envisioned as a space of leisure; a more traditional urban park. It is characterised by undulating low-rise hills, punctuated by a programme of predominantly leisure-oriented/play spaces, including a skate park/basketball court and outdoor gym equipment. A separate area is programmed for eating through the provision of seating, shade and outdoor grills. A further programme for play is provided in the form of a dance pavilion, which sits adjacent to the skatepark/basketball court.



Figure 19. Functional programming of Superkilen.

According to the designers, the concept for Superkilen was determined very early on, drawing on ideas of the 'global theme park' and the 'English garden' (Steiner, 2013). Colour is one of the most formal, and controversial, elements of Superkilen. The three primary colours – red (play), black (living/lingering) and green (leisure) – were also determined early on to create distinction between the three spaces and coherence within them, with shading used to represent diversity and to define some of the programming. Within these defined spaces and zones are 108 objects representing sixty different nationalities of residents in Nørrebro. Although the objects were indexed by city and country of origin, different ethnic groups constructed meaning (and relations) through associations with nationality, ethnicity, religion and politics. For example, the eight-pointed fountain located in the Black Square originates from Morocco but is also an important Arabic and Islamic symbol. Some objects were intended for everyday utilisation, such as the seating; some were more utilitarian, such as the manhole covers; while others were sculptural, such as the Osbourne Bull. Curating the objects was central to the design concept, which sought to draw attention to the tensions and conflicts inherent within ethnocultural differences, as BIG's Bjarke Ingels notes:

This project was all about integration; it was like six months after the riots, after the Mohammad cartoon crisis. It was so present in this neighbourhood, and people in Denmark were suffering from the ambiguity of being tolerant (quoted in Steiner, 2013, p. 12)

Ingels claimed 'tolerance' was paralysing people's ability to deal with ethnic difference and diversity, so the concept sought to release them from this paralysis by making difference explicit in the form of ethnoculturally-coded objects, spatially arranged with what Sandström (2015) calls 'intentional spacing', often to draw attention to ethnic and geopolitical tensions.

A member of the design team, interviewed for this research, described how the idea of inscribing or coding violence in the space:

So, if violence is the problem, let's make violence a show, you know. And then suddenly, it is still there. But it's the beginning of let's say, a process of cultivating something, a process of making it less dangerous but not killing it (member of the design team).

This informant claimed because public space is always contested, it is also inherently violent. Using the example of street fighting, the informant suggested when this violent act is put in a (Thai) boxing ring, the violence becomes acceptable. However, they also acknowledged the risks of such a strategy, noting 'we were really playing on this kind of edge of between what is tolerable with everyone, and we also take the piss a little bit of everyone'. The design concept appears as an attempt to produce a form of contested public space mediated by humour.

5.4 Material agencies

This section explores how the human and nonhuman relations of Superkilen enables and constrains intercultural encounter. These findings are presented under ten themes that emerged through constant comparative analysis framework: Occupation, Representation, Non-representation, Proximity, Colour, Gangs, Territoriality, Masculinity, Seating and Programming.

Occupation

Occupation levels in the Red Square were largely consistent on both weekdays (Figure 20) and weekend days (Figure 21), with both peaking during the late evening when volumes were considerably higher. These peaks can be attributed in large part to the occupation of the Red Square by skateboarders and the increased activity associated with Nørrebrohallen. Occupation tended to cluster around the Iraqi swings

and the main open space between Nørrebrohallen and Nørrebrogade. At the weekend, larger groups cluster around the Thai boxing ring and the semifixed seating outside Nørrebrohallen. Occupation of the Red Square by minority ethnic groups is visibly lower during the weekday mornings but increases across the day. However, it is still considerably lower for minority ethnic groups compared with ethnic-Danes.

Occupation levels in the Black Square were also consistent on both weekdays and weekend days, with both peaking during the late evening. However, there was significantly less difference in volumes across the three periods compared to the Red Square. On weekdays, the main clusters of occupation are associated with the Japanese octopus-shaped slide and the Moroccan fountain. At the weekend, additional clusters emerged around the mound and the linear arrangement of Romanian tables and Bulgarian chairs. Occupation by minority ethnic groups, across the day and day of the week, followed a similar pattern to the Red Square.

Occupation levels in the Green Park were significantly low across weekdays and weekend days, to such a degree that mapping occupation was not considered necessary. Small groups occasionally occupied the outdoor gym area, but most people moved through the space along the shared bike path.

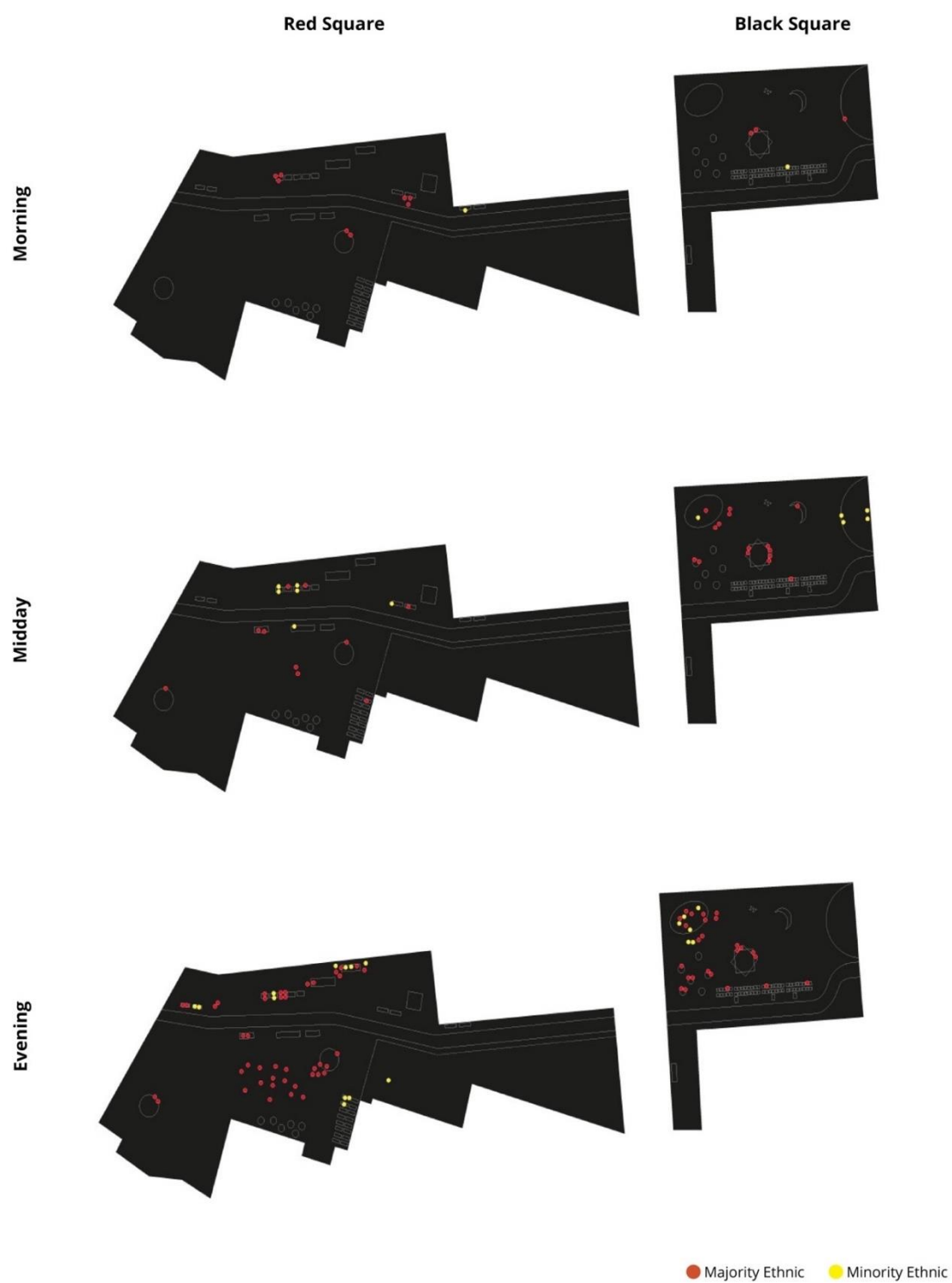


Figure 20. Occupation patterns by ethnicity for a typical weekday in Superkilen.

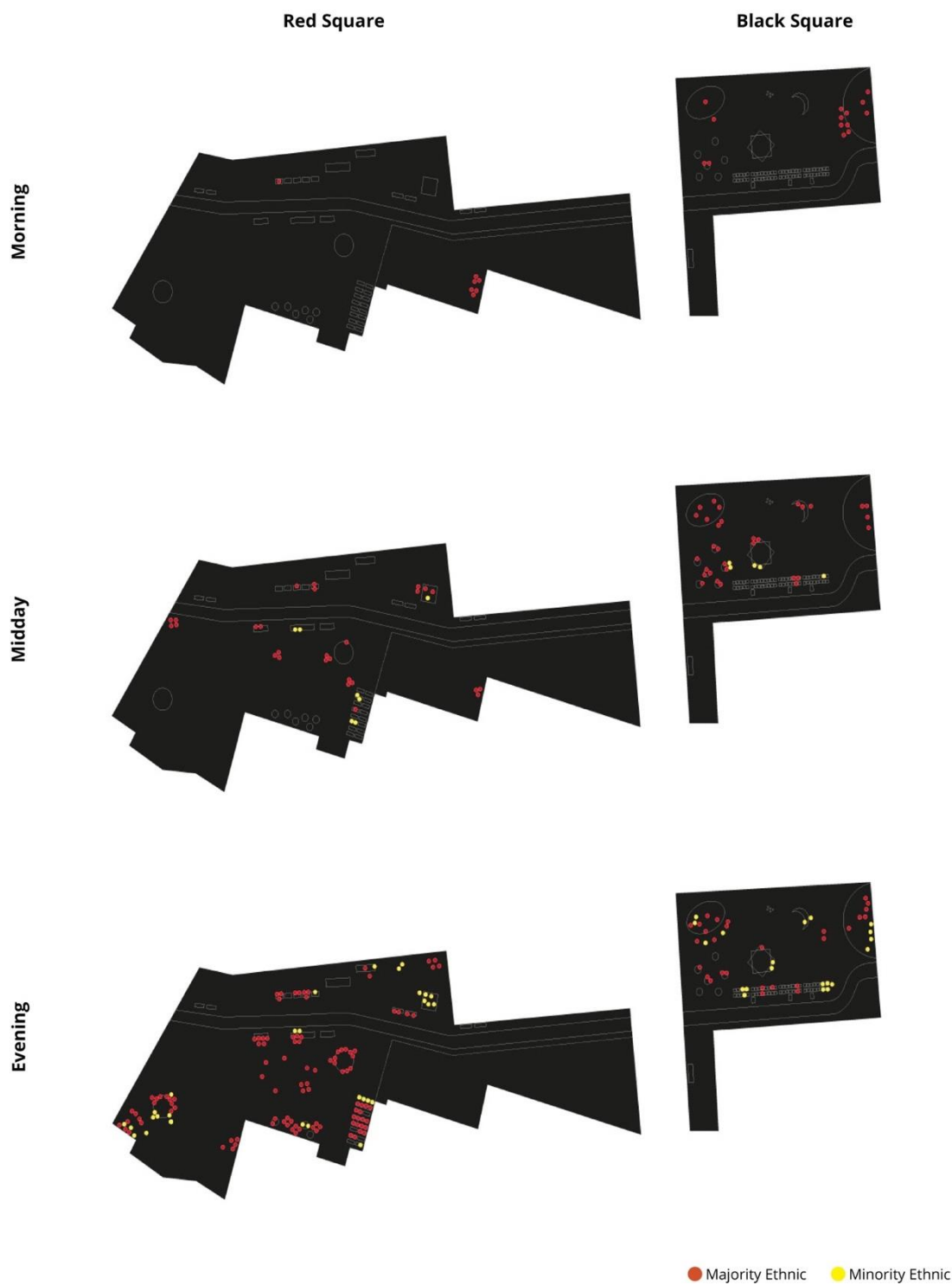


Figure 21. Occupation patterns by ethnicity for a typical weekend day in Superkilen.

Representation

The symbolic representation of Nørrebro's multi-ethnic community through the encoding of objects was central to the overall design concept. This strategy was intended to generate relevant meanings for particular minority ethnic groups, as BIG's Nanna Gyldholm Møller noted:

Besides the expected design qualities, the objects should have been able to create relationships with different people and to establish, in this way, emotional connectivity (quoted in Steiner, 2013, p. 16).

However, several informants for this study claimed they had a limited role in the selection of objects, with some suggesting they had no agency in the process:

Should it be a Swiss bench, should it be a Brazilian bench? Should it be a Swedish bench? People said well of course we want benches [but which] countries they were actually from, was something which the architects and the designers decided (local ethnic-Danish community leader).

In addition to ethnocultural-specificity, Nanna Gyldholm Møller also suggested the design team wanted the objects to have a certain avant-garde quality:

Although common and not special in their typology, the objects were supposed to have certain qualities: each amazing, unique and special (quoted in Steiner, 2013, p. 16).

Several local residents, and representatives of the City Council, interviewed for this research, who were actively involved in the project, claimed the design team's determination to deliver an avant-garde design was prioritised above the desires of the community and the objectives of the brief for intercultural encounter:

[The objects were] chosen for a design idea, not because it was representing those people who were living in the neighbourhood. It was representing different cultures, of course. I would say there are actually, in my opinion, very few things that are

actually designed in order to satisfy a specific culture (local ethnic Danish community leader).

A further problem with the concept arose during the procurement of objects that could not be obtained directly from the country of origin. To address this issue, personal photographs belonging to minority ethnic residents were enrolled to assist manufacture the objects locally. In the process, the photographs became actants in the translation of these objects, which resulted in a loss of ethnocultural meaning and quality for some minority ethnic groups. When objects could not be reproduced locally, the design team sourced more accessible objects from Western countries. Whereas people from Western backgrounds accounted for just 19.6% of the total non-Danish population (Statistikbanken, 2005), they were represented by 57.9% (no=62) of all objects, including 20.4% (no=22) from North America and the United Kingdom alone (Figure 22). Therefore, people from other ethnic backgrounds are underrepresented by 38.3%, and those from non-Danish Western backgrounds are overrepresented by 38.3%. This represents a significant overall loss in ethnocultural meaning across the total number of objects.



Figure 22. North American and British Objects in Superkilen: (A) American basketball hoop, Compton, USA; (B) English rubbish bin, Liverpool, UK; (C) American dance pavilion, St. Louis, USA; and (D) American neon sign, Rochester, USA.

The loss of ethnocultural meaning also resulted from through the translation or complete reproduction of some original objects that did not meet Danish design standards and safety regulations. These legal frameworks became actants, forming associations that ultimately reduced the agency of the objects to create meaning for the minority ethnic groups and the potential to enable intercultural encounter. For the design team, this process of translation had strong parallels with the processes of migration; as Martin Rein-Cano noted:

Translation happens when you move from one place to another. You learn a new language; you start to translate your original language. You relearn, to a certain

extent, your original language, and simultaneously you start to question it. The new language opens up a new way of thinking (quoted in Steiner, 2013, p. 17).

However, this seductive idea is largely an abstraction. For example, the eight-pointed Moroccan fountain, located in the Black square (see A, Figure 23), is one of the most popular translated/reproduced objects in Superkilen.



Figure 23. Objects that Enable and Constrain Intercultural Encounter: (A) The Moroccan fountain in the Black Square; (B) The Japanese octopus slide in the Black Square (Eskero, 2012, November 5); (C) The Thai boxing ring in the Red Square; and (D) Tanzanian sewer cover.

The fountain has strong ethnocultural-specificity as an important Arabic and Islamic symbol. It was point of pride for several informants in this research with Moroccan heritage, who spoke admiringly of its ethnocultural meaning and beauty. However,

the fountain was also highly valued by other informants, both ethnic-Danes and those from non-Muslim minority ethnic backgrounds, who were regularly observed interacting with it. Observed affordances in these interactions for adults of all ages and genders included sit-on-able and several nested affordances such as eat-on-able, watch-from-able, and read-on-able. Observed affordances for children included play-on/in-able, walk-on-able, watch-from-able, and climb-on/into-able. These affordances were possible through the complementarity of the fountain's properties – its shape, dimensions, materiality, proximity to the Japanese octopus-shaped slide, and the water that filled it on occasion – together with the different physical and cognitive capacities of different human actors. For these actors, the process of translation, nor the ethnocultural specificity, held any particular meaning. Rather, they were drawn to the fountain because of the range of possible affordances, and its proximity to the Japanese octopus-shaped slide as a place to sit and watch other affordances emerge. Interestingly, one design team member noted in an interview for this research that they considered the fountain 'kitsch'. However, although admitting significant scepticism about public participation, they accepted that the success of the fountain reflected the desires of the community. Despite the popularity of the fountain, observed intercultural encounters were limited to young children playing in or around its edges. Adults mainly sat on the edges facing outwards or directly at one-another, which because of its octagram shape, only enabled private interactions.

Non-representation

Some of the most popular objects in Superkilen carried the least ethnocultural meaning for local minority ethnic groups. The aforementioned octopus-shaped slide (see B, Figure 23) had limited ethnocultural meaning for local residents, with only a small number of Japanese people residing in the area (0.1%, no=40). Most Japanese people observed in this research appeared to be tourists. The slide attracted mainly families with young children, particularly in the afternoon and evenings, and on the

weekends. The slide was a surprising object to find in a public space. Its fluid and shiny black form attracted the attention of people of all ages, genders and ethnic backgrounds. The dimensions and materiality of the slide complimented the physical and cognitive abilities of different ethnic groups, particularly children, producing a range of affordances, including walk-on-able, climb-on-able, slide-down-able, crawl-on-able, roll-on/down-able, sit-on-able, hide-in-able and jump-off-able. Intercultural encounters between children and among parents were observed regularly. Encounters between children occurred as they negotiated the spatial constraints of the slide and the various emerging affordances. Encounters among parents occurred as they stood in close proximity to one another watching the children engage with the slide. Some of these encounters were in the form of simple gestures, such as smiles, nods and short verbal interactions. However, the many collisions and disagreements among the children negotiating use of the slide prompted longer interactions, but all appeared amicable. Other nonhuman actors were often enrolled into these associations by other people (both ethnic-Danish and minority ethnic), such as the Moroccan fountain and Belgian benches, to watch the spectacle of performance on and around the slide. Watching the children play appeared to make these onlookers happy, as evidenced by visibly smiling faces and the sound of gentle laughter. On occasion, the proximity of the onlookers to the parents led to intercultural encounters, also in the form of gestures, including smiling, pointing, shaking heads, nodding, waving, and laughing. These human-nonhuman relations were observed on daily basis, helping to create new and establish existing associations among the different ethnic groups.

Similar observations were made of the Thai boxing ring, which like the slide, is a surprising object to find in a public space (see C, Figure 23). Similar to the Japanese slide, the ethnocultural-specificity of the boxing ring has limited meaning for local residents where the proportion of Thai people is small (0.3%, no=169). Like the slide,

the unexpectedness of this object forms part of its agency, drawing a range of people to it. Depending on the time of day, day of the week, and weather, this nonhuman actor forms different associations with different human actors. During warm weather, teenagers and young adults of different ethnic backgrounds territorialise the ring to practice martial arts. As a result, a limited number of affordances emerge, including train-on-able and compete-in-able, which align with the main function of the object. However, at other times, particularly on weekday evenings and during the midday period of weekend days, a greater number of affordances were observed emerging through a range of appropriations, as a wider demographic of human actors were attracted to the ring of different genders and ethnicities. Unlike the slide, the ring enrolled a wider range of age-groups. Observed affordances included walk-on-able, climb-on-able, bounce-on-able, hang-upside-down-able, fall-off-able, jump-off-able, lie-on-able, sit-on-able, and dance-on-able. Located adjacent to the main movement path, the ring sits in close proximity to flows of everyday life through the Red Square. The height of the platform is accessible for most ages, except for young children. The surface of the platform and the ropes that form the boundary of the ring have elastic properties that contribute to various affordances. Frequent intercultural encounters occurred through the constant negotiation of the ring's spatial constraints and its ability to absorb the energy of human actors and reflect it back at them, what Akrich (1992) calls 'prescription', or 'the behavior imposed back onto the human by nonhuman delegates' (Johnson, 1988, p. 301). Similar to the Japanese slide, the ring also enabled intercultural encounters outside of it, as parents/adults stood in close proximity of one another watching the children play and interacting with each other from time to time. Most interactions among the adults/parents were in the form of gestures, including smiling, laughing, pointing, nodding, waving, and occasional handshakes. The joyous emotion on the face of the children generated by interacting with the ring appeared to produce similar affects in the parents/adults, who sometimes turned to one another in acknowledgement.

Other ethnoculturally-coded objects did not appear to have any agency to mediate intercultural encounter. In some cases, the minority ethnic groups were repelled by the association between their ethnocultural identity and the object. For example, utilitarian objects, such as sewer covers, drainage grates, and rubbish bins (see D, Figure 23) created anger and resentment among some minority-ethnic groups – what Danish newspaper *Politiken* called ‘a Kick in the balls of good taste’ (Ifversen, 2012, June 22). Several informants in this research found these objects offensive:

[If] the objects in Superkilen are supposed to reflect your ethnic background, you may not think that a sewer lid is the right way to represent your country ... you may think there is some other object which should be displayed. So, in that respect, it is very hard to make people love a sewer lid from their country (minority ethnic woman).

Other sources have also reported the powerful agency of these objects to offend local minority-ethnic groups (Kazerani, 2017).

Proximity

In a critique of the design team’s strategy for Superkilen, Sandström (2015, p. 128) notes some objects were coded with ‘provocative historical and political connotations’, intended to elicit ‘strong emotional responses’, including ‘Kurdish benches, soil from Palestine, and playground equipment from Pripjat, a town close to Chernobyl’. Sandström claims these objects were arranged with ‘intentional spacing’, to draw attention certain differences in Nørrebro.

Several informants for this research noted problems with the spatial arrangement of two specific objects: the Palestinian / Arabic soil (see A1, Figure 24) and the Israeli / Jewish sewer cover (see B, Figure 24), which reproduced the geopolitical conflict between Israel and the State of Palestine. The design team and client were both aware of this issue, as Realdania’s Astrid Bruus Thomsen noted:

If you have soil from Palestine or a sewer from Israel, will some people spit on it?
Yeah, maybe, but still, of course, we hope nobody would do this. The idea is that everybody respects that we are co-existing together (quoted in Steiner, 2013, p. 70).

One of the design team noted in an interview for this research that although these sensitivities were raised by the community during the participation process, they were determined to maintain, what they saw as, the integrity of the design concept.

Jewish and Palestinian people have lived side-by-side in Nørrebro since the 1960s when the first guest workers arrived from Lebanon. Interviews for this research with several local Palestinians suggest both groups coexisted peacefully until the insertion of these objects into Superkilen. For my informants, this deliberate provocation resurfaced Israel-Palestinian and Jewish-Arab tensions, pointing to the vandalised map boards that index and locate all objects in Superkilen (see C, Figure 24).

During fieldwork for this research, the Palestinian soil was no longer visible (see A2, Figure 24). Either it had been trampled into the gravelly track created by the movements of many people on top of the mound, or because, according to one informant for this research, 'the Palestinians didn't need to go to Palestine to get soil to put on their father's graves anymore', which I learned from another informant is a tradition for local Palestinian people. Although the soil is no longer visible, the geopolitical associations are remade through other actants, including websites, publications, videos and photographs, which maintain the memories.



Figure 24. Geopolitically-coded Objects: (A1) Palestinian/Arabic soil in Green Park (Eskerod, 2012) (A2) Palestinian/Arabic soil no longer visible in 2017; (B) Israeli/Jewish sewer cover located within close proximity of the Palestinian/Arabic soil; and (C) Vandalism of the marker for the Israeli/Jewish object 106.

These findings ask several questions of the design team's strategy of deliberately provoking tensions through the built form of the space. These objects and people are held together, in association, by ethnocultural and geopolitical tensions that constrain social interaction, and possibly weaken social cohesion among them and the wider community.

Colour

Colour defines the three spaces in Superkilen – the Red Square, the Black Square and the Green Park – and is used to bind the assemblage of foreign objects within

them. As such, colour helps to bring a sense of unity to the strangeness, randomness and relative novelty of these spaces. However, these colours contain strong ethnocultural and political associations, particularly in the context of Nørrebro, which created several controversies among residents.



Figure 25. Symbols of Communism: (A) The Red Square; neon lights in the centre; and the Moscow sign to the right (BIG, 2011, August 19); and (B) The Cuban benches in the Red Square.

The first controversy concerns the primary colours of red, black and green, which Steiner (2013, p. 26) claims strongly offended a member of the jury because of the association with the flag of the State of Palestine. Informants for this research noted that some ethnic-Danish residents were concerned that the colours might territorialise Superkilen, particularly for the gang members associated with Mjølnerparken. Although the associations with the choice of colours was unintentional, the colours became an actant, at least temporarily, with the agency to create controversy. However, this matter of concern no longer appears to be an issue.

The second controversy concerns the intentional communist symbolism associated with the Red Square. This space is named after Moscow's main square, and contains several objects from other communist countries, including a cluster of neon signs from Russia and China (see A, Figure 25), as well as several Cuban benches (see B, Figure 25). These political associations were problematic for older ethnic-Danish residents interviewed for this research, as one man commented, 'look! you see all this red, communism!'. Some of these informants suggested that the communist symbolism of the Red Square was 'anti-Western' and appealed more to local minority ethnic groups. On the contrary, these associations were less meaningful to minority-ethnic informants for this research. Nonetheless, the political meaning created some resentment among ethnic-Danes.

Gangs

Violent protest, antisocial behaviour and criminality, underpinned by ethnocultural differences, were important catalysts for Superkilen. These issues have typically played out in public spaces, including the ongoing war between three local gangs; *Brothas* and *Loyal to Familia*, both primarily of Middle Eastern descent, and Danish *Hell's Angels* who are predominantly ethnic-Danes. The City Council believed that by improving the quality of the public realm social cohesion among the various ethnic groups in Nørrebro could be strengthened, while also enhancing the area's image among the rest of Copenhagen. This became a key objective for Superkilen:

The aim of the competition was actually to take care, to integrate, whatever, to give the population in this area, mainly migrants, foreign people, to give them a better space, whatever that means. It wasn't clear. But, let's say the motivation for this space was to upgrade the area, because the area was full of criminality and drug selling (design team member).

However, the area has actually experienced an increase in gang warfare since Superkilen opened in 2012. In the three months between June 14th 2017 and August

14th 2017, two weeks before the first fieldwork for this research was undertaken, twenty-six gang-related shootings took place in or around Superkilen (Gadd, 2017, August 14). During this study, on the 21st September 2017, two innocent bystanders were injured in a shootout between two gangs on a street adjacent to the Red Square ("Copenhagen police close off neighbourhood after new shooting," 2017, September 21). According to several residents and experts interviewed for this research, Superkilen unintentionally contributed to this escalation in violence because it became a highly profitable market for drug dealing. These informants claim Superkilen now attracts more people both within and from outside Nørrebro, significantly increasing the opportunity for selling drugs. As a result, Superkilen is now the subject of an ongoing territorial battle between local minority ethnic gangs. The avant-garde design of Superkilen has given Superkilen strong agency, or ambient power (Allen, 2006), to attract a local, national and global audience. This agency is amplified through mediating actors such as video, photography and awards, and the internet.

Observations and interviews for this research suggest that the spatiality, materiality and programming of Superkilen support gang activity, particularly in the Red Square. Several interviewees identified gang members in the square, all of whom occupied the area between the bike path and the wall on the northern boundary (see A, Figure 26). This relatively thin wedge on the northern side of the Red Square is programmed for play and sitting, with a high density of objects that produce a significant intensity of spatial practices, particularly in the evenings and on weekends. Activity in this zone is intensified further by its boundary with the shared walking and bike path, which carries large volumes of people throughout the day. The objects, people, practices/affordances and flows of everyday life provide customers for the gangs, help conceal them, and create a loose barrier between them and the police stationed across the square outside Nørrebrohallen (see B, Figure 26). This location provides refuge as they position themselves with their backs to the wall on the northern border

of the square, while they can also have a good vantage point to watch for approaching police and rival gang members. From this position, the gang members can quickly exit the square in several different directions.



Figure 26. Gang Activity in Red Square: (A) Gang members occupying zone north of bike path; and (B) Police occupying zone south of bike path.

The gang's presence has attracted the police, who make and remake actor-networks of surveillance on a daily basis through the enrolment of police officers, police cars, motorcycle patrols, mobile police stations and helicopters that circle the skies above Superkilen. The power of these networks to control the activities of the gangs was uncertain but several informants for this research, and others (Schmidt, 2016), suggest the presence of these various authoritarian human and nonhuman actors has changed the atmosphere of the space, particularly for minority ethnic people, who feel unfairly targeted by the stop and search tactics of the police.

Territoriality

Skateboarding was not part of the formal programming in the Red Square, rather it emerged through appropriation and was then maintained through daily performance and negotiations with other human and nonhuman actors (Figure 27).



Figure 27. Appropriations in Superkilen: (A) Homemade obstacles installed by skaters; (B) Skaters appropriating space in the evening; (C) Skaters negotiate space during event in Red Square; and (D) Red Bull advertisement filmed in the Black Square as two Middle Eastern men approach in the background.

The skaters were drawn to the Red Square because of the properties of its built form. The spatial arrangement of the area occupied by the skaters, adjacent to Nørrebrohallen, and originally programmed for events, provides an large open space and smooth polyurethane coated surface that is highly ride-on-able, and also place-

on-able for semifixed homemade obstacles introduced into the space by the skaters, which are jump-on-able, jump-over-able and slide-on-able (see A, Figure 27). The sit-on-able, lie-on-able, and store-on-able benches and the ledges of Nørrebrohallen enable the skaters to take breaks, smoke, drink and interact socially. Despite its growing appeal, skateboarding carries strong associations with deviance, anarchism and antisocial behaviour (Borden, 2001). Although some local residents interviewed for this research expressed such concerns, most were supportive, and the City Council accepted the skateboarder's occupation. These alliances are maintained by the daily activation and spectacle performed by the skateboarders, which contributes to a vibrant atmosphere in the Red Square (see B, Figure 27). However, an ongoing process of negotiation is required within this assemblage of actors to maintain skateboarding in the square. City Council maintenance staff work around the obstacles and the skaters rather than removing them. The skateboarders work around the stalls and stands of events as they set up, relocating the obstacles, until there is no more space to skate (see C, Figure 27). A further negotiation of the skateboarder's presence arose from territorial issues with local gang members who mainly occupy the area of the Red Square north of the bike lane. In an interview with a representative for the skateboarders, several incidents were recalled that occurred shortly after Superkilen opened when some skaters were threatened by gang members. The territorial conflict arose because of the skaters use of handheld cameras to record jumps and tricks. The gang members confronted the skaters out of fear the cameras might record illegal behaviour which could then be used against them by the police. However, the skaters were able to forge an alliance with the gang members by agreeing to limit occupation of the Red Square to the main open space. In this case, the handheld cameras emerge as an actant with agency to change the atmosphere of the entire Red Square by forcing the skateboarders out of the space.

The ongoing presence of the skateboarders required further negotiation as a result of the loss of agency of the smooth Red Square surface and the proposal to replace it with a new surface that had significantly less agency to enable skateboarding. The replacement of the original surface arose because the softness and lack of porosity of the polyurethane material constrained access for maintenance vehicles, forced the closure of the space during heavy rainfall, and caused the death of established trees from the original scheme. After a lengthy dispute between the designers and the City Council, an agreement was reached to share the costs of resurfacing the square. However, the new brick paving surface became a key actant that threatened to reduce the ride-on-able affordance of the original surface, making the space less attractive to the skateboarders. This issue was only resolved when a representative for the skateboarders, interviewed for this research, forced his way into the ongoing discussions about the replacement surface. This led to the inclusion of a dedicated area within the Red Square specifically designed for skateboarding.

Masculinity

Observations of skateboarding, and interviews with informants, revealed the vast majority were male and ethnic-Danish:

I have been skating now for 29-30 years. It's really rare that you see Arabic skaters.

It's a macho thing because it's not cool to fall off. They are attending martial arts classes instead. I think it is a cultural thing (ethnic-Danish skateboarder).

This informant suggested because learning to skateboard means falling off/falling down quite often in public, it threatened the masculinity of Middle Eastern males who prefer attending the local martial arts club. According to the informant, this aversion to skateboarding was also connected to the local minority ethnic gang issues in Superkilen, particularly among aspiring younger Middle Eastern males 'who want to appear tough and masculine' in front of some of the established gang members. According to Nielsen (2012), these gangs evolved in response to a perceived lack of

protection from the police. In this case, the habitus of these Middle Eastern males constrains their enrolment into new associations with different actors, and therefore the possibility for regular intercultural encounter.

The masculinity of Middle Eastern males was also observed in body language and movement. Observations revealed certain dispositions for how these males, of all ages, moved through these spaces. Most moved quickly in deliberate straight lines, defiantly refusing to deviate from a chosen path, in what appeared as expressions of territoriality, defiance and masculine power (Sennett, 2018). The body language of adult males appearing almost aggressive, with confident strides, shoulders back, chests out, chins raised, and eyes looking straight ahead. There was also an aggressiveness, or possibly confidence, to the movements of young males, particularly on bicycles riding around objects and people. On one occasion two older Middle Eastern men were observed striding confidently through the middle of a temporary filmset in the Black Square (see D, Figure 27). These men did not stop despite the protests of film crew, creating an interesting contrast between the publicness of the space and the temporary appropriation by a commercial interest. Ethnic-Danish informants for this research read the body language and movement of minority ethnic males in different ways; some finding it comical, others intimidating. Minority ethnic informants claimed the body language and movements were fuelled by fear and a sense of feeling-out-of-place, suggesting that the open spaces of Superkilen pose a perceived and actual threat to the safety of some Middle Eastern males from the risk of exposure to the police or rival gangs or just being seen by the public. These movements and bodily gestures stood in stark contrast to the more conservative ethnic-Danish males of all ages, who were more much less territorial in moving through and occupying space.

Seating

The majority of seating in Superkilen is in the form of straight benches (Figure 28). Although these benches were used by people of all ages, genders and ethnicities, eye contact and social interaction was observably constrained by the form and dimensions. Whether individuals or in groups, all occupants sat side-by-side in a row, facing outwards. Furthermore, although some benches were arranged relative to other programming or along main flows of everyday life through the spaces, no discernible patterns of intercultural encounter were observed.

Similar issues were found for circular benches, where eye contact and social interaction was even more constrained (see F, Figure 28). Occupants of these benches were forced to look outwards and away from each other at the same time. In an interview for this research, a member of the design team noted, 'we have all these different types of round benches where you are kind of forced to interact more', which is inconsistent with these observations and the literature (Hall, 1969; Sommer, 1969).

An informant for this research from the City Council noted:

There was ... a discussion between some of the people in Mjølnerparken that they did not like our straight benches, because you are sitting next to each other, and you are not communicating very well ... So, they wanted a round bench, in order for people to sit and be able to look at each other and be able to communicate in a different way than you do on a Danish bench. I think it is one of the few examples of something that was really designed with a cultural perspective, that was about being together in this area (city council representative).

However, several minority ethnic informants for this research claimed they had wanted concave shaped (semicircular) benches, to enable groups to sit side-by-side and communicate face-to-face. These informants claimed the designers failed to understand their needs properly.



Figure 28. Less convivial seating types in Superkilen: (A) Iranian bench; (B) Salvadorian bench; (C) Swiss bench; (D) Cuban bench; (E) Kazakhstan bus stop; (F) Belgian bench; (G) Slovenian bench; (H) Kuwaiti bench; (I) Brazilian bench; (J) Portuguese bench; (K) American bench; (L) Ethiopian bench; (M) Swedish bench; (N) Czech Republic bench; (O) Portuguese bench; and (P) Tunisian bench.

Other seating types supported small to medium-sized private groups. Intimate groups (of two) were accommodated by the Mexican ‘Los Confidentes’ (‘The Confidants’) chair in the Black Square (see C, Figure 29), which is a two-seat arrangement, joined

together but facing in opposite directions so that users face each other. Groups of three to four were accommodated by the Iraqi swing in the Red Square (see A, Figure 29), and the Brazilian bar stools in the Black Square (see B, Figure 29). Larger groups of six to fifty-eight were accommodated by the dining table arrangement of Romanian chairs and Bulgarian tables in the Black Square (see D, Figure 29), where occupants sit side-by-side and face-to-face. None of these seating types enabled intercultural encounter.



Figure 29. Private Group Seating: (A) Iraqi swing chairs in the Red Square; (B) Brazilian bar stool cluster in the Black Square; (C) Mexican Los Confidentes' chair in the Black Square; and (D) Bulgarian chess tables and Romanian chairs in the Black Square.

Only the crescent-shaped bench in the Black Square (Figure 30) was repeatedly observed enabling intercultural encounter, across all ages and genders. While the bench takes the form of the important Islamic crescent shape, it originates from mid-century Bauhaus movement in Germany. Interestingly, in an interview for this research, one member of the design team described it as, 'the most boring bench in the world'. Spatially, the bench is located at the intersection of several key movement paths for local residents, which run diagonally from the shared bike and pedestrian path to Mimersgade. These flows of everyday life led to frequent encounters between occupants of the bench and passers-by. Sometimes these interactions appeared familiar, whereas many appeared like new encounters. Some used the bench as a resting point, particularly the elderly, those with children and some carrying groceries from the supermarket around the corner. The bench supported a mix of social and private seating. The width accommodated groups of two to fifteen people sitting, and a mix of smaller groups (between two to five) and individuals, all of whom could maintain acceptable distances from one another. The curving sloped back was sit-on-able at its lowest points, walk-on-able for children and lean-on-able for teenagers up to adults. These affordances enabled further social interactions with those seated on the surface of the bench. The width and curvature gave the bench the agency to enable encounter without forcing it. Observed encounters between different ethnic groups varied from short interactions involving smiles and nods of acknowledgement, to conversations, although mainly among females, including those from different ethnic groups. Ethnic-Danish females were also more likely to sit close to a minority-ethnic female than an ethnic-Danish male. Muslim women were also more likely to sit next to ethnic-Danish women than men from any ethnic background. Female informants for this research, from both majority and ethnic-Danish backgrounds, revealed this bench provides greater comfort and a stronger sense of security than many of the benches in Superkilen because of the intensity of activity around it.

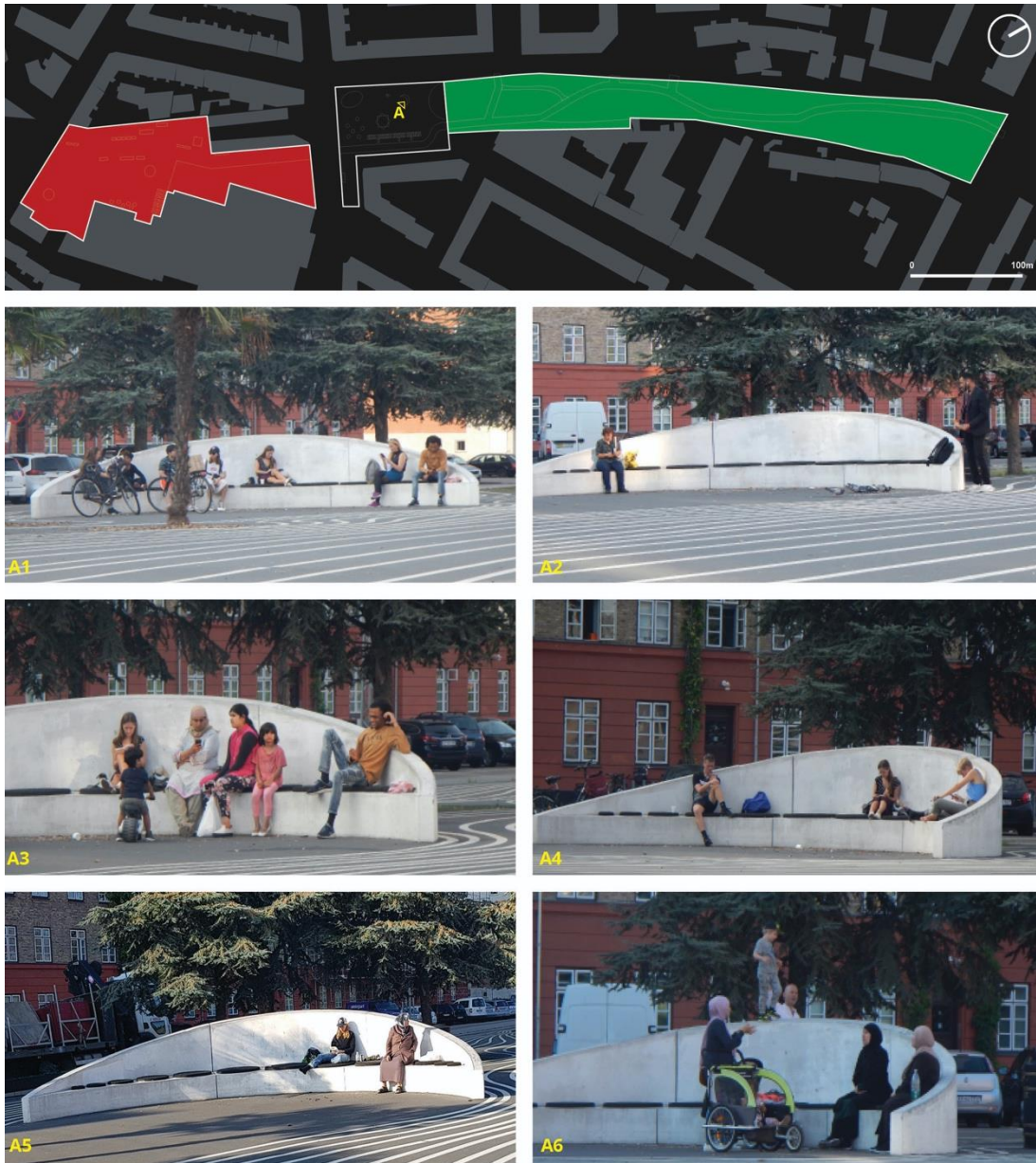


Figure 30. Occupation of the Crescent-Shaped Bench: (A1) Two groups of two and three individuals of mixed ethnicity share the bench; (A2) Two individuals of different ethnicity and gender share the bench at maximum spacing; (A3) A family of four Middle-Eastern Muslims, an ethnic Danish woman and an African man share the bench in close proximity to one another; (A4) Three ethnic Danish individuals share the bench; (A5) A senior Middle-Eastern Muslim woman shares the bench with an ethnic Danish woman; and (A6) Three Middle-Eastern Muslim women and one child share the bench with an ethnic Danish man and child.

Programming

During interviews with local Muslim women community leaders from Mjølnerparken, the observed low occupation of the Green Park was discussed. These informants noted that the Green Park is mainly occupied during the summer when its large, open, grassy areas and undulating hills, attract ethnic Danes for sunbathing. However, this reduces the attractiveness of the Green Park for Muslim people, who are unaccustomed to sitting and eating with family next to partially clothed people. As a result, the informants suggested that Muslim people are more drawn to Mimersparken, which is programmed mainly for eating and playing (Figure 31). The majority of Mimersparken comprises soccer pitches, a basketball court and playgrounds for young children (see A, Figure 31). These assemblages (comprising grass, line markings, goal posts, nets, hoops, slides, climbing racks, and sand) attract children, youths and teenagers from different ethnic backgrounds. The informants claimed that through these assemblages, associations are formed producing regular intercultural encounters. Such encounters are consistent with Wise and Noble's (2016, p. 425) account of conviviality as, 'practice, effort, negotiation and achievement'. In the remaining spaces of Mimersparken, the informants noted that assemblages of seating, tables, barbeques, and rubbish bins form associations with different ethnic groups into close proximity of one another (see B, Figure 31). According to the informants, because of this proximity and the Muslim custom to offer food to strangers when eating in public, regardless of ethnic or religious background, intercultural encounters often emerged. These encounters varied from short interactions in the form of smiles and nods to more enduring conversations. The informants noted that some of these intercultural encounters had led to friendships.



Figure 31. The Relationship between Superkilen and Other Public Spaces in Nørrebro: (A) Families eating food in Mimersparken (Den bemandede legeplads i Mimersparken, 2012); (B) Families in playground of Mimersparken (Möller, 2012); (C) Temporary food stall erected by Syrian migrants to enable intercultural encounter in the Red Square; and (D) Muslim men's space on the corner of Frederikssundsvej and Fredericksborgvej.

The second observation concerned a male-dominated public space on the corner of Frederikssundsvej and Fredericksborgsvej (see D, Figure 31). This space comprised an assemblage of small dining tables, chairs, board games, glasses, plates, cutlery, pipes, loosely arranged around a kiosk, served by adjoining Middle Eastern fast-food outlets, cafes, shops, and occupied by predominantly Middle Eastern men. Several affordances emerged from these associations of humans and nonhumans, including sit-on-able and play-on-able, supporting social interaction, eating and drinking, all of which are limited to minority ethnic Muslim males. The Muslim women informants suggested that this type space is common in many Muslim cities, with Muslim women typically gathering in private internal spaces. These informants claimed that the Muslim men were drawn to this smaller space because it was more easily

territorialised than the open spaces of Superkilen. Interestingly, while the openness of Superkilen constrained potential intercultural encounter for/with older Muslim men, the same openness enabled Muslim women to gather in public creating the possibility of intercultural encounters with ethnic-Danes.

Another example of how programming and food enabled intercultural encounter in Superkilen was observed in the Red Square on a weekend, when a group of Syrian migrants set up a temporary food stall to engage with the wider community about the political and humanitarian issues in Syria (see C, Figure 31). These interactions were enabled through the appropriation of small area strategically located to capture key flows of everyday life through the Red Square. Within this space, the Syrians established an assemblage of trestle tables, folding chairs, a small collapsible marquee, food, drinks, teapots, a sandwich board sign, disposable plates, cutlery and cups, a portable stove and drinks dispenser. These light and flexible objects were easily plugged into, and then out of, the bigger Red Square assemblage. The distinctive colours and smells of the Syrian/Arabic food attracted ethnic-Danes and minority ethnic groups alike. Purchasing food instigated conversations with the Syrians, while the close proximity of customer also produced intercultural encounters.

5.5 Discussion

Triangulating encounter

This research suggests that affordances, or the relations between humans and nonhumans, have agency to enable intercultural encounter. Of the 108 ethnoculturally-coded in Superkilen, two (i.e. the Thai boxing ring and Japanese octopus-shaped slide) were observed to regularly play a role in enabling intercultural encounter. These social interactions occurred through a form of 'triangulation', which Whyte (1980) defined as, 'the process by which some external stimulus provides a

linkage between people and prompts strangers to talk to each other as though they were not'. Although Whyte identified stimuli that generated largely passive audiences, such as street performers and public art, this research suggests that the affordances (Gibson, 1977) that emerge from human-nonhuman assemblages can act as stimuli for intercultural encounters. In other words, it is the relations between humans and nonhumans that drew people together from majority and minority ethnic backgrounds. These affordance-triangulated encounters of proximity and gestures were observed over and over, every day, between mainly Middle Eastern/African residents and ethnic-Danes. The objects in these encounters all shared certain properties. Each one was surprising, either in its novel form or unexpected presence in an urban public space, giving it agency to attract human actors to it. Once drawn in, multiple affordances emerged across a range of ages, genders and ethnicities, predominantly based on the theme of 'play', and particularly for younger children. The spatial properties of these objects facilitated groups of human actors, while also being sufficiently constrained to compel different forms of interaction and negotiation. The many play-related affordances enrolled the attention of adults, as parents or guardians, to watch over the children. Other human actors were also enrolled by the spectacle of the performances/affordances. In the case of the octopus-shaped slide, other nonhumans were also enrolled into this network, such as the Moroccan fountain, by various human actors to sit and observe.

This research also suggests that ethnoculturally-coding objects and the use of symbolic representation more generally, has limited agency to enable intercultural encounter. In some cases, such as the Iraqi swings in the Red square, the ethnocultural meaning appeared to have little effect on how either utilisation or encounter. Although observably popular across all ethnic groups, interviews revealed that people were drawn to the swings unique design and the motion generated when in use. At the same time, intercultural encounter was constrained by the private-group

seating arrangement. In other cases, the ethnocultural-coding of objects had the agency to repel human actors, leading to resentment and anger. These objects were perceived to carry negative connotations, such as bins (rubbish), drains (wastewater) and sewer covers (sewage). Finally, the deliberate spatial arrangement of ethnoculturally-coded objects recreated geopolitical conflicts associated with local minority ethnic groups, which contributed to negative, even violent, reactions, pushing groups apart rather than bringing them together. This could be read as an attempt to design a type of 'heterotopia'³¹ (Foucault, 1970). However, as Chantal Mouffe (2005) notes, public space is always striated, always contested, always plural and always mediated by power relations.

This research builds on Whyte's (1980) concept of triangulation, but argues that his account is limited in prescribing agency to either human actors or nonhuman actors as the stimuli for triangulating encounters. Rather, this research argues that it is the relations between human and nonhuman actors that generate the stimuli (affordances) to enable intercultural encounter through proximity and gesture. Following Akrich (1992), designers can propose a script for how human actors will interact with nonhuman actors, but there is no guarantee that the script will be followed. Rather, as this research shows, the script will be adapted through human-nonhuman improvisations. Designers, therefore, should learn from these performances to develop scripts.

Shaping encounter

These findings build on seminal, as well as more recent research, exploring the role of seating in social interactions in public spaces. This body of work has provided important insights about social distances (Hall, 1969), seating location and type (Gehl, 1987; Shaftoe, 2008; Whyte, 1980), sitting positions (Sommer, 1969), and conviviality

³¹ Discussed in section 3.8.

(Rishbeth & Rogaly, 2018). These scholars have focused mainly on common seating typologies found in the public spaces of Western cities, particularly straight and circular benches (Figure 32).



Figure 32. Potential for eye contact for different seating typologies in Superkilen

However, this research suggests certain forms of public bench have more agency to enable intercultural encounter. For example, observations showed the crescent-shaped bench in the Black Square enabled a range of private and social interactions across different ages, genders and ethnic groups. The properties of this bench that appeared to contribute most to its agency to attract various human actors and support intercultural encounters included its width and curvature. The concave shape, with its gradual curvature, created the potential for social interaction without forcing eye contact, while the width accommodated a range of individuals and small to medium sized groups. Other aspects of this bench's form supported social interactions, such as the back which slopes up from the ground on one side and back down again. The reinforced concrete form and width enabled children, supported by an adult, to walk along the ledge, leading to encounters with people seated on the bench. The spatiality of this bench also had agency that contributed to repeated intercultural encounters. Located at the intersection of two key movement paths used by local residents to traverse the Black Square, the bench provided a resting place for people carrying bags of groceries. While this led to some encounters where conversation arose

between majority-minority groups, the simple act of passing by also led to moments of encounter through simple gestures of smiles, nods and verbal acknowledgements.

This research argues the crescent-shaped bench represents a more democratic form of seating. Heurtin (2005), in *The Circle of Discussion and the Semicircle of Criticism*, notes of the openness of the semicircular seating arrangements of French parliaments, which he claims enabled the voice of the people to be represented, as opposed to previous circular arrangements that emphasised visual communication. The semicircular seating arrangement draws from the ancient theatre where the audience were verbally engaged in the performance. Heurtin (2005, p. 768), quoting Francois Furet, notes of the verbal communicative agency of semicircular seating:

since the word, which is by its nature public, is the instrument that discloses what would like to remain hidden, hence evil; and it constitutes a constant state existing between words, the only ones qualified to appropriate it, but rivals in the conquest of that evanescent and primordial bond that is the will of the people.

The semicircular form of the crescent-shaped bench had similar agency to enable verbal, and nonverbal communication.

Programming encounter

This research argues that the scope of programming designed into open-public space can be both contradictory and conflicting in shaping intercultural encounter. It can, on one hand, be productive, while on the other, counterproductive.

The expansive or underdetermined programming of Superkilen attempts to provide something for everyone. In doing so, some minority ethnic groups (middle-aged to older Muslim men) were unable to occupy Superkilen in a way that was consistent with their habitus – as a male-only territory. However, as a result, other minority ethnic groups (Muslim women) were drawn to Superkilen, even though occupying open-

public space is generally inconsistent with their habitus. In other words, while Muslim men were constrained by this openness, Muslim women were enabled. The openness of Superkilen simultaneously appears to open up opportunities for intercultural encounters with one group, while closing down opportunities with another group. This research revealed another dimension of open programming which closed down opportunities for intercultural encounter, related to conflicting habitus. Spaces with an open programme, with many potential spatial practices, had the agency to repel some minority ethnic groups, such as local Muslim people whose preference for eating food with family clashed with the desire of young ethnic Danish adults to use the same space to sunbath. Interestingly, the agency of open programming to constrain intercultural encounter, revealed more limited or overdetermined programming had the agency to enable social interactions. These are not the 'tight spaces' Sommer (1974) railed against, with overtly prescribed rules that limited uses. Rather, these spaces focused on playing and eating, which this research has shown to have agency to support a range of encounters, from fleeting interactions to lengthy conversations.

This research has also shown how the underdetermined programming of Superkilen enabled different forms of appropriation, including the skateboarders with homemade obstacles, and some Syrian refugees with food stalls. Such appropriations are consistent with Sennett (2018) and Jacobs (1964), as well as those of Lefebvre (1968) in the *Right to the City*, de Certeau (1984) in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, and Massey (2005) in *For Space*. However, some appropriations also territorialised space, particularly the significant area of the Red Square occupied daily by the predominantly ethnic-Danish skateboarders. Although not deliberately intended to exclude, skateboarding appears to be inconsistent with many young Middle Eastern males' sense of masculinity, which constrains the potential for intercultural encounter. In another example, the openness of Superkilen also enabled appropriation by

commercial entities, which territorialised space in an exclusionary manner, albeit temporarily.

I argue that open-public space with expansive programming is underdetermined because it provides for a greater range of prescribed and improvised affordances. Therefore, open-public space with limited programming is overdetermined because it provides for a limited range of prescribed and improvised affordances. Underdetermined and overdetermined programming produce presence and proximity in different ways, with different outcomes for intercultural encounter. This research suggests that underdetermined programming attracts people (presence) but does not necessarily bring them into contact with one another (proximity). On the other hand, overdetermined programming also attracts people but is more effective in bringing people into contact with one another. In underdetermined programming, presence is more dispersed limiting the potential for contact. In overdetermined programming, presence is more concentrated increasing the potential for contact. This research also shows that underdetermined programming enables the presence of certain minority ethnic subgroups but constrains the presence of others. Presence and proximity are therefore important conditions for intercultural encounter in open-public space.

Sennett (2007) posits an under-overdetermined dichotomy in his concept of the Open City. For Sennett, the Open City is underdetermined and, therefore, resilient because it is adaptable to change. In comparison, the 'closed city' is overdetermined and, therefore, brittle because it cannot adapt to change. While accepting the value of Sennett's argument more broadly, particularly in terms of the coexistence of difference, this research suggests that rather than privileging underdetermined above overdetermined, both enable and constrain intercultural encounter in conflicting and contradictory ways. Rather than accepting the dualism of underdetermined and

overdetermined, this research argues, after Deleuze, that they can be more usefully thought of as folding into one another (van Tuinen & McDonnell, 2009).

Chapter 6: Nathan Phillips Square

6.1 Introduction

Nathan Phillips Square is Toronto's main civic public space. It is located in 'The Ward', within the centre of the downtown area of Canada's most ethnically diverse city (Figure 33).



Figure 33. Nathan Phillips Square (NPS), located within The Ward district in the heart of Downtown Toronto (Based on Google Earth, 2018).

The Modernist city hall and square, designed by Finnish architect Viljo Revell, was commissioned to mark the break from the city's monocultural past, and the beginning of its pluralistic future. However, Toronto's most ethnically-diverse neighbourhood, was erased to make way for the twelve-acre scheme (Lorinc et al., 2015). Revell's original scheme drew on the ancient Athenian concepts of the 'Agora' and the 'stoa', to create a democratic space for the city, comprising an arrangement of two curved towers enclosing a circular council chamber, sitting on a 2.5-acre podium. The 8.5-acre ground level of the square was built on top of two levels of underground carparking. An elevated walkway (*stoa*) created a porous frame around the square, with a reflecting pool situated on the southern end. The project was completed in 1965, but after decades of poor maintenance and numerous additions, a revitalisation scheme was commissioned in 2006 and completed in 2012, which sought to reinstate and reinforce Revell's original Modernist scheme.

This chapter is structured to address three of the research questions, as they apply to Nathan Phillips Square. Sections one and two address the secondary research questions: What key 'matters of concern' in the everyday life of Toronto instigated the need for an intercultural public space? And; How is intercultural encounter addressed in the design process and built form of Nathan Phillips Square? The third section addresses the main research question: How does the materiality, spatiality and programming of Nathan Phillips Square enable and constrain intercultural encounter? The final section presents a discussion on the findings.

6.2 Matters of concern

This section explores the key matters of concern in the everyday life of multi-ethnic Toronto that led to a revitalisation scheme, at the scale of the city, the neighbourhood and the square.

Toronto

In an interview for this study, Toronto-based urban affairs journalist and author John Lorinc suggested, to understand Nathan Phillips Square, one first had to understand the 100 years that preceded it. He went on to explain that between 1855 and 1955, Toronto was called 'The Belfast of Canada', because of the domination of Northern Irish Protestants and the Orange Order ('the Order'). The Order was established in Ireland in 1795 to protect the Protestant faith and ascendancy, taking its name from the Dutch-born Protestant William Prince of Orange, who invaded England and defeated the Catholic King James Stuart in the 1760 'Battle of the Boyne'. Every year, on the 12th July, the Order marks this occasion with highly contentious parades that often pass through or close to predominantly Catholic areas across Northern Ireland; it is a time of heightened tensions marked by violence and rioting.

In *Toronto, The Belfast of Canada: The Orange Order and The Shaping of Municipal Culture*, which documents the intolerant origins of modern day cosmopolitan Toronto, Smyth (2015) suggests that Orangeism and its sectarian bigotry and violence, migrated to Toronto along with (mainly) Northern Irish (but also English and Scottish) Protestants. He notes that in 1851, sixty-one per cent of Toronto's residents were migrants from the British Isles and seventy-five per cent were Protestant. Orangeism thrived and the 12th of July was a public holiday, when the city's public spaces were territorialised by Orange Order marches (Figure 34), deliberate demonstrations of dominance (Goheen, 1990). The Order suffocated life in city, using by-laws prohibiting practices that didn't align with Protestant and Orangeism values, compelling Ernest Hemingway and Charles Dickens to write about the injustices (Smyth, 2015).



Figure 34. Mayor Thomas Foster in an Twelfth of July Parade in 1927 (City of Toronto Archives, 1927).

Between 1855 and 1955, every mayor was a Protestant Orangeman, creating a dominant majority that, following Machiavelli's *The Prince* (Latour, 1998), controlled of civic functions, including City Hall, the police, the fire service and the city's main newspapers. In Bourdieusian terms, they controlled the key fields of practice, where all other habitus was out of place. The Order's control of the city was designed to maintain ascendancy and Protestant faith, particularly at the expense of Irish Catholics. However, as Levine (2014, p. 84) notes, 'from the 1880s, Toronto started getting [Chinese] migrants who were even more scary from the majority perspective'. The stranglehold of Protestants and Orangeism on the city remained strong in the middle of the twentieth century, when almost 70 per cent of Torontonians still claimed British origins. However, a major shift in power took place in 1955 that irrevocably changed the city and instigated the end of this dominance; symbolised by the construction of Nathan Phillips Square (Smyth, 2015). The shift was instigated by a scandal involving, then mayor and prominent Orangeman, Leslie Saunders (Figure

35) who was forced to resign after publishing an inflammatory sectarian statement that even offended some of the more progressive Protestants in the city:

The statement requested citizens to thank God for those whose courage against wrong hastened the dawn of freedom and compared the triumph of Protestants over Catholics to more recent victories against the Hun, the Nazi and the Fascists (Bradburn, 2010, September 18, para. 2).

This article became a key actant in the development of Nathan Phillips Square. Following this controversy, Councillor Nathan Phillips was elected mayor, and his Jewish ancestry ended 100 years of Protestant and Orange Order control of City Hall. However, the Protestant elite continued to exert power and influence by maintaining a hegemony in state politics through successive Progressive Conservative governments until 1985 (Ruble, 2012).



Figure 35. Toronto Board of Control, 1956. Left to right: Leslie Saunders, Ford Brand, Nathan Phillips, Joseph Cornish, William R. Allen (City of Toronto Archives, 1956)

Phillips was elected on the basis of a more inclusive agenda that recognised the changing demographics of the city; becoming known as the 'Mayor of All the People' following his acceptance speech when he stated:

Every person should be proud of his ancestry, and I am proud of the blood that flows in my veins. I am sure that every other citizen is proud of the blood that flows in his veins. I shall represent all the people, and I mean all the people in the broadest sense, fairly and without discrimination. I shall cut intolerance, I will try and be you, all the people of Toronto, and reflect your aims, ideals, aspirations and ambitions (MacLennan, 1992, p. 10).

To achieve this vision, Phillips wanted to modernise Toronto and saw the construction of a new City Hall building and civic space as the perfect symbol of this change. At the same time, other key actors in the city's development, including the University of Toronto's architecture department, were promoting a shift away from the Neoclassical architecture that dominated the city, towards the Euro-North American International Style, more commonly referred to as Modernism, which Phillips also came to endorse (Armstrong, 2015). First, however, Phillips needed a substantial site in the heart of the city on which to build his Modernist symbol of change.

The Ward

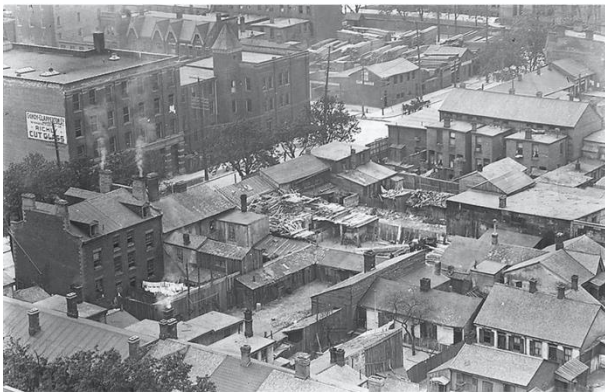
The land on which Nathan Phillips Square was built was first occupied by First Nations people who had been displaced to make way for an expanding city. The area then evolved into the neighbourhood of St. John's Ward (The Ward) (Figure 36), which became home to waves of migrants, beginning with Irish, Scottish, Welsh and Africans, then Jews and Italians, and finally Asians (Lorinc et al., 2015). The Ward was a fine grain assemblage of legal and illegal houses, shops, restaurants, cafes, laundries, entertainment venues, streets, laneways, alleys, and a variety of ethnically-diverse people and spatial practices (Lorinc et al., 2015).

The Ward's built form simultaneously degenerated through underinvestment and poor maintenance by landlords and regenerated through the numerous appropriations of its diverse inhabitants. The Ward was largely informal, emerging from a broad chorus of ethnocultural differences, which stood in stark contrast to the city around it that had become stultified by Protestantism and Orangeism dominance:

The streets of this 'slum' teemed with newcomers who were visibly, audibly and culturally different from the majority. In fact, that period marked an historic point of inflection. It was the moment when 'Toronto the good', a staunchly Anglo outpost preoccupied with defending its Christian values, came face to face with concentrated ethnic diversity and grinding poverty, all in the one place (Lorinc et al., 2015, p. 15).



View of the ward looking west towards Old City Hall ("Looking east from Canada Life Tower, University Avenue," ca. 1929)



View of the Ward looking southeast toward Queen St ("The Ward back yards, seen from above," 1910)



Chinese Chop Suey restaurant in the Ward (Boyd, 1947, May 22);



Elizabeth Street in the Ward (The Globe and Mail, 1955, April).

Figure 36. St. John's Ward (The Ward) before it was erased to make way for Nathan Phillips Square.

During the early 1800s, City Hall introduced by-laws to control the inhabitation of buildings, employment practices and the use of urban public spaces, including prohibiting working, hawking on footpaths, playing sport, and using public transport on Sundays. All of which ensured that the migrant inhabitants of The Ward stayed away from the “more civilised” inhabitants of the city (Lorinc et al., 2015).

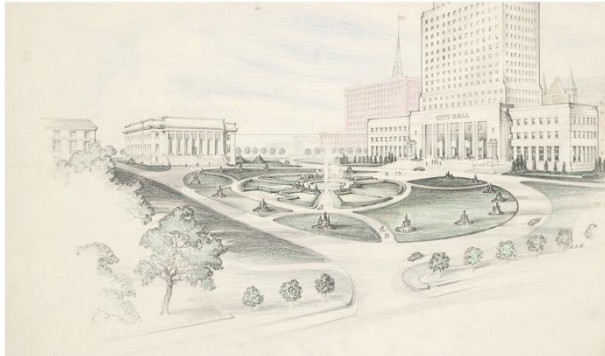
By 1850, the Protestant and Orange Order-dominated City Hall officially marked The Ward for slum clearance, which Lorinc et al. (2015) suggests was based on a combination of its deteriorating physical condition and the behavioural shortcomings of its inhabitants, particularly the Chinese because of their distinctly different culture. He claims the slum clearance project was strongly influenced by The Ward’s proximity to the old City Hall building, where for several decades, successive mayors and councillors literally ‘looked down’ upon the difference and diversity of this neighbourhood. At the same time, the old City Hall building had been deemed outdated and land for a new, modern City Hall building and civic square was under consideration.

The desire for a civic square in Toronto dates back to 1911, when a design based on the ‘City Beautiful Movement’ was proposed (Figure 38), but not realised because of a combination of the 1913 recession and the first World War (Armstrong, 2015). Another proposal was made in 1928 called ‘St Julien Place’ but it was also not realised, this time through a combination of the Great Depression and second World War. The idea was resurrected again in 1952 but it was also thwarted, this time as a result of criticism by architecture staff and students at the University of Toronto, who argued that its Neoclassical style was outdated, which criticism instigated an international competition to encourage new styles of architecture, particularly Modernism (Armstrong, 2015).

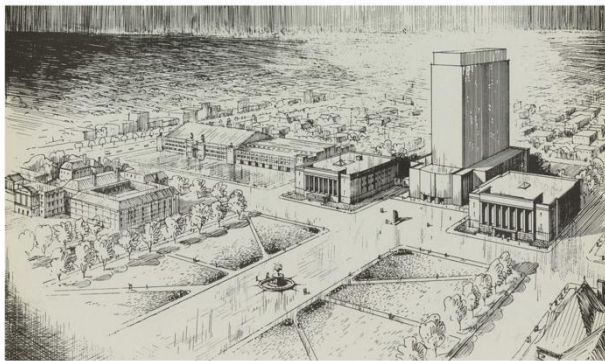
Chapter 6: Nathan Phillips Square



'City Beautiful' proposal by Alfred Chapman, Architect 1929 (Chapman, 1929).



'St. Julien Place' by City of Toronto in 1945 ("Proposed new City Hall and Civic Square," 1945, November).



Marani and Morris, Architects in 1952 (Marani & Morris Architects, 1952).



By Marani and Morris, Mathers and Haldenby, and Shore and Moffat, Architects in 1955 (Marani & Morris Architects et al., 1955).

Figure 37. Previous proposals for a new city hall and square in Toronto.

However, City Hall was still dominated by the conservative views of Protestantism and Orangeism, and the competition was therefore limited to three local architectural firms, who were tasked with producing a joint scheme. These firms were well-known for producing much of Toronto's dominant Neoclassical architecture and their proposal was widely criticised, both locally and further afield, by architectural heavyweights including Frank Lloyd Wright and Walter Gropius (Armstrong, 2015). In response, the newly appointed mayor Nathan Phillips, proposed an international competition open to all styles of architecture.

Nathan Phillips Square

In order for the project to proceed Phillips first had to complete the erasure of The Ward, which began in 1946 nine years before Phillips took office. This was met with strong opposition from local residents, represented by Jean Lumb; a locally-born woman of Chinese migrants who was still trying to save what was left of Chinatown in 1967 after the scheme was completed (Figure 38). Demolition was still ongoing when the competition was launched in 1957. By 1965, when the new City Hall and civic square were officially opened, the neighbourhood had been almost completely erased (Figure 39).



Figure 38. Jean Lumb campaigning in 1967 to save what was left of Chinatown following the opening of Nathan Phillips Square (Chan, 2011).

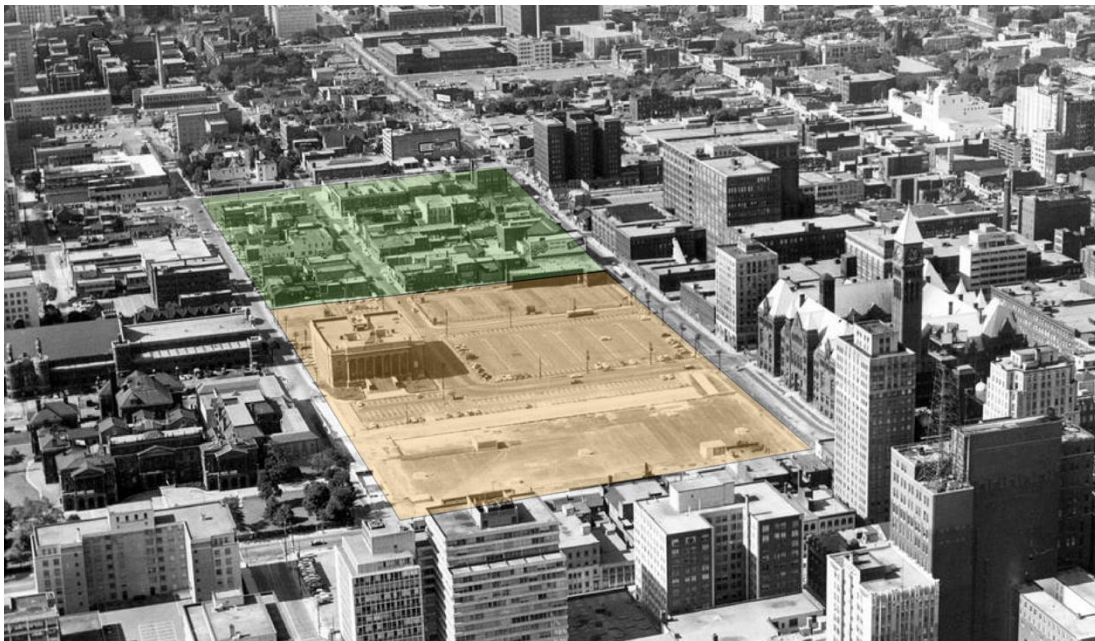


Figure 39. The Ward in 1959, looking north: the area shaded in orange shows the site cleared for the new City Hall building and civic space; the area shaded in green is the reminder of The Ward neighbourhood not yet demolished (City of Toronto, 1957).

The celebrated Finnish architect Eero Saarinen had been appointed as an advisor to the City of Toronto for the competition process, shortly after he completed his involvement with the competition to design the Sydney Opera House in Australia (Armstrong, 2015). Whereas the competition for the Sydney Opera House received 217 entries, Nathan Phillips Square received 513 submissions making it the largest such competition at the time (Armstrong, 2015). Entries came from forty-two different countries and included established architects such as I.M. Pei. Despite the number of entries and diversity of architects, most entries, including all those shortlisted, were in the Modernist style (Figure 40). Despite Saarinen's important role, Armstrong (2015) claims he was largely absent for most of the jury process. When he finally did arrive, Saarinen is rumoured to have "rescued" the winning entry by Finnish architect Viljo Revell from the pile of rejects; something he is also reported to have done with Utzon's winning entry for the Sydney Opera House ("The competition," 2017).



Figure 40. The nine entries shortlisted for the original competition in 1955: (Top row from left) David Horne, Canada; Frank Mikutowski, United States; Gunnlogson and Nielsen, Denmark; I.M. Pei, United States; (Bottom row from left) John Andrews, United States; Perkins and Will, United States; William Hayward, United States; Viljo Revell, Finland (Arthur, 1958a).

Revell was announced the winner on the 26th September 1958 (Figure 41). Despite opening the competition up to the world of architects, some Torontonians were just 'relieved the winner was Finnish and not from Communist China, Ethiopia, or Patagonia' (Armstrong, 2015, p. 66). Revell drew closely on the ancient Athenian 'Agora' (meaning gathering place or assembly) and the 'stoa' (meaning portico), to create a democratic space for the city (Armstrong, 2015). Revell's scheme comprised a unique and innovative arrangement of two curved towers (20 storeys on the west and 27 storeys on the east) enclosing a circular council chamber, sitting on a 2.5-acre two-storey podium connected to the square by a ceremonial ramp. The 8.5-acre ground level of the square sat on top of two levels of underground carparking with capacity for 2400 vehicles. An elevated walkway (*stoa*) created a porous frame around the square's southern, eastern and western edges, with stairwells providing access from the ground-level. The walkway connected with the podium on the eastern side and with the Sheraton Hotel across Queen Street on the southern edge. A reflecting pool was situated on the southern end inside the elevated walkway, to double as an ice-skating rink during the winter. A large landscaped area was located almost the full length of the eastern side of the walkway. The rest of the main square was programmed for civic events and ceremonies and therefore largely empty open space. The outer perimeter of the square was landscaped, but concrete - the principle material of the Modernist movement – dominated, which had concerned several of the competition jurors because of its starkness (Armstrong, 2015).



Figure 41. Viljo Revell's winning scheme for Nathan Phillips Square (Arthur, 1958b).

Revell's scheme was greeted with enthusiasm by the architectural profession and the public alike in Toronto. However, outside of Canada not everyone was so enamoured, including Frank Lloyd Wright who declared 'you've got a headmarker for a grave and a future generation will look at it and say, "This marks the spot where Toronto fell"' (Armstrong, 2015). Although Lloyd Wright was proven wrong, the criticisms about the starkness of the square remain topical today (Keegan, 2007, May 7).

6.3 Design actants

This section examines the relations of human and nonhuman actors in the development and revitalisation of Nathan Phillips Square, beginning with the design briefs, then the design competitions, and finally the built form of the two schemes.

Brief

The City of Toronto's 'Official Plan' ("the plan") is a strategic planning framework that is, 'intended to ensure that the City of Toronto evolves, improves and realises its full potential in areas such as transit, land use development, and the environment' (City of Toronto, 2006b). In the introductory section, a clear declaration is made concerning the value of ethnic diversity:

As in nature, diversity is key to our social, cultural and economic life. Diversity is our strength because it means vibrancy, opportunity, inclusiveness and adaptability - it is a fundamental building block for success. To be successful, our future must also be diverse, inclusive and equitable (City of Toronto, 2006b, p. 6).

In the same section, it also notes the city's 'future is one where ... multiculturalism is celebrated, and cultural diversity supported'. Although this is applied at the macroscale of the city, the plan also considers the importance of providing for diversity at the microscale of public spaces:

The challenge is ... not only the diversity and complexity of the ... open space system, but also ... the diverse and complex needs of people and neighbourhoods across the City (City of Toronto, 2006b, p. 84).

There is an implicit relationship here between the human and nonhuman aspects of urban public space, and the different needs of different users. The strategic framework provided the context for the development of the design brief for a revitalisation of the square.

In 2005, the City of Toronto launched a design competition to revitalise Nathan Phillips Square on the basis of urgent maintenance issues and to address the ad-hoc management of the space, including a growing number of installations that were considered out of keeping with the original scheme. The design brief had two key objectives: firstly, to give the square a 'facelift'; and secondly, to reinstate and reinforce Revell's original scheme (City of Toronto, 2006a); as one representative of

the City of Toronto, interviewed for this study, noted that 'every effort was made to ensure that we remained as close to the original design. There was a strong feeling that the original [scheme] had to be preserved'.

Over the forty-year period since the original scheme was officially opened in 1965, the square has been subject to a number of additions, including a 'Peace Garden' situated in the centre of the main open space (Figure 42 and Figure 43). These interventions were often controversial because they worked against the integrity of the original scheme, as one of the designers interviewed for this study noted:

[The Peace Garden] was built in the eighties at a time when ... you put things in the square to ... prevent people from congregating. The design community was up in arms about the fact that they were putting something in the middle of Nathan Phillips Square [but] who can argue with world peace (revitalisation scheme designer).

Despite not being part of the original scheme, the Peace Garden was included in the square's heritage designation (a key actant), and the brief made allowances for relocating the garden to an alternative site in the square (City of Toronto, 2006a, p. 30). The brief also allowed for the relocation of other monuments, with the exception of Henry Moore's 'The Archer' sculpture – a modernist piece commissioned by Revell for the original scheme.

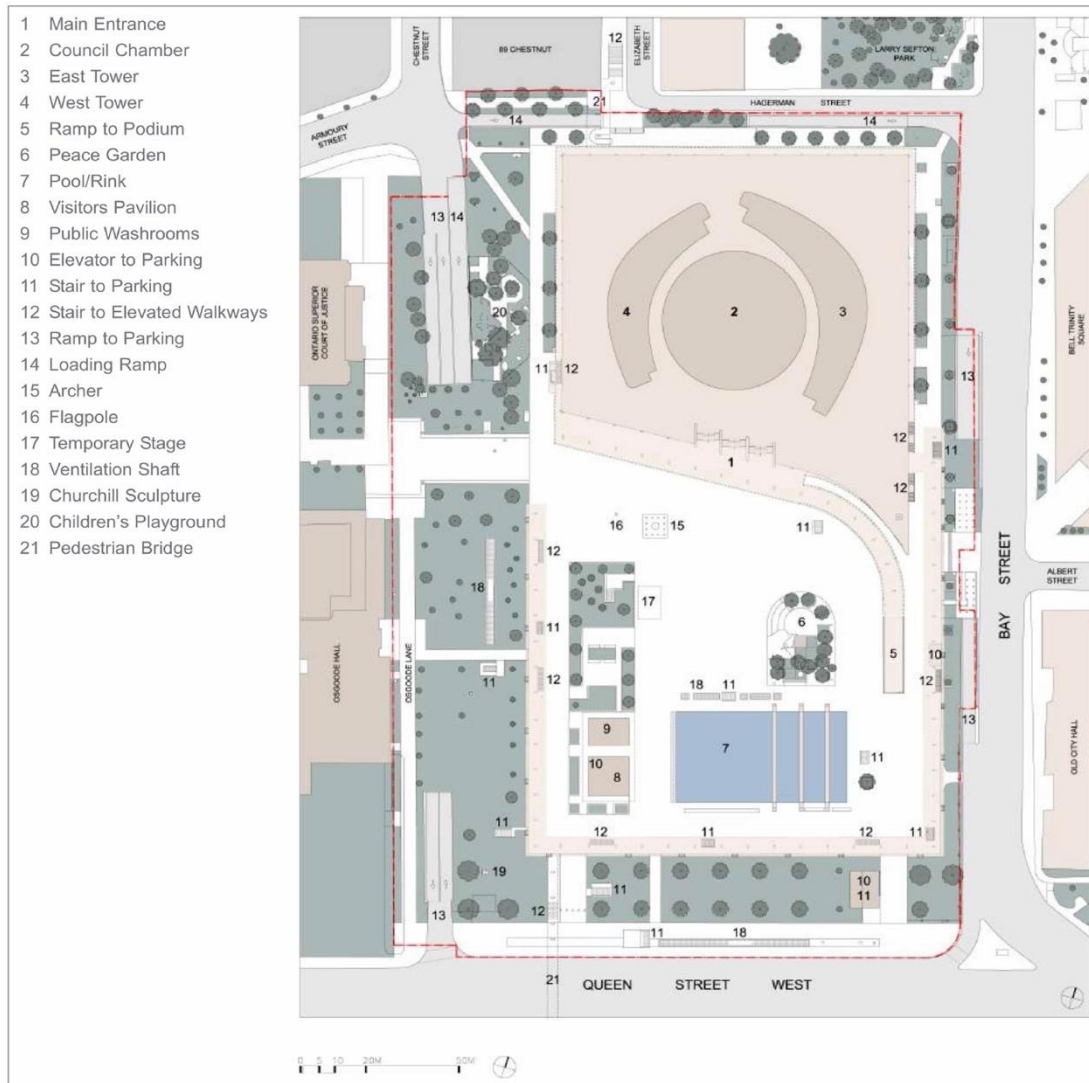


Figure 42. Site plan of Nathan Phillips Square before the revitalisation scheme was implemented in 2012 (City of Toronto, 2006a).



Figure 43. The key elements removed or relocated as part of the revitalisation scheme: (centre left) the original Peace Garden; (centre right) the temporary stage; and (top right) the Churchill sculpture (Ryan, 2008).

The brief makes no specific references to ethnocultural differences or intercultural encounter, or other terms such as ‘ethnicity’, ‘multiculturalism’ or ‘diversity’; as one representative of the City of Toronto, interviewed for this study, noted:

I don’t think anybody was studying how to accommodate Somalian mothers with small children, but every effort was made not to prevent Somalian mothers to come and have a good time, or feel comfortable, or enjoy the space (City of Toronto representative A).

This statement suggests that certain assumptions about ethnocultural differences, rather than being informed by the multi-ethnic spatial practices of citizens, as another representative of the City of Toronto acknowledged:

You have to be sensitive to different groups. [It's] about trying to learn about different cultures and what's acceptable and what's not acceptable (City of Toronto representative B).

A third representative of the City of Toronto suggested that the main goal of the revitalisation scheme was to accommodate the large volumes of people for major civic events. Therefore, significant emphasis was placed on decluttering of the main open space, as per the intent of the original scheme. All of the representatives of the City of Toronto interviewed for this research agreed that the square's heritage status ultimately dictated the limits of the revitalisation scheme, which had a significant bearing on the selection of the winning scheme.

Competition

An international design competition for the revitalisation of Nathan Phillips Square was launched in 2006. A total of forty entries were received, which were shortlisted to four for stage two (Figure 44).



Figure 44. Shortlisted entries for stage 2 of the Nathan Phillips Square revitalisation competition: (From the left) Rogers Marvel Architects; Ziedler Partnership Architects; Plant Architects and Shore Tilbe Irwin; Baird Sampson Neuert Architects (Lostracco, 2007, February 21).

The winning scheme was led by local firm Plant Architects Inc, in collaboration with Shore Tilbe Irwin & Partners (now Perkins+Will), was announced in 2007 (Figure 45). The Chair of the competition jury, Eric Haldenby, commented on the winning entry, 'in reaching our decision ... we noted how the winning submission respects and restores the beauty and dignity of architect Viljo Revell's vision, while preserving and enhancing its unique heritage qualities'. One of the lead designers, interviewed for this study, noted:

We entered this competition for a few reasons. One is obviously we really love the original building and square. It marks a moment in the culture of Toronto where Toronto became a modern city. We were also worried that someone coming from outside might build a banana in the middle of Nathan Phillips Square and kind of destroy the thing that was there (revitalisation scheme designer).

The emphasis on protecting Revell's original scheme was a reflection of the design team's affinity with the city's Modernist architecture and their desire to protect it.



Figure 45. The winning entry by Plant Architects Inc, in collaboration with Shore Tilbe Irwin & Partners (Courtesy of Plant Architects)

There is an interesting parallel here with the city's attachment to the neoclassical style that dominated Toronto up to the mid-twentieth century, which a number of prominent local architects and critics argued was no longer appropriate for the needs of a twentieth century city (Armstrong, 2015). Revell's Modernist scheme was heralded as a break from the city's neoclassical style:

[It is] the most original in conception of any of those submitted. The monumental qualities are of a high order and it is a composition of great strength. Its shape is distinctive and dramatic, setting it apart from other structures in Toronto and from administrative and office buildings everywhere (Kapelos, 2015, p. 2).

Whereas the original scheme was lauded for its originality, the designers for the revitalisation scheme agreed that their entry was the least radical of those shortlisted because it paid such close attention to Revell's original scheme (Goldsbie, 2016, September 29). However, whereas the changing needs of the city in the middle of the twentieth century were used to argue for a change in architectural style, the heritage status of Nathan Phillips Square effectively closed down any such argument at the beginning of the twenty-first century when the city had evolved into the most ethnically diverse in the world.

Form

The designers sought to reinstate and reinforce key elements of Revell's original scheme, some of which had never been realised, while others had been compromised by the additions discussed earlier:

[Define] the interior space of theatre and square – a theatre for the city – where planned and unforeseen events are encouraged, against a vast forested perimeter of intimate programmed green rooms (Plant Architect Inc., 2007).

They proposed four principal design strategies to achieve this, as summarised in Table 4, and shown in Figure 46:

No.	Strategies	Status (as of May 2018)
1	'Open the Square' by removing the various interventions that had been added over the years	Completed
2	'Program a porous perimeter with green rooms' by introducing or upgrading existing programming and relocating the Peace Garden	Partially completed (Peace Garden)
3	'Activate the stoa as a threshold' by landscaping the elevated walkway and podium of City Hall	Not started
4	'Organize the existing architecture to bridge the threshold' by renovating existing buildings and adding new structures, such as a permanent stage	Completed

Table 4. The four key strategies of the revitalisation scheme (Plant Architect Inc., 2007).

Eleven years on from the awarding of the competition, only two of the four strategies have been fully realised and one partially completed. The green roof on the podium (Figure 46) was, according to several interviewees for this study, prioritised for a number of political and technical reasons, while the elevated walkway and perimeter remain largely untouched. The result is a vast expanse of concrete, with the only shade provided by the undercroft of the elevated walkway and the roof of the new stage. Interviews with representatives of the City of Toronto and the designers indicated that there was no timeframe for completing these interventions.



Figure 46. Six key physical interventions within the main square to achieve the four main strategies of the winning scheme: (A) Green roof on podium; (B) Relocated peace Garden; (C) Permanent stage; (D) New seating type; (E) Renovated pavilion; and (F) New water fountains; Site plan for revitalisation scheme (Courtesy of Plant Architects)

One of the designers, interviewed for this study, noted that while there was no overt agenda to accommodate ethnocultural differences or intercultural encounter, there was also no explicit desire not to. This was consistent with the views of the City of Toronto. However, this informant noted, 'I think we did see [the square's Modernist architecture] naively or perhaps in a kind of assumed way as being fairly universal'.

6.4 Material agencies

This section explores how the human and nonhuman relations of Nathan Phillips Square enable and constrain intercultural encounter. These findings are presented under six themes that emerged through the constant comparative analysis framework: Occupation, Symbolism, Seating, Appropriations, Control and Commodification.

Occupation

The patterns of movement and occupation in Nathan Phillips Square are largely consistent on both weekdays and weekend days, only changing as the volume of occupants rises and falls with the time of day and changes in weather. Figure 47 shows the typical movement patterns observed during this research. Patterns varied little by weekday or weekend day, or by time of day. During the week, particularly during the morning and evening commuting peaks periods, there is a semi-continuous flow across the square, mainly from the southern boundary by workers emerging from the subway and PATH³² on Queen Street. The volume of flow changes during midday, mainly as workers from City Hall, the adjoining government buildings to the east, and the financial district to the south, come into the square to eat lunch. In the evenings and into the night, movement becomes more random.

³² PATH is the name given to a pedestrian network comprising 30km of underground walkways connecting public transport with commercial, civic and residential land-uses.



Figure 47. Typical movement patterns through the ground plane of Nathan Phillips Square.

Figure 48 shows typical weekday patterns of occupation by ethnicity. In general, occupation was higher on the ground level and closely aligned with the provision of seating throughout the square, particularly around the reflecting pool. Occupation levels peaked during the midday, mainly associated with workers coming into the square to eat lunch, as can be seen by the clusters of five to six occupants occupying the semifixed picnic tables in the centre of the open area. Occupation of the stage was relatively low across all periods of the day. Occupation of the upper levels, including the elevated walkway, podium and pavilion rooftop, were particularly low in the morning and evening periods. Significantly lower levels of minority ethnic occupants are noticeable on the podium.

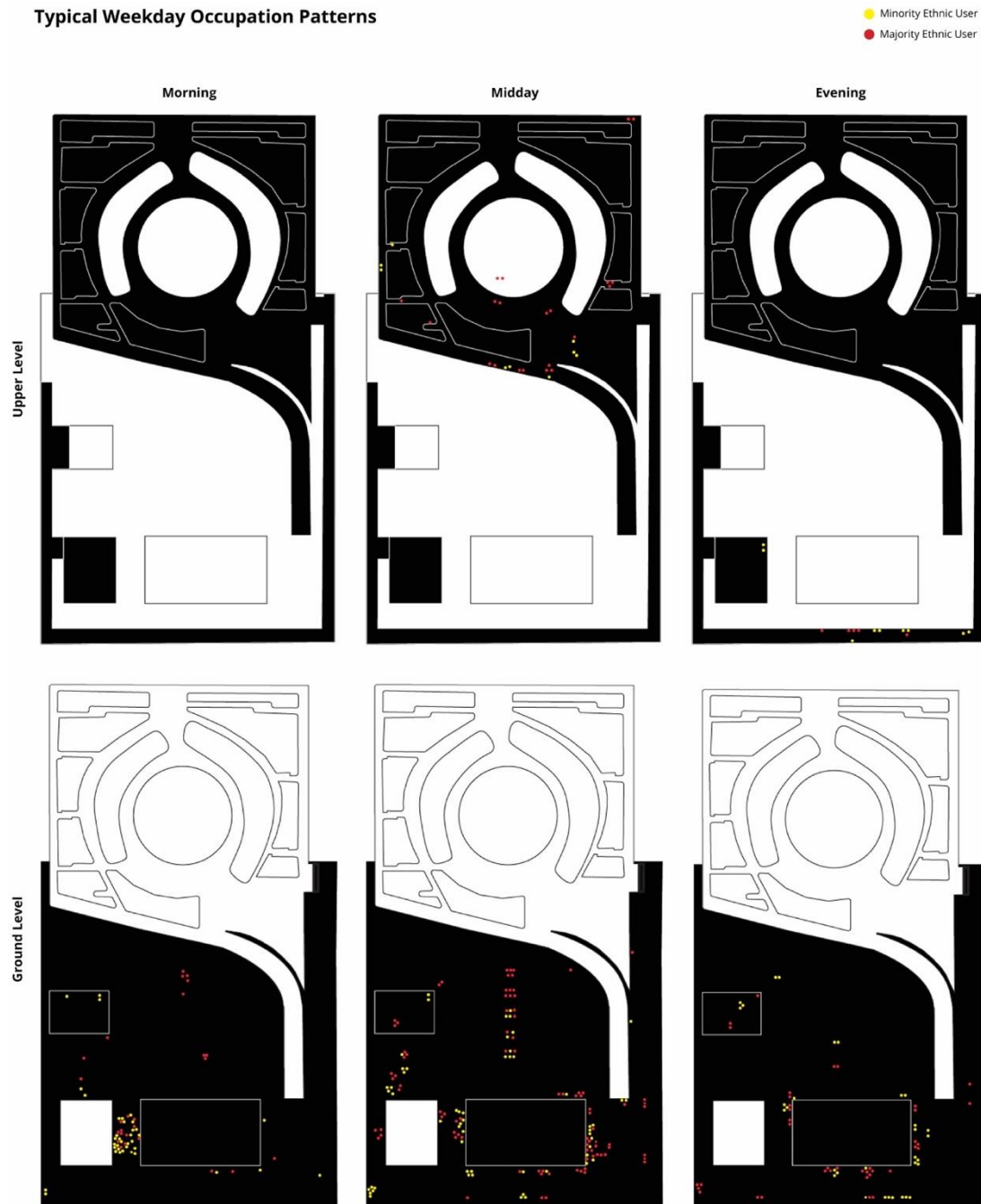


Figure 48. Typical weekday occupation by ethnicity in Nathan Phillips Square.

Figure 49 shows the typical weekend day patterns of occupation by ethnicity. Overall volumes were significantly higher among both majority and minority ethnic groups, across all three time periods. At the ground level, there was a particular concentration of occupants around the reflecting pool, which was significantly influenced by the 3D TORONTO sign situated adjacent to the pool on its north-eastern corner facing

directly towards Queen Street. During the morning period many of the occupants were in tour groups, which can be seen from the significant clusters around the reflecting pool. However, towards midday and onwards into the late evening, the square was mainly occupied by smaller groups of local people.

There was a significant increase in families during the afternoon and late evening, many of whom were from minority ethnic backgrounds, particularly South Asian and Hindi. Occupation of the podium remained relatively low but was more popular with people from minority ethnic backgrounds, particularly during the afternoon and late evening, but only for very short periods of time and almost always on the southern edge facing into the square. This was also the case for the elevated walkway, mainly on the southern edge adjacent to Queen Street. Although there was mixing of minority and majority occupants within groups, across weekdays and weekend days, and across all time periods, there were significantly more clusters of majority-only and minority-only occupants in the main square.

Access to the upper levels was mainly gained via the ramp from the main square, the elevated walkway on the eastern side of the square, and from stairs on the northern side off Elizabeth Street. Provisions for people with mobility impairments were limited. The elevated walkways, which have not been renovated as planned in the revitalisation scheme, were uninviting and provided few facilities, such as seating. Traces of drug and alcohol use were frequently visible. People occupying the walkway were typically youths and younger adults. In general, occupation by youths was low across the entire square.

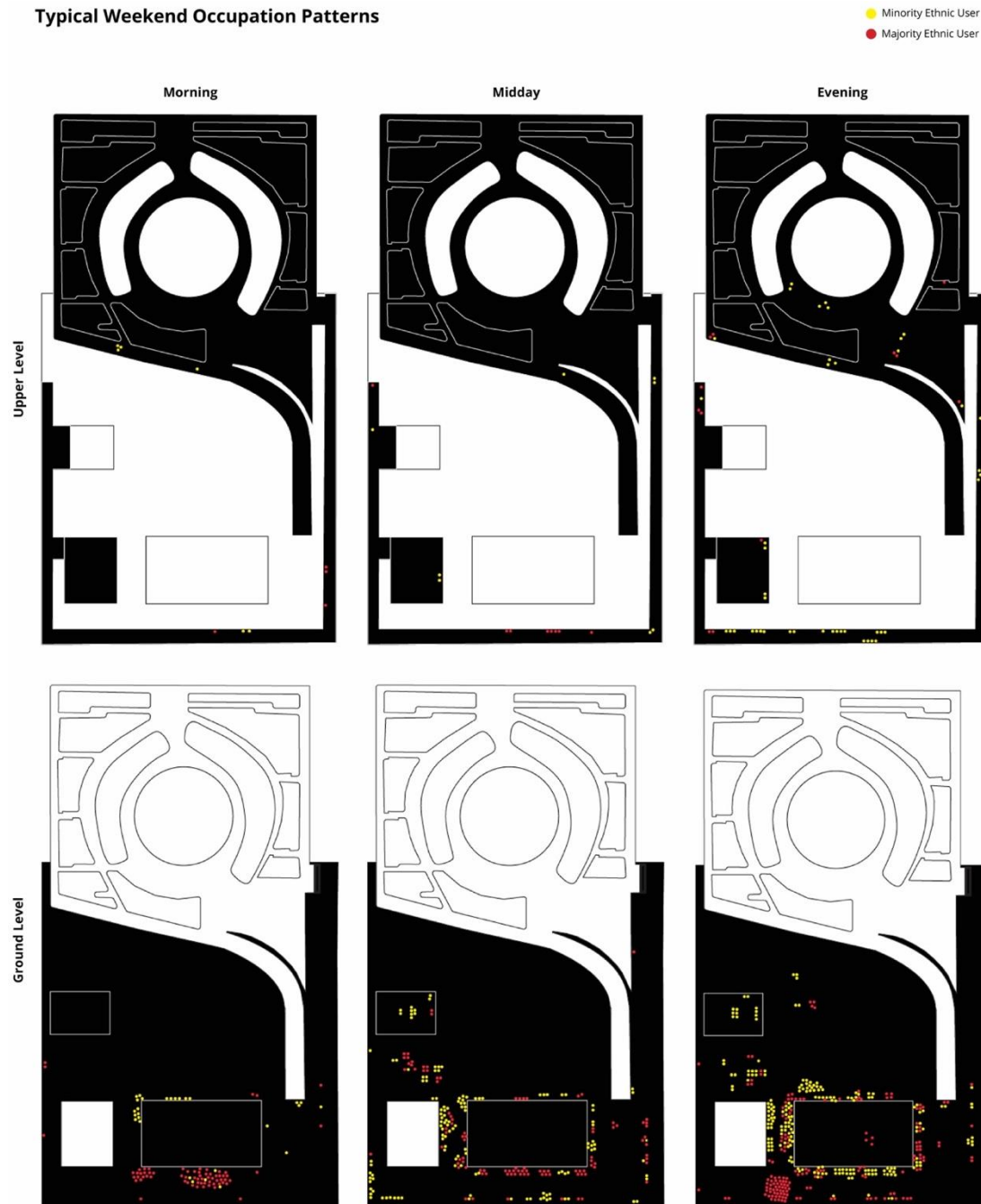


Figure 49. Typical weekend day occupation by ethnicity in Nathan Phillips Square.

Observations showed most human actors forged and maintained associations with nonhuman actors in three primary focal points; the reflecting pool, the 3D ‘Toronto’ sign installation, and the permanent stage introduced as part of the revitalisation scheme (in this order of magnitude).

The reflecting pool (Figure 50) was a key element of Revell's original scheme and was observed to attract a range of ages, genders and ethnicities across the day and week. According to informants for this study, it is particularly inviting during the winter months (late November through to mid-March) when the water freezes, and the pool is translated into an ice-skating rink (see A2, Figure 50). The cold weather becoming a key actant in transforming the assemblage of the pool. During this period a range of nonhuman actors are enrolled into associations with the pool, including skates leased from the pavilion, lockers, washrooms, blankets, food stalls, rubbish bins, and sound systems. Human actors include city council staff who manage and maintain the skate rink, pavilion and activities of participants. A range of affordances can be observed amongst those with certain abilities/skills, including skate-on-able, race-on-able, jump-on-able, spin-on-able, crouch-on-able, and turn-on-able. For those with different abilities/skills, affordances include fall-on-able and slip-on-able. Informants for this study claimed this assemblage enables encounters among strangers, although it could not be verified if this included intercultural encounters. For the period when the pool operates as an ice rink, the associations are performed continually, remaining stable until the season ends and it is transformed once again, back into a reflecting pool.



Figure 50. Occupations of the reflecting pool: (A1) Minority ethnic families gathering around pool in evenings; (A2) Skating on the ice rink during winter; (A3) Dangling legs in water during warmer weather; (A4) Children walking in water during warmer weather; (A5) Density of people along edge of pool; (A6) People eating food along edge of pool.

Warm weather, another key actant, also transforms the assemblage of the pool. The wet and cooling properties of the water in the shallow reflecting pool attracted people, particularly on hotter days from midday into the late afternoon and evening. Observable affordances, primarily for children, included wade-through-able, stand-in-able and cool-in-able, which could be achieved by standing in the water (see A3, Figure 50) or, more commonly among adults, by dangling one's legs in the water while seated along the edge of the pool (see A4, Figure 50). The association of the pool, its ledges, water, the benches around its perimeter, and the warm weather, attracted people of all ages, genders and ethnicities, both as individuals and different sized groups. The main observable affordances from these associations included sit-on-able, stand-on-able and lie-on-able. Fast food trucks parked on Queen Street, rubbish bins and washrooms were regularly enrolled into these associations to support eating (see A6, Figure 50). The density of occupation around the reflecting pool created opportunities for intercultural encounters, most of which were fleeting in nature as people jostled for space (see A5, Figure 50). These associations are made durable by being continually performed on a daily basis. However, the straight benches, lacking agency to support eye-contact and mixed groups of people, were observed to constrain intercultural encounter, as shown by the separate clustering of minority ethnic groups in Figure 48 and Figure 49.

The second focal point of occupation was the 3D Toronto sign (Figure 51). Initially a temporary installation for the Pan American Games in July 2015, it was made permanent in 2016 because of its ability to enrol large numbers of locals, visitors and tourists into associations on a daily basis (City of Toronto, 2015).



Figure 51. Occupations of the 3D Toronto sign: (A1) Adults climbing on the sign; (A2) Children climbing on the sign; (A3) Density of people around the sign; (A4) People sitting in the sign; (A5) People taking photographs with the sign; (A6) People taking shade from the sun in front of the sign.

Observations showed the sign attracted people of all ages, gender and ethnicity. It was particularly inviting to tourists and visitors, many of whom arrived by tour bus; an important nonhuman actor that has become part of the daily assemblage of the square. The sign's shape, size and colour created a strong contrast against the stark, vast open concrete space of the main square, making it more visible to human actors who forged associations through complementary agencies. Observed affordances included sit-on-able, lie-on-able, lean-on-able, climb-on-able, climb-through-able, hide-behind-able, jump-off-able, pose-on-able and play-on-able. Some people enrolled the sign as a prop for photographs, either in the background or for the subject of the photograph to sit/stand in/on (see A5, Figure 51). These human-nonhuman relations were made anew on a daily basis, across the entire week, throughout the full period of fieldwork. Although popular with the public, the installation is a controversial actor that has not been welcomed by several local architects, including the designers of the revitalisation scheme, who claim it works against efforts to protect the integrity of Revell's original scheme. Interestingly, this installation is devoid of any overt ethnocultural specificity but stands out in contrast with the stark and formal language of the square, offering several affordances shared across different ethnic groups. Intercultural encounters were commonly observed as different ethnic groups interacted with the installation. These encounters emerged as people negotiated space, took photographs for one another, and, on occasion, helped each other climb onto/into the sign.

The third focal point of occupation in the square was the permanent stage (Figure 52), which faces directly onto the main open space in front of the city hall building; a space intended for a range of large civic events, political rallies and (permitted) protests.

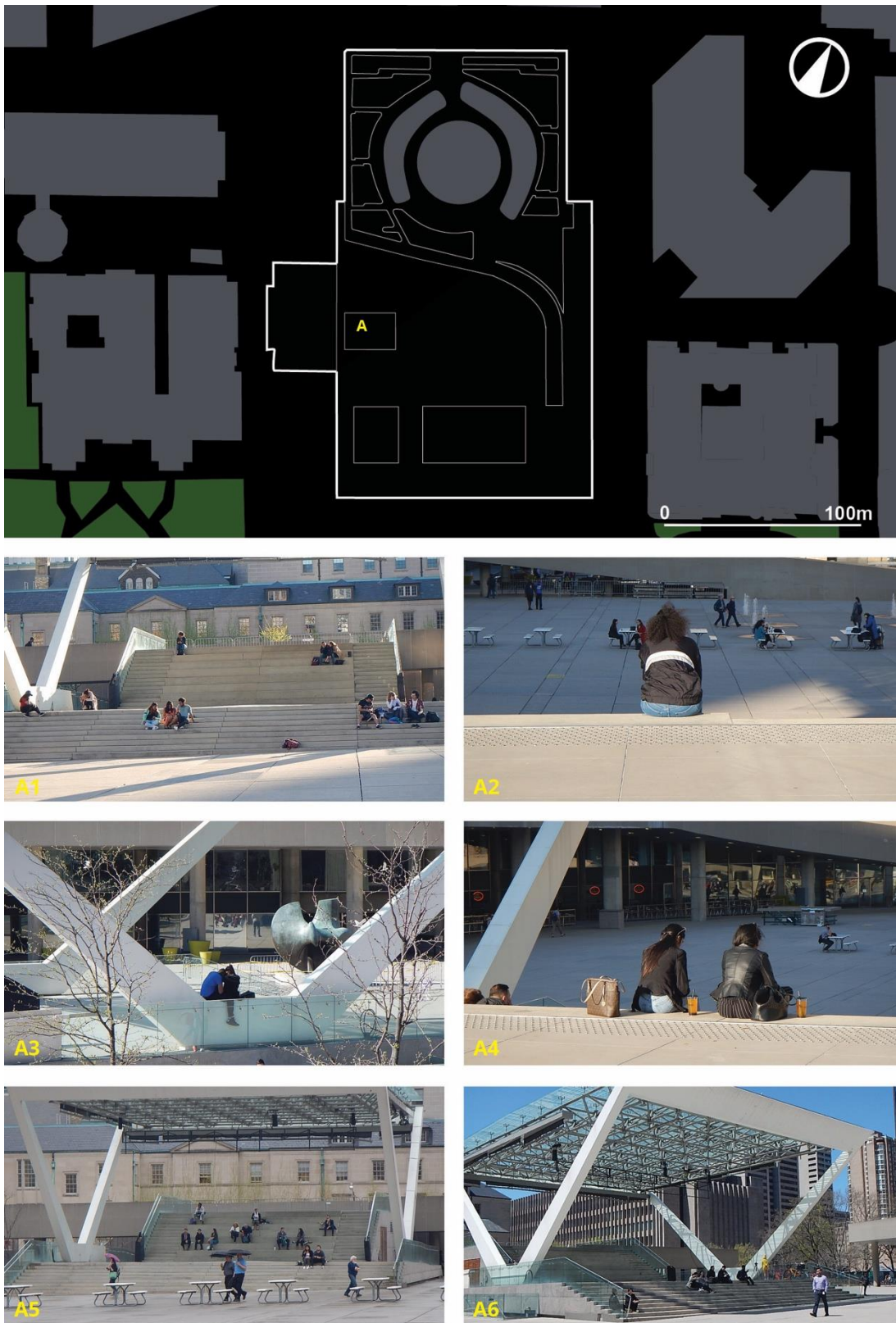


Figure 52. Occupations of the permanent stage: (A1) People sitting on the stage; (A2) Watching from the stage; (A3) Couples being intimate on the stage; (A4) People eating lunch on the stage; (A5) People taking shelter from the rain on the stage; (A6) People taking shade from the sun on the stage.

The stage was one of four principle design strategies of the revitalisation scheme, which sought to reinforce Revell's original scheme, particularly the role of the square as Agora. The designers took this opportunity to give the stage additional agency by including seating in the form of several rows of terraced ledges along its centre between the upper and main stage floors. The designers also connected the stage to the elevated walkway with access provided by steps on both sides. Although the stage was one of the main focal points of occupation, the density of occupants was significantly lower. The highest density of occupation was during midday, particularly during the week, when mostly workers ate lunch in the square (see A1, Figure 52). The main observed affordances from these human-nonhuman associations included sit-on-able, climb-up-able and watch-from-able (see A2-A4, Figure 52). On a small number of occasions, other affordances were observed, mainly among teenagers and younger adults, such as dance-on-able and pose-on-able (for photographs). On occasions when it rained (see A5, Figure 52) or it was sunny (see A6, Figure 52), the roof of the stage sheltered a range of human actors, across different ages, genders and ethnicities.

Symbolism

Flags currently occupy three specific locations in the square, consolidating what was considered an ever-growing number of installations since the square first opened in 1965. The Canadian flag flies highest and occupies the most prominent position in the main square directly in front of City Hall (see A, Figure 53). It is a permanent installation and the only flag that was part of Revell's original scheme. On the southwestern most corner of the roof-top podium, a different flag is flown each day of the year to represent the various ethnic groups in the city (see B, Figure 53). The ceremonial raising of these flags is conducted by associated minority ethnic organisations; several such occasions were observed during this research.

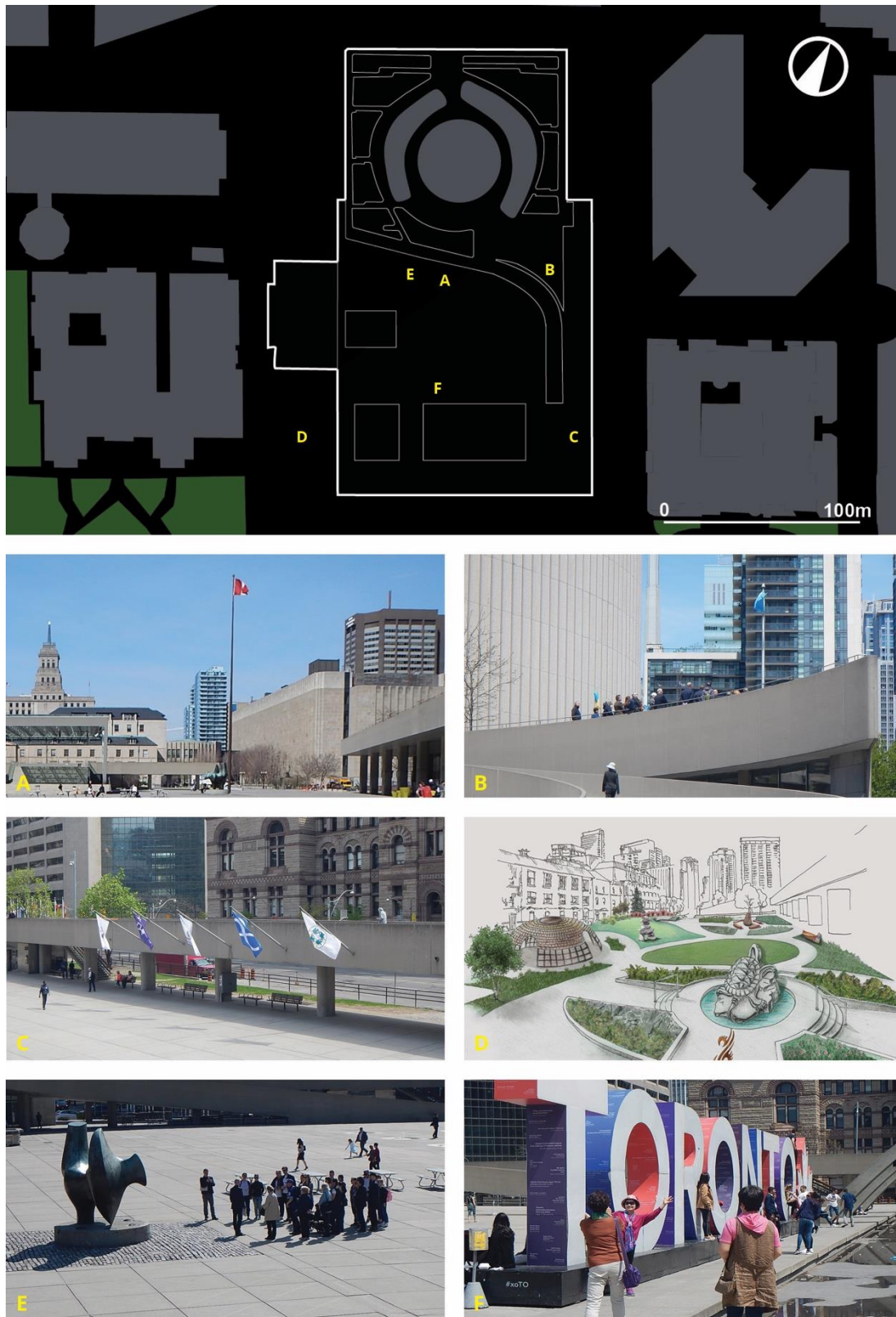


Figure 53. Flags, memorials and icons in Nathan Phillips Square: (A) Canadian flag; (B) Raising ethno-national flags; (C) First Nations flags; (D) Proposed indigenous healing garden (Toronto Council Fire Native Cultural Centre, 2018); (E) Henry Moore's sculpture, 'The Archer', installed as part of Revell's original scheme in 1965; and (F) 3D TORONTO installation.

In June 2017, five new flags representing Canada's First Nations people were permanently installed on the elevated walkway on the western boundary of the square (see C, Figure 53). The agency of these flags was contained within the combination of shapes, colours and topological relations that signified ethnocultural meanings. However, new agency was created through the associations between the flags, spatial positioning and the length of the pole on which the flag was attached. This created a hierarchy placing the Canadian flag on top and the First Nations flags on the bottom. Further agency was generated through associations formed with wind and rain, which either brought more or less attention to the flags through the movement of material in the flags. In addition, the flags were occasionally lowered to signify additional meaning, generating new agency to attract attention. This was possible for all but the First Nations flags, which are constrained by shorter poles. In an interview for this research, an indigenous urban planner and inclusive city building activist, claimed that while these are important symbols for First Nations people, they have no agency to address the everyday issues facing minority ethnic groups (particularly indigenous and black people) in urban public spaces. This informant also suggested the flags lack agency to enable intercultural encounter because few people understand the meanings they hold, which was supported by observations for this research. The relatively isolated location of the ceremonial raising of different ethnocultural flags atop the largely inaccessible podium, prevented close encounters among different ethnic groups. However, these human-nonhuman associations were created anew on a daily basis, creating a spectacle that attracted attention from the square, drawing people into visual contact with the performances.

A range of memorials and artworks are located in the square, which have been 'plugged into' in this assemblage at different times since the original scheme opened in 1965. Each of these nonhuman actors was coded with ethnocultural meaning, giving them agency to form associations with different human actors. Some, such as

the Winston Churchill statue, acknowledges the city's Anglo-Saxon community, while others, such as the Jean Lumb plaque, recognises the established and emerging minority-ethnic communities. However, as with the consolidation of flags in the square, the revitalisation scheme sought to relocate most memorials and artworks to the perimeter, because they did not form part of Revell's original scheme and were therefore considered clutter. In doing so, the previous human-nonhuman relations were transformed; in some cases, such as with the Peace Garden, the change was significant as it was moved from a central location in the open square to a peripheral site on the outer edge where less people pass by/through and opportunities for encountering the memorial and others are reduced.

The only object to remain in place following the revitalisation scheme was the Henry Moore modernist sculpture, *The Archer* (see E, Figure 53), which had been commissioned by Revell as part of the original scheme. However, this artwork caused a controversy in 1965 because many citizens felt it held no cultural significance for the city (Armstrong, 2015). Without enrolling the support of the citizenry, the sculpture could not be funded by the City of Toronto. However, it was able to enrol some powerful allies, such as Mayor Nathan Phillips and a small group of wealthy businessmen who provided the necessary funds. Over time, the association between the sculpture and the square stabilised as more and more citizens came to see it as part of the overall scheme. This network was further stabilised by the inclusion of the sculpture in the heritage designation in 1991. However, in 2017 these alliances were threatened by a proposal from a group of First Nations people to replace *The Archer* with a Healing Garden (see D, Figure 53) in memory of what Canada's 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission' referred to as the cultural genocide that took place in indigenous residential schools³³ (Kestler-D'Amours, 2017, November 25). They

³³ An estimated 50,000 indigenous children (thirty per cent of all indigenous children in Canada between 1820 and 1969) were forcibly placed in these schools, which were designed to assimilate them into the

claimed the memorial would hold significantly more meaning for the city's multi-ethnic communities than Moore's sculpture. They further argued that locating the memorial close to the entrance of City Hall would maximise intercultural encounter and help heal some of the divisions between indigenous and nonindigenous Canadians.

Observations for this research appear to support for this claim given how few associations The Archer was observed to forge with different ethnic groups. Observed affordances were limited to a small number of cases of sit-on-able and pose-in-front-able. Although the Healing Garden had not yet been constructed and cannot therefore be observed, the proposed design appears to offer more possibilities of forming associations because people can move through it, sit in it, and engage with it, more directly. The stability of The Archer in the square has been reinforced by several media commentators, elected officials and other public figures who took umbrage with the proposed Healing Garden:

The city should hold the line on The Archer. Like it or not, this sculpture is an important symbol of Toronto's evolution. As much as Mr. Revell's City Hall, it represents that shining moment when the city overcame its pursed-lipped conservatism and timidity to embrace the future. Let it remain just where it is (Gee, 2017, June 28, para. 16).

It appears The Archer, like the square itself, has become a symbol of the city's embracement of Modernism, giving it powerful agency that is maintained by other assemblages of power. The Archer has also become part of the city's brand, endowing it with further agency but offering little in terms of enabling intercultural encounter. In this sense, The Archer works against the city's 'Diversity is our Strength' moto, whereas the indigenous memorial may have the capacity to help build a more inclusive city by enabling more opportunities for intercultural encounter. Interestingly,

then dominant white Western culture of Canada (Woolford, 2015). Approximately 6,000 children died in the custody of these schools.

what was considered a symbol of the city's future, now seems to leave it somewhat rooted in the past. In 2018, a compromise was reached to locate the Healing Garden on the southwestern corner of the outer perimeter, adjacent to Osgoode Hall and Queen Street; a site left vacant because of the incomplete revitalisation scheme. However, this location will be largely obscured by the elevated walkway and skate pavilion, limiting the agency of the memorial to enable intercultural encounters.

Seating

The dominant seating typology in the square was straight benches, which varied in type, size and materiality, including large concrete benches situated around the perimeter of the reflecting pool and more traditional wooden slatted park benches located under the elevated walkway (Figure 54). Contemporary versions of both seating types were 'plugged into' the assemblage of the square as part of the revitalisation scheme; square concrete benches were placed between the new stage and the renovated pavilion and on the rooftop; and wooden slatted benches were placed within the landscaped areas of the podium and in the Peace Garden. An additional straight bench type was found on the new stage and along the ledges of a concrete planter box located adjacent to the western edge of the reflecting pool. The inclusion of fixed seating in the new stage forged new human-nonhuman associations, observed as sit-on-able affordances, which were not possible with the former (temporary) structure. This seating is fixed in two ways. Firstly, they are physically attached to the surfaces of the square or simply too heavy to move without mechanical assistance. Secondly, they are fixed by the heritage status of Revell's original scheme from 1965.



Figure 54. Fixed seating in Nathan Phillips Square: (A) Straight concrete benches; (B) Wooden slatted benches; (C) Square concrete benches in the main square; (D) Square concrete benches on the podium; (E) Wooden slatted benches on the podium; (F) Wooden slatted circular bench on the podium; (G) Wooden slatted benches in the Peace Garden; (H) Concrete steps on the stage; and (I) Concrete ledge in the main square.

The semifixed seating in the square takes the form of picnic tables located in the main square and on the podium (see A-C, Figure 55). Those located in the main square were mainly arranged in regular patterns, normally in a single linear arrangement between the water fountains and the stage, or occasionally in several short linear rows between the stage and the pavilion. Those located on the podium were typically arranged in an irregular pattern around the forecourt of the council chamber. The human actors, or nonfixed elements of the square, forged associations with the fixed and semifixed seating on a daily basis (Figure 55). Although a wide variety of affordances were typically observed when human actors are drawn into associations with these nonhuman actors (Rietveld & Kiverstein, 2014), observations revealed sit-on-able the dominant affordance for adults, across all ages, genders and ethnic groups, for both the fixed and semifixed seating types. The agencies of seating enabled a range of nested affordances for eating, drinking, socialising, reading and people-watching. A greater range of affordances were observed from the relations children formed with the seating, included climb-on-able, jump-off-able, hide-under-able, crawl-under-able, and play-on-able. Sleep-on-able was frequently observed mainly amongst the homeless occupants of the square under the walkway of the main square or on the outer perimeter (see F, Figure 55). However, sleep-on-able was also observed among some other human actors, but only on the more secluded rooftop podium (see G, Figure 55). Observed affordances associated with seating on the podium were similar to those in the main square, but involved less social interaction, as human actors, particularly teenagers and young couples, appeared to be drawn to the relative privacy of this location. Work-out-on-able was observed when a young man interacted with a square-shaped concrete bench, which was never observed in the main square (see I, Figure 55).

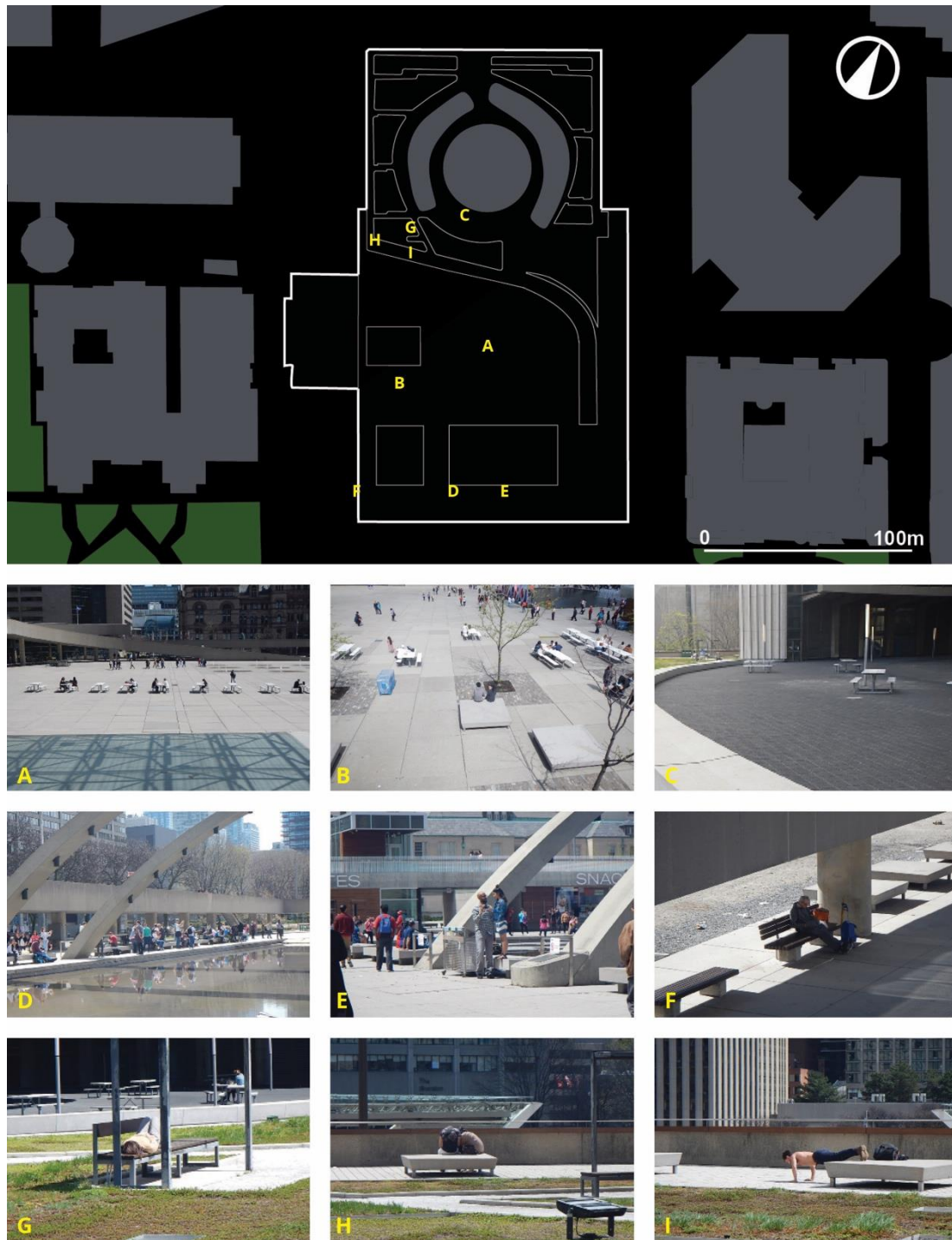


Figure 55. Seating affordances in Nathan Phillips Square: (A) Linear arrangement of tables in main square; (B) Rows of tables between the stage and pavilion (Source: Author 2018); (C) Random arrangement of tables on podium; (D) Sitting around the reflecting pool; (E) Standing on benches to take photographs; (F) Homeless man sitting on bench under elevated walkway; (G) Woman resting on bench on the podium; (H) Couple sitting on bench on the podium; and (I) Man working out on a bench on the podium.

These affordances were enabled by the assemblage of the podium, including its elevated position, relative inaccessibility and subsequently lower occupation, which produced a more private environment compared to the ground plane. Both the fixed and semifixed seating types observably limited social interaction. The straight benches in the main square forced people to sit in rows facing the same direction, which limited occupation to groups of two to three (see A-C, Figure 56). This extended to four on occasion with one standing facing those on the bench. Whilst the semifixed picnic tables enabled up to six facing each other with three on each side, interactions were limited to private groups. On a few occasions two strangers shared these tables with one seated on either side but offset from one another. The confrontational arrangement appeared to constrain social interaction. Only one appropriation was observed, when several of the semifixed tables were taken over by a group of Spanish-speaking (15) adults and (4) young children for a family picnic (See D-F, Figure 56). Two tables were relocated from the centre of the square to the space between the stage and the pavilion. In doing so, the stage, pavilion and elevated walkway were enrolled to provide shelter against the wind. This location also enabled the agency of the sun's heat to be enrolled. Mainly sit-on-able affordances were observed, including several nested affordances associated with eating, drinking and talking. For the children, additional play-related affordances were observed through their interactions with the flat concrete surface of the square (run-on-able, chase-after-able, and kick-balls-on-able), nearby seating and trees (hide-behind-able, run-around-able, jump-on-able, and kick-off-able), and the walls of the pavilion and the stage (kick-off-able). On occasion the adults were enrolled into these activities. The different seating types and their arrangements, across the square, were not observed to enable intercultural encounter.

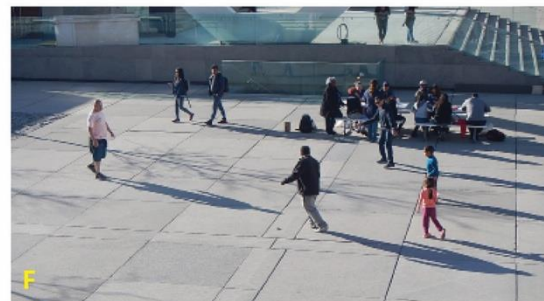
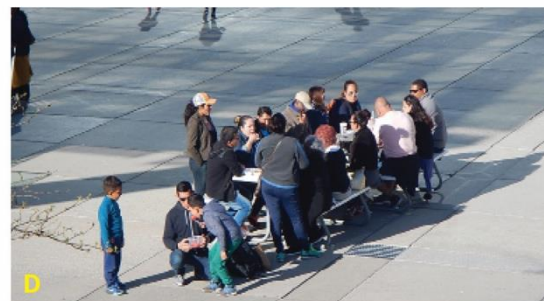
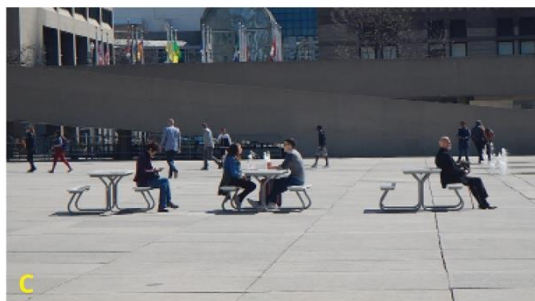
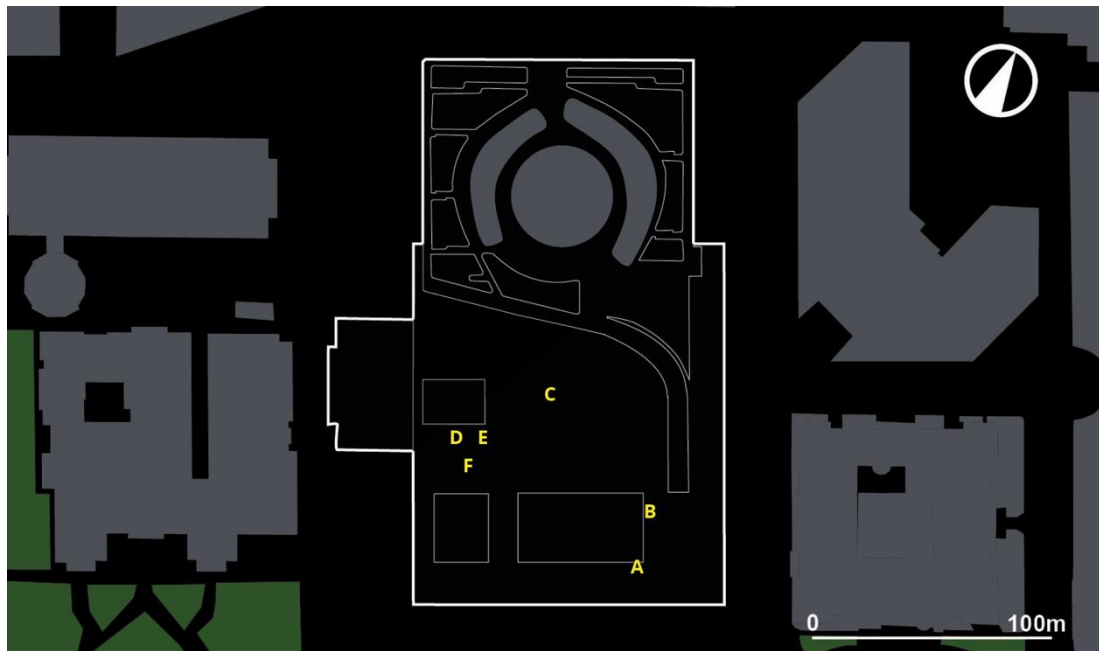


Figure 56. Group seating: (A) People sitting in a row facing forwards on straight bench; (B) Group of four people with one standing; (C) Private groups on nonfixed benches; (D) Appropriation of nonfixed benches for family picnic; (E) Appropriation of nonfixed benches for family picnic; and (F) Family playing ball games in main square.

(In)appropriations

The water jets, which operate infrequently, attracted younger children of all genders and ethnicities (see A, Figure 57). Observed affordances included jump-in-able, jump-over-able, run-through-able, and cool-down-in-able. A few occasions of intercultural encounter were observed when parents from different ethnic backgrounds stood in close proximity of one another while monitoring their children. The children also came into contact with one another, sometimes playing together but mostly in negotiating space. On occasion, children were observed playing football and throwing a Frisbee in the open space (see B, Figure 57). These associations were infrequent and short in duration. Although, prohibited by the square's by-laws, some intercultural encounters were observed.

Another form of appropriation involved small groups of four to six Chinese adult women who were observed frequently practicing Falun Dafa and Tai Chi. Those practicing Falun Dafa positioned themselves under the southern section of the elevated walkway, adjacent to a support column (see C, Figure 57). Whereas those practicing Tai Chi positioned themselves by the southern wall of the new stage (see D, Figure 57). Both groups occupied no more space than was necessary to move comfortably through positions and poses. In both cases, the observed affordances included, stand-on-able and move-on-able (surface), removed-from-able (out of the way of others) and hidden-from-able (the view of city hall).

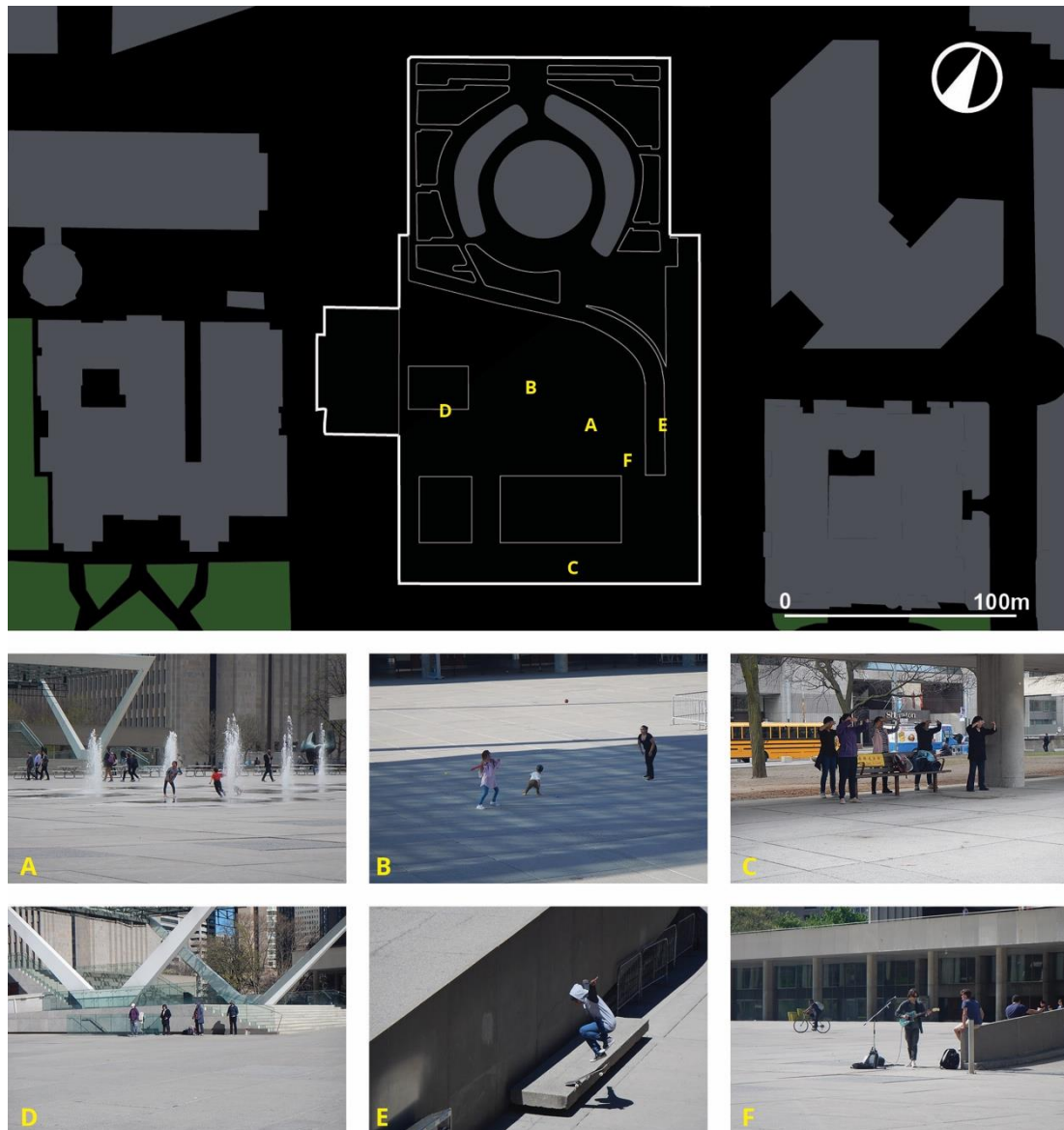


Figure 57. Appropriations in Nathan Phillips Square: (A) Children playing in water fountains; (B) Children playing ball games; (C) Chinese women practicing Falun Dafa; (D) Chinese women practicing Tai Chi; (E) Young adult male skateboarding; (F) Young adult male busking.

Skateboarding, although prohibited in the square, was observed on several occasions, mainly between the ceremonial ramp and eastern section of the elevated walkway (see E, Figure 57). These mostly teenage males, of mixed ethnic backgrounds, forged associations with the smooth concrete surface and the edges and ledges of the linear concrete benches positioned against the wall of the ramp. Several affordances were observed from these human-nonhuman associations,

including ride-on-able, jump-onto-able, slide-along-able, and jump-off-able. The interaction between the skaters and the benches translated them from seats into obstacles. The relatively hidden location produced a hidden-from-able affordance, providing some seclusion from the square's security personnel. Various nonhuman elements of the square had the agency to constrain skateboarding. For example, the main open space left skateboarders too visible or exposed to the security staff, which risked being evicted. Many of the other ledges and benches in the square have been fitted with various types of physical deterrents to stop skateboarding.

On occasion busking was observed, which is another spatial practice prohibited in the square (see F, Figure 57). A young adult majority-ethnic male positioned himself adjacent to the ramp facing towards the reflecting pool, where most people gather. The choice of location produced several observed affordances, including shelter-from-able (wind), proximity-to-able (the other people in the square), and views-from-able. The latter required the enrolment of another adult majority-ethnic male who sat on the wall of the ramp facing out towards the main open space and the city hall building, who appeared to be keeping a look out, possibly for security staff. In each of the three cases, the spatial location enabled these relatively nonconforming practices.

Control

Three forms of control were observed. Firstly, the dominant programme of the square is for large civic events, rallies and protests, which requires the enrolment of City Hall's bureaucratic assemblage, including buildings, offices, telephones, websites, staff, and paperwork. Although some protests take place without permission, representatives of the City of Toronto, interviewed for this research, revealed they and other authorities are prepared for such events. In these circumstances, the police, police horses, riot gear, fencing, and pepper-spray, are enrolled to maintain control. These actors are deployed on the basis of reprepared plans that have considered the spatial

arrangement of the square. The plans take account of how best to position different actors to manage crowds and tackle incidents as they emerge during the protests. Although most of the incidents involve actual protests, several informants for this research claimed some minority ethnic groups attract a similar response:

If indigenous folks or black folks gather in a space, the cops are going to show up immediately. And then everyone's going to be like oh what's going on? It's going to be, the default is going to be they are protesting about something, they are mad about something. People are going to be curious and a bit worried and nervous by a large group of indigenous or black people in a visible space (male indigenous informant).

In such cases, the agency of the square is not considered sufficient to maintain the level of desired control, which leads to the enrolment of a range of external human and nonhuman actors. However, several nonhuman actors are continuously present in the square, which have agency to directly constrain spatial practice.

Modes of surveillance through CCTV and signage were prevalent throughout the square (see A-F, Figure 58), creating the sense of being continually watched by the authorities. There are additional physical control measures in place on the rooftop podium in the form of fences and gates (see G-I, Figure 58), which help enforce restrictions for when this space can be accessed across the day and night, with variations between weekdays and weekend days. Informants for this study revealed that the combination of these measures disproportionately affects minority ethnic groups, and significantly reduces their occupation of the rooftop podium.

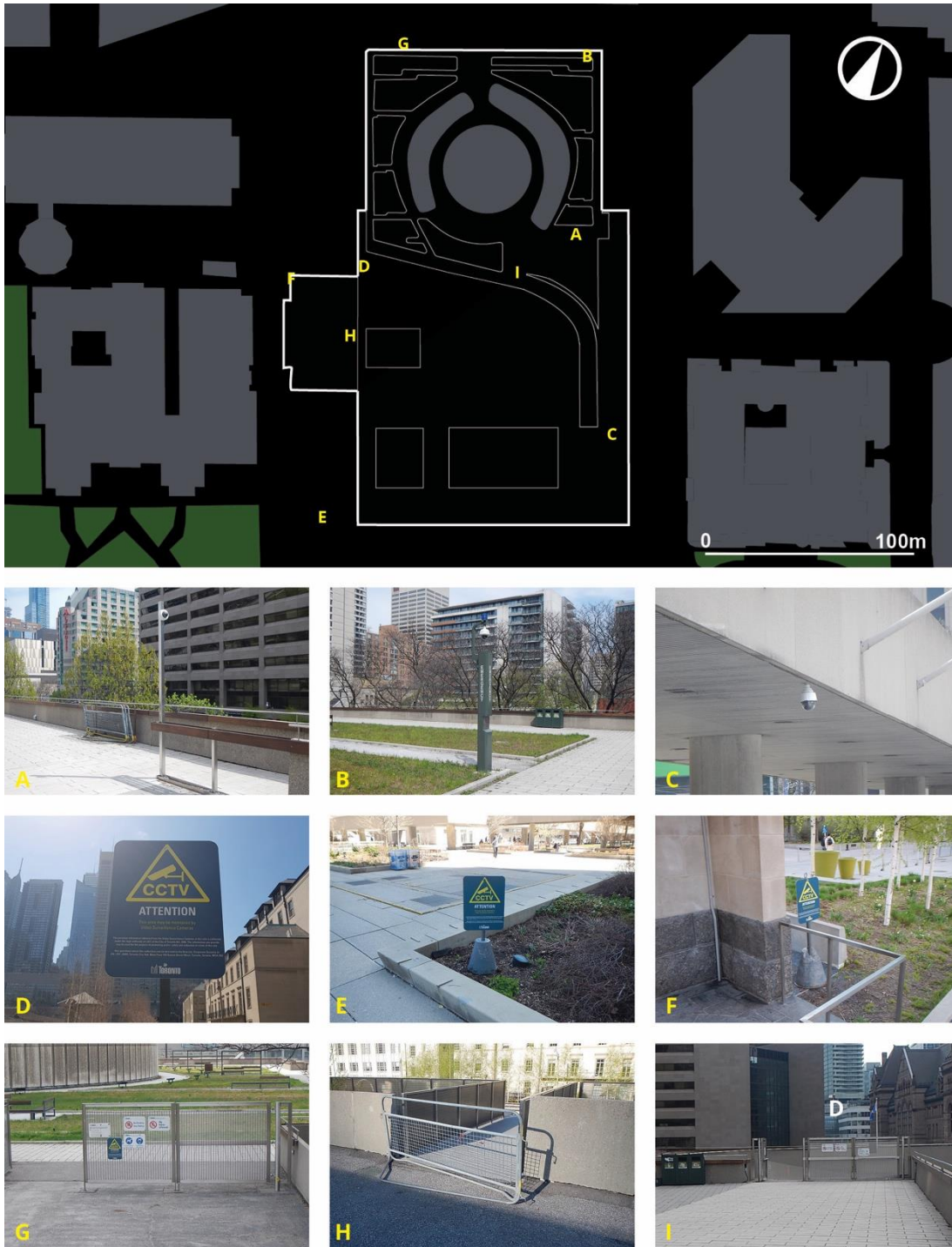


Figure 58. Spatial controls: (A) Pole-mounted CCTV on podium; (B) Pole-mounted CCTV with emergency communications system on podium; (C) CCTV mounted on the underside of the elevated walkway in main square; (D) CCTV sign at entrance to Peace Garden; (E) CCTV sign on outer perimeter; (F) CCTV sign at monument adjacent to peace garden; (G) Gate controlling access to the rooftop podium from the northern boundary; (H) Fence obstructing access between the walkway and Peace Garden; and (I) Gate controlling access to the rooftop podium from the ramp.

An indigenous informant for this research claimed because First Nations people have a very strong attachment to nature, the extent of concrete in the square reduces its attractiveness and comfort both psychologically and physiologically by disconnecting them from nature. Significant areas of landscaping were removed as part of the revitalisation scheme, while new landscaping proposed for the outer perimeter and the elevated walkways has not yet been realised. This desire for natural, soft landscaping is demonstrated in the proposed design for the aforementioned Healing Garden memorial. Although a green roof was added to the podium as part of the revitalisation scheme, several informants claimed that it is more decorative than usable landscaping. They further suggested the combination of this landscaping, CCTV, warning signs, fences and gates, repel many certain minority-ethnic groups from occupying the podium. A preference for more usable, soft landscaping was also reported by informants from Arabic, African, and the Caribbean backgrounds.

Despite these various modes of control, observations revealed a pattern of positive body language among Muslim women, who wore broad smiles, talked loudly and expressively, and appeared very much at ease in the square. Furthermore, a large group of newly arrived Muslim women interviewed for this research claimed a sense of freedom in the square compared with public spaces in the cities where they previously lived. While this was primarily related to ethnocultural differences, they suggested the scale of the square created the sense of freedom. However, for these women, this sense of freedom did not extend to how they would like to occupy public space. For these informants, the square was too formal, limiting self-expression. They suggested that public parks, particularly the ravines, provided more freedom to express themselves through various activities, such as eating in large groups.

Commodification

Several informants involved in the design and management of the square, suggested special events played an important role in facilitating intercultural encounter in Nathan Phillips Square. One such event, URBANI-T, was observed during fieldwork for this research. URBANI-T is a large fashion show that ran over a three-day period in May 2018 (Figure 59). The event was advertised as ‘a free outdoor lifestyle experience that will bring Canadians together via the spirit of the street, with an explosive mash up of music, art, fashion and design’ (URBANI_T, 2018). This event plugs an extensive range of human and nonhuman actors temporarily into the square, including catwalks, food trucks, containers, portable lighting rigs, sounds systems, temporary stages, additional seating, signage, stalls, event organisers, security staff, fashion designers, onlookers, models, and shoppers. Amongst the boutiques and glitz of the event were a cluster of stalls run by people from minority ethnic groups, mainly of Arabic descent, selling low cost clothing more typically found in a local market or along the streets of Chinatown (see B-D, Figure 59). These stalls appeared somewhat out-of-place within the dominant frame of the event, particularly given their absence on the event organisers website³⁴ and Instagram account³⁵. Although the *Agora* was the principal inspiration for the design of Nathan Phillips Square, both for the original scheme and the revitalisation scheme, the daily presence of a market or stalls run for everyday purposes is not permitted. Rather such occupations must be undertaken within an organised and permitted event. This is in contrast with the desires of several informants for this research, particularly those from Middle Eastern, Asian and African backgrounds, who revealed a desire for more informal occupations of the square, particularly a more ethnically diverse food hawking offering.

³⁴ <https://www.urbani-t.com>

³⁵ www.instagram.com/urbani.t.toronto

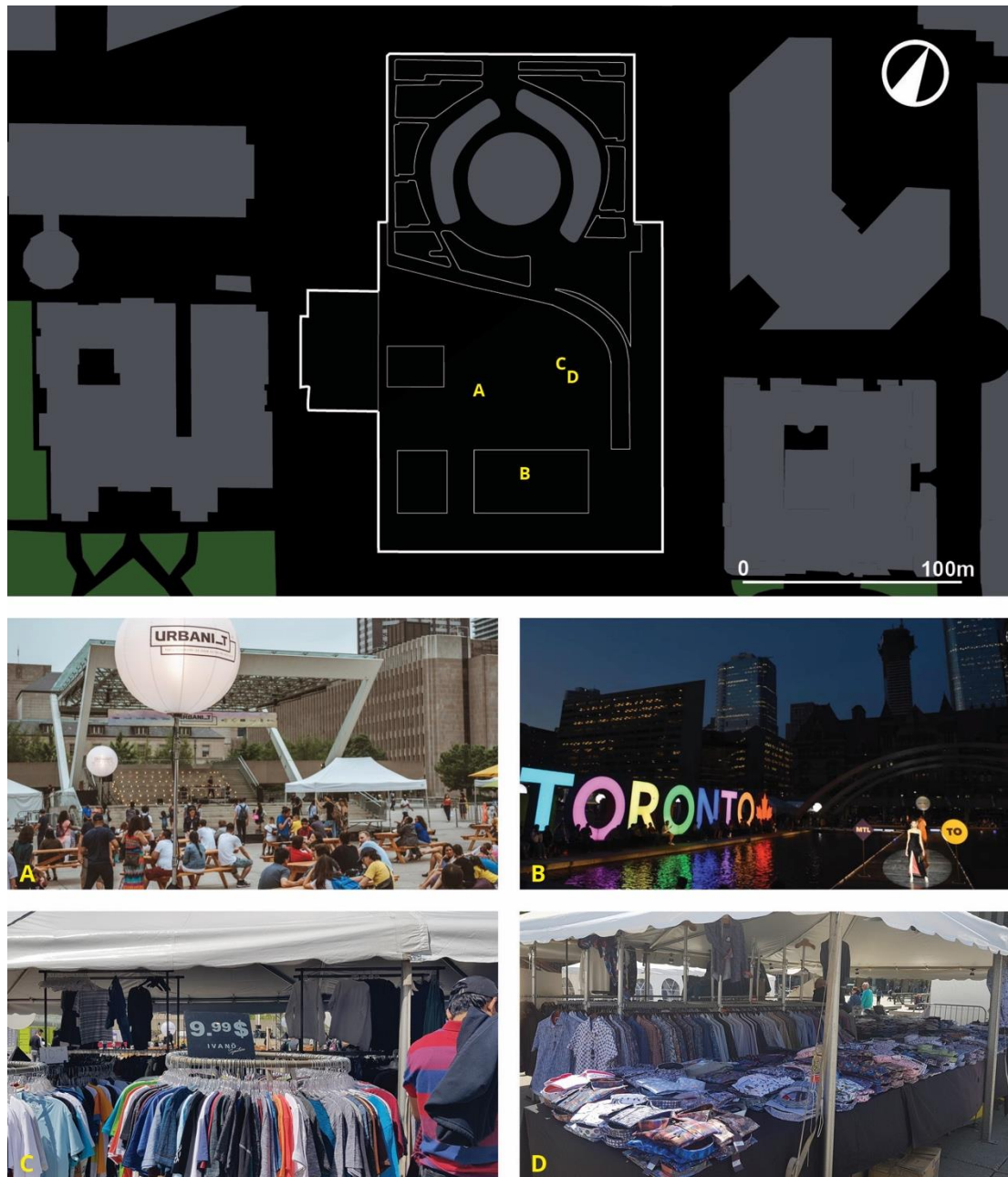


Figure 59. Stalls at the URBANI_T fashion show in Nathan Phillips Square: (A) Main stage and food court; (B) Catwalk on reflecting pool; (C) Minority ethnic male shopping for clothes; (D) Stall run by minority ethnic males selling low cost clothing.

6.5 Discussion

Neutralising diversity

Modernism sought to recreate the city by wiping it clean of all problems and complexity and starting again. It was heralded as ‘universalising’, with the ability to overcome difference and (ethnic and cultural) diversity:

The Modern Movement was seen as a universal language which supposedly over-rode existing cultures and identities, replacing them, crudely, with a mechanistic, functionalist utopia. With the benefit of hindsight informed by post-colonial analysis, this modernisation project was not only inappropriately homogenising and oppressive, but it was also not at all pure, a-historical, or a-cultural in the way that it claimed to be (Cripps, 2004, p. 472).

However, as Jacobs (1964) has argued much of what is good about urban life is its very complexity, produced from a diversity of human and nonhuman relations, including buildings, architectural styles, public spaces, occupations, appropriations, activities, functions, ages, genders, incomes and ethnicities. Ironically, this is the very kind of assemblage (St. John’s Ward) that was erased to make way for Nathan Phillips Square.

The neutralising impact of Modernism on ethnocultural differences has been taken up by several scholars (such as Frampton, 1980; Parekh, 2006; Scriver & Prakash, 2007) who argue that it was developed from a predominantly white-male-Western view of the world. As such, much of Modernist urbanism attempted to replace diversity with a universal, monocultural form (Cripps, 2004). As a result, the sensory experience of urban life was dispensed for a uniform sanitised environment (Edensor, 2007). With its monocultural underpinnings and overpowering scale, the language of Modernist architecture speaks more to conformity than the expression of ethnically diverse everyday urban life (Wilson, 1996).

The failure of Modernism in universalising ethnocultural differences is evident in the numerous memorials and flags added to the square over the forty years since it opened. These nonhuman actors were plugged into the assemblage of the square, to represent the growing ethnocultural diversity in the city. However, as demonstrated by this study, the revitalisation scheme relocated the memorials to the outer perimeter where they are less visible and less encountered. The flags were also rationalised, and reduced to a spectacle (Debord, 2012), with limited possibility for intercultural encounter. The only object to remain after the revitalisation scheme, The Archer, holds no specific ethnocultural meaning, rather it represents the same symbolism as the square itself, forming part of the city brand Modernism brought to Toronto. This research argues that the Modernist urbanism of Nathan Phillips Square, rather than representing the plurality of the city, homogenises it into one solid mass of white concrete (Birmingham, 1999; Brolin, 1976). While the memorials and flags may provide some representation of ethnocultural differences, they do not enable it.

Whereas the changing demographics of the city were used to justify a new architectural style in the mid-twentieth century, heritage protection appears to have locked the square into a Modernist past, limiting its capacity to adapt to the change ethnocultural needs of the city. Despite growing immigration, Toronto was still predominantly monocultural when Nathan Phillips Square was designed. When the scheme was being planned in the mid-twentieth century, seventy-five percent of the city's population were Anglo-Saxon Protestants. In 1970, five years after the square opened, this figure had fallen to fifty percent and by the time the revitalisation scheme was undertaken, it had fallen further to just twelve and half percent. While several informants for this study claim that Nathan Phillips Square marked Toronto's transformation from a monoculturally dominated city to a modern, global, pluralistic metropolis, it is unclear who the original scheme was designed for, and who was considered for the revitalisation scheme. Although a multicultural city was beginning

to emerge in 1965 when the original scheme was opened, by 2005, when the revitalisation scheme commenced, it had truly arrived. However, the heritage protection status of the square constrained the development of the space for the pluralist city of Toronto in the twenty-first century.

In reinstating and reinforcing Revell's original scheme as a 'unitary public sphere' for civic engagement, the agency of Nathan Phillips Square as a democratic public space is undermined through the loss of plurality and conflict (Deutsche, 1996).

Representing diversity

Nathan Phillips Square was intended as a symbol of a new, modern and global city. It marked the end of the conservative and monocultural 100-year era of Protestant Orangeism domination of Toronto. The Modernist architectural style of the square and city hall building symbolised a new era, a break from the dominant neoclassical style under the previous hegemony. The square was, therefore, first and foremost an urban icon and a new brand for the city – a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) for the beginning of a global era. The audience of Nathan Phillips Square is local, but possibly more global. An open, modern, forward thinking and pluralistic city would hold stronger appeal for a pluralistic world. Although ethnic diversity is celebrated in the modern city, it is done so within the primary programme of large, organised, permitted and formal civic events. Diversity is allowed to operate within the dominant frame of these events but not outside of it. This appears particularly the case for events celebrating ethnocultural diversity, which provide a safe space for encountering difference; a sanitised conviviality rather than the messiness of everyday life or *Convivencia* (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014). In doing so, intercultural encounter is reduced to a 'society of the spectacle' (Debord, 2012).

The management of difference is also evident in the by-laws for the square, which Ruppert (2006, pp. 68-69) notes prohibit a range of possible affordances, including climb-on-able (prevents parkour and limits play), stand-on-able (any surface that is not the ground, a path, steps or ramps), and ride-on-able (for cycling, skateboarding, roller blading). Releasing or distributing helium-filled balloons, and lighting or carrying a candle or torch are also prohibited. The by-laws also require a permit for selling, performing, advertising, displaying, and demonstrating. Ruppert (2006) claims these by-laws were intentionally designed to make entry conditional, as a method for constraining undesirables and undesirable activities. Here, difference is welcome but framed by a set of rules designed to constrain rather than enable. These rules limit citizen's 'right to the city', the right to make and remake, in this case, public space (Lefebvre, 1968). The limits on who can be present, when and what for, differs significantly how the square is perceived:

The creation of Nathan Phillips Square truly [was] a historic event in the emerging identity of this city: the unprecedented one place where Toronto is most open, most democratic, most urbane, most itself (Barber, 2005, September 10, para. 16).

These ideals, based on the Ancient Greek Agora, are represented in the openness of the square but not enabled by it.

Managing diversity

The limited programme and restrictive by-laws of the square constrained the diversity of spatial practices desired among different ethnic groups, rendering most occupations passive in nature. The main open space and stage in the main square are programmed primarily for large civic events, which left it sparsely occupied most of the time. The upper levels, on the rooftop podium and elevated walkways, were also poorly occupied. In both cases, these spaces are largely disconnected from the square and the city; access is limited, particularly for people with physical impairments. In this way, difference is managed by limiting what is acceptable to

sanctioned normative behaviours, set down by the dominant majority. The openness and visibility of Nathan Phillips Square's built form suggests freedom but works more to control difference and diversity (Sennett, 1992). The city hall building looms over the vast open space of the main square, creating a panopticon-like setting, imposing control through the fear of surveillance (Foucault, 1979). Several other control measures have been enrolled into this surveillance assemblage, in the form of CCTV cameras, warning signs, fences, gates and security staff. Together, these humans and nonhumans enforce the by-laws that constrain rather than enable diverse spatial practices. These control measures are symptomatic of the misinterpretation of Newman (1973), which led to the much criticised *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* (Jacobs & Lees, 2013). These strategies, implemented under the guise of public safety, worked more to exclude certain groups, including many minority-ethnic groups.

Chapter 7: Federation Square

7.1 Introduction

Federation Square is Melbourne's main civic public space. It is located on the southern edge of the central business district, above the railyard of the city's main train station (Figure 60).

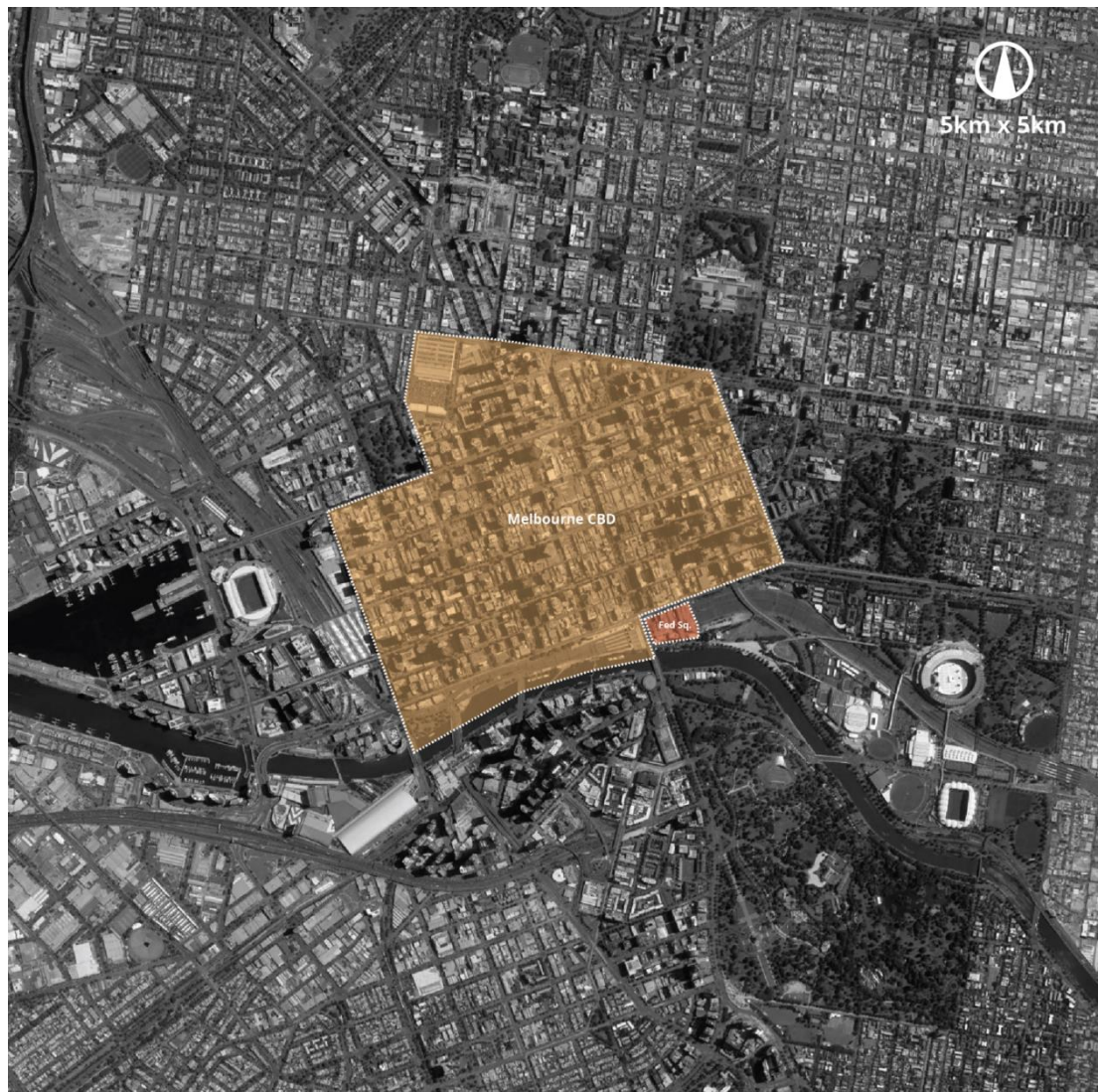


Figure 60. Federation Square, Melbourne (Based on Google Earth, 2019).

Federation Square was commissioned to mark the centenary celebrations of Australian federation in 2001. It was also the civic urban square that Melbourne had been denied since Robert Hoddle laid out the city's foundational grid in 1837. While the federation of Australia began with the enactment of the infamous 'white Australia policy', Federation Square was proclaimed a symbol of the city's growing ethnic diversity. This was an important consideration in the design, which attempted to deliberately break from colonialism through an 'anti-square' spatial arrangement and the diversity of a fractal façade that cloaked much of the building programme. The isolated location of the development necessitated a programme of buildings to draw people to the site, which caused major budget overruns and instigated the formation of Fed Square Pty Ltd, a publicly funded private business to manage the development as a revenue-generating enterprise, albeit with a charter to maintain its publicness. However, as a result, the square evolved as a major event space in the city and as a quasi-public space.

This chapter is structured to address three of the research questions, as they apply to Federation Square. Sections one and two address the secondary research questions: What key 'matters of concern' in the everyday life of Melbourne instigated the need for an intercultural public space? And; How is intercultural encounter addressed in the design process and built form of Federation Square? The third section addresses the main research question: How does the materiality, spatiality and programming of Federation Square enable and constrain intercultural encounter? The final section presents a discussion on the findings.

This chapter addresses the following questions: What key 'matters of concern' in the everyday life of Melbourne instigated the need for an intercultural public space? How

is intercultural encounter addressed in the design process and built form of Federation Square? How does the materiality, spatiality and programming of Federation Square enable and constrain intercultural encounter?

7.2 Matters of concern

This section explores the key matters of concern in the everyday life of multi-ethnic Melbourne that led to the commissioning of a new civic public space at three points in time: the foundation of the city in the mid nineteenth century; the federation of Australia at the beginning of the twentieth century; and the centenary celebration of federation at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Foundation

The story of Federation Square begins shortly after the invasion and settlement of Port Phillip Bay in 1835; what is now the site of Melbourne. John Batman, a landowner and farmer in Tasmania, negotiated the infamous 'Batman Treaty' on behalf of the Port Phillip Association with eight chiefs of the aboriginal clans that inhabited the land. Batman agreed to purchase 600,000 acres of land in exchange for 20 blankets, 30 tomahawks, 100 knives, 30 mirrors, 200 handkerchiefs, 100 pounds of flour and six shirts (Jantos, 2013, November 7). This was a defining moment in Australia's history as Batman's treaty became the first and possibly the only early Anglo-Australian to formally recognise the indigenous Aboriginal population as property owners (Jantos, 2013, November 7). However, the treaty was almost immediately dismissed by Sir Richard Bourke, Governor of New South Wales, because it implied aboriginal property rights. Bourke invoked the international law of *terra nullius* ('nobody's land'), proclaiming the colonies as unclaimed land prior to settlement by the British Crown, which stripped aboriginal people of any land rights (Coleman & West, 2017). Without any claim to or capacity to acquire property, and with a habitus deemed primitive,

aboriginal people became increasingly oppressed and faced widespread discrimination. The impact of *terra nullius* was profound, influencing generations of discrimination towards non-Anglo-Saxon migrants, which was still ongoing when the decision was taken to develop Federation Square (Anderson & Perrin, 2007).

In 1836, Governor Bourke, on behalf of the British Crown, declared Port Phillip Bay open for settlement. In 1837, Bourke visited the new settlement along with surveyors Robert Hoddle and Robert Russell to lay out the new township. Hoddle mapped out a rectangular grid plan (Figure 61) starting from Batman's Hill (Clarke, 1877). The 'Hoddle Grid' drew immediate criticism, with some commentators claiming the rigid order of the plan had been imposed on the landscape rather than being fitted to it, and, as such, would be difficult to change in the future. The imposition of a grid was a simple, if blunt, tool with which to parcel land that could then be sold by the British.

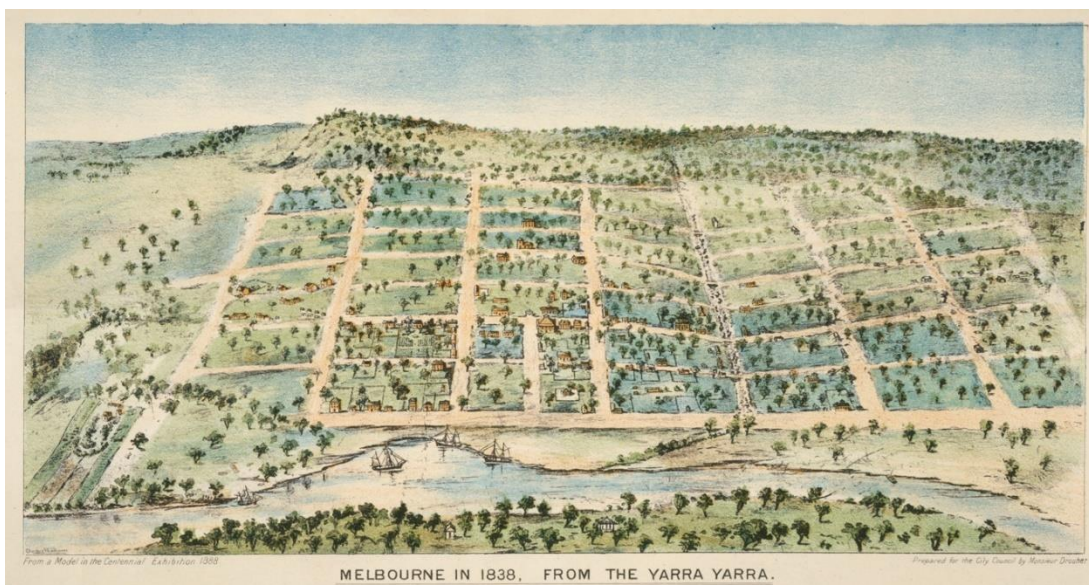


Figure 61. Hoddle's original grid devoid of a civic urban square (Woodhouse, 1888)

The 'grid plan' has a long history in colonial settlements, and has been subject to much debate elsewhere (see for example Carter, 2010). Of relevance to this research was the decision to exclude an urban square in the grid plan for Melbourne, which

some claim was a deliberate attempt to control the social and political life of the emerging city:

[Hoddle] made it difficult for them to congregate in a labyrinth of narrow streets, lanes and alleys as everyone knew they did in Sydney. In Melbourne these men and women were visible; consequently they were less menacing, more controllable (Sullivan, 1985, p. 28).

Charles La Trobe, Superintendent of Port Phillip, what was then a district of New South Wales, attempted to resolve the issue as early as 1839, by setting aside a block of land bounded by La Trobe, Queen, Lonsdale and William Streets, but it was never developed as a square. The absence of, and desire for, an urban square would remain a sore point for Melbourne for more than a century and a half.

Federation

Following settlement of Port Phillip in 1836, settlers began arriving from Tasmania (then known as 'Van Diemen's Land') and New South Wales (which Port Phillip was still part of). Immigration from overseas was initially only from the British Isles but expanded following the discovery of gold after 1851, with arrivals from across Europe and China (Broome, 1984). The Chinese faced discrimination from the outset, including the imposition of a landing tax designed to deter further arrivals (May & Swain, 2005).

In 1901, the self-governing British colonies of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, and Western Australia established the Commonwealth of Australia, and formed a federal parliament. Motivations for federation included, 'creating unified immigration legislation that would restrict the entry of non-Europeans' (Kendall, 2008, p. 9). Indeed, the first legislation introduced to the newly established federal parliament in 1901 was the *Immigration Restriction Act* (closely followed by the *Pacific Islanders Labourers Act 1901* and the *Post and*

Telegraph Act 1901), designed to prohibit non-British migration. Heralding the new Act, Attorney-General Alfred Deakin noted at the time:

That end, put in plain and unequivocal terms ... means the prohibition of all alien coloured immigration, and more, it means at the earliest time, by reasonable and just means, the deportation or reduction of the number of aliens now in our midst. The two things go hand in hand and are the necessary complement of a single policy — the policy of securing a 'white Australia' (Warhaft, 2014, pp. 233-234).

By 1947, the white Australia policy had reduced the proportion of non-whites to just 2.7%. However, by the end of the Second World War the policy was not delivering the necessary population for Australia to develop as a nation. The restrictions were relaxed to allow 170,000 people displaced during the war, to migrate to Australia between 1947-52, mainly from Poland, the Baltic states, Yugoslavia, Ukraine, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Russia. These people were considered acceptable because of the colour of their skin, hair and eyes, but Jews were deliberately excluded.

The white Australia policy was gradually dismantled but not completely eradicated until the introduction of the *Racial Discrimination Act* in 1975, which enabled a third-wave of migration, this time from Asian countries, starting with a large-scale refugee intake at the end of the Vietnam War (Broome, 1984). Negative attitudes among Australia's predominantly white population remained, with many migrants facing daily discrimination (Tavan, 2005). Jones (2017, April 10) claims that anti-migrant sentiment was still in effect when Federation Square was announced in 1994. He points to a diplomatic incident when then Prime Minister John Howard, seeking re-election in 2001 (the centenary of Federation), refused to accept 438 asylum seekers rescued from Australian waters. He notes that 'the widespread support for Howard, which arguably helped him secure election victory, has been seen by some as evidence of a lingering White Australia mindset'. Nonetheless, as Melbourne

approached the centenary of federation it was undeniably multicultural as a population (Mansouri, 2017).

Centenary

Wellings and James (2000, p. 136) claim that the Government's narrative for the centenary celebrations of Federation were based on 'a defensive 'white-blindfold' attitude towards the darker side of Federation and a history of instrumental nation-building'. They point to, for example, the *1902 Commonwealth Franchise Act* that prevented non-white Europeans voting in federal elections. Not to mention the absence of any reference to the atrocities inflicted on the aboriginal peoples of the land, including the imposition of *terra nullius* (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996a). Although a supplement on the centenary celebrations, provided as part of the briefing documents for Federation Square, does note the *White Australia Policy* and the *Native Title Act* of 1993, such references were not widely acknowledged by government in public discussions about the celebrations.

Actual motivations for the centenary celebrations were primarily an attempt by the political class to reassert the nation-state, with the government of the day widely considered to be out-of-touch and in crisis following an attempt to hijack a 1999 referendum on the republic for political party benefit (Wellings & James, 2000). The centenary celebrations could, therefore, also be seen as a political hijacking, this time to reconnect with the people and reassert the role of government. A growing apathy toward politics and the nation was particularly problematic for the government during the 1990s, when globalisation produced 'new kinds of movement of people – mass tourism and systematizing multiculturalism – as well as an accentuation of old kinds of movement – people attempting to escape disintegrating homelands' (Wellings & James, 2000, p. 134). Wellings and James note the then Howard government approach, 'to treat multicultural difference as a problem to be reconciled with words'

(p. 139). They refer to a 1999 report titled *A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*, produced by the Department of Immigration, which emphasised civic duties but omitted the potential for political differences; noting:

This context can be illustrated by a government that became policy-paranoid about the incursions of illegal migrants; an immigration museum in Melbourne that reduced the migrant experience to a series of individualized stories without political content; and an Olympic Games opening ceremony that reduced multicultural difference to a series of globalizing clichéd dances marked by different coloured clothing (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1999).

According to Wellings and James (2000, p. 136), the government wanted to present to the world a unified image of the nation, 'an attractive brand name [to sell] both locally and globally'. Wellings and James (2000, p. 150) conclude:

[On] the evidence of the Centenary of Federation celebrations, Australia has gone backwards ... caught between a concern for spectacle continuous with nineteenth century 'official nationalism' and a new self-consciousness - a certain kind of post-nationalism that only feels comfortable in using the flattering images of encomiasts and creative consultants to project an image of itself to itself.

The centenary of federation celebrations could therefore be seen as a process for accumulating political and symbolic capital by the Howard government. The same government - the Liberal-National Coalition - was in power in Victoria. In 1994, their leader Jeff Kennett, Premier of Victoria, announced the demolition of the Gas & Fuel buildings located on the eastern side of Princes Bridge beside Jolimont railyard, to make way for a development to mark Victoria's centenary of federation celebrations. The site has been the subject of several development proposals, beginning with *Cathedral Square* in 1925 and including a further eight proposals before the 1996 announcement of Federation Square (Brown-May & Day, 2003). However, the proposal for developing Federation Square was first mooted by the Victorian Government as a key commitment in *Creating Prosperity: Victoria's Capital City Policy*

(see pages 4 and 49, Government of Victoria & Melbourne City Council, 1995). This document reflects the neoliberal aspirations of the Kennett government, with a strong focus on developing the city as a national and international centre for business. It presents Melbourne as clean, safe and ordered – a city ready for the global stage. Federation Square appears as a landmark development to reflect these aspirations – an image and symbol of unity and civility. It also held significant symbolic capital for Melburnians, marking the end of a 150 year-long journey to provide a civic public space in Melbourne. It is a journey that began when Hoddle laid out the grid plan for the city and found its conclusion with the centenary celebration of a nation founded, at least in part, out of a fear of immigration, a fear of differences. As a result of becoming multicultural, the nation, and the city, was struggling with its identity. Federation Square was an attempt to respond to this contentious, fractured and volatile history of living with difference.

7.3 Design actants

This section examines the key relations of human and nonhuman actors in the development of Federation Square, beginning with the design brief, then the design competition, and finally the built form of the scheme.

Brief

The design brief for federation Square was developed jointly by Melbourne City Council (now 'City of Melbourne') and the Victorian State Government run Office of Major Projects (now 'Office of Projects Victoria'). When Federation Square was announced in 1996, a new council and lord mayor had just been appointed to Melbourne City Council following fifteen turbulent years during which two councils were replaced with commissioners by the state government – the first in 1981 and the second in 1993 (City of Melbourne, 1997). The latter part of this period coincided with

the election of the Jeff Kennett-led Liberal party in Victoria, who instigated a series of neoliberal policies including the privatisation of public services including public transport, utilities and the state's first casino (Costar & Economou, 1999). Kennett also cut the state government workforce by 45,000 jobs, closed more than 300 schools and cut funding for healthcare. He then used the money raised to fund one of the biggest capital expenditure programs in the state's history, including the Docklands precinct, the Melbourne Museum, the Albert Park sports and aquatic centre, the Melbourne Exhibition Centre, and Federation Square. It is out of this political context of the 1990s and the historical context of the centenary celebrations that the design brief for Federation Square emerges.

The brief discusses both celebrating the past and symbolising a new future, but the latter appears rooted in colonisation, as evidenced in the proposed design concept:

The concept will take the best features and themes of the famous European wintergardens – warmth, weather protection, horticulture, public assembly, recreation, culture and learning – and apply them to Melbourne for the next century by integrating nature, creativity and 21st century technology in a range of enclosed, semi-enclosed and adjoining spaces (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 3)

The fears, tensions and conflict that brought about the Federation and continued to play a role in the 100 years since, as argued by Wellings and James (2000), are largely absent from the brief. For example, the brief notes of federation:

This decision was achieved with consensus and compromise in order to secure a unified, constitutionally governed country (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 49).

However, in discussing the potential role of aboriginal heritage in the design of Federation Square, the brief implies some recognition of these tensions:

The celebration of Federation is *not necessarily* [emphasis added] a focus for Aboriginal identity, culture and development. While Aboriginal communities may wish to ensure that their role, traditional custodianship and contribution is acknowledged and celebrated through the Federation Square project, this will require thoughtful and careful liaison and a willingness to embrace cross cultural values (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 49).

Although the brief appears to set aboriginal people somewhat outside of the development of Federation Square, Melbourne's other ethnocultural diversity is very much part of it, as the brief notes of the city's multicultural heritage:

Melbourne is a multi-cultural city, home to over 70 ethnic communities. Its street life, cuisine, festivals and contemporary artistic expression reflect and are energised by this mix of cultures. The programming of Federation Square's venues and public spaces will draw on the diversity and strengths of this heritage. The design of Federation Square's fabric should also aim to express the diversity, sophistication and contribution of Melbourne multi-cultural heritage (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 49).

The focus here is on including minority ethnic groups in programmed (or sanctioned) events and through spatial representation, but there is no mention of providing for diverse spatial practices. Some reference to intercultural encounter is implied but, yet again, only as part of sanctioned events:

The development is also a place for *civic celebration* and *social interaction* by providing facilities and spaces for a more open expression of Melbourne extensive programme of cultural festivals (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 48).

The emphasis on representation is continued in the main objectives for Federation Square, including requirements for the 'social' aspects of the project:

[To] be people oriented, attractive and relevant to a wide cross section of the community, *inclusive of indigenous and multicultural themes* [emphasis added] and

attractions for visitors from other parts of Australia and overseas (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 2).

However, there was some scope in this particular objective to move beyond representation and consider the varied spatial practices of Melbourne's culturally diverse population. 'Oriented', 'attractive' and 'relevant' perhaps too easily interpreted as spatial representation.

Recognising the competing commercial and public requirements of Federation Square, the brief specifies the development of a Civic and Cultural Charter (a key actant):

One of the creative tensions of the site is the need to find a balance between the public's right to the space and the social and commercial imperatives of managing the site. This dilemma is somewhat resolved by the Civic and Cultural Charter under which the Square operates, which mandates that at all times the needs of the public must come before those of commerce (O'Hanlon, 2012, p. XIII).

Although the brief specifies the charter will maintain openness or publicness for everyone, this is, however, tempered by the priorities of the Charter, which frame inclusiveness, once again, within sanctioned events:

To ensure that, over the year, *programmed content* [emphasis added] is culturally inclusive (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 6).

And also, by the final objective, which frames the operation of Federation Square as a business, where the goal of access is generating revenue:

To ensure that these objectives are achieved *in a commercial context* [emphasis added] (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 6).

The actual Charter does not elaborate much more on the priorities set out in the brief, although it does refer to spatial practices:

The management company will enforce rules and codes of behaviour, and ensure an adequate level of supervision in the Square's use by the public (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1997, p. 3).

Although rules are enforced in all public spaces, the language appears highly authoritarian, particularly the paternalistic specification of supervision. The potential for self-expression appears limited. The Charter seems more suitable for managing people in a shopping centre than an urban square.

The theme of representation is continued in the brief's specifications for architecture and urban design. For example, the brief notes of the desired design outcomes that Federation Square:

Promotes the city as contemporary, forward looking and culturally diverse.
(Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 7).

Furthermore, the brief notes of the primary design tasks:

Creation of a broader architectural and landscaping *image* [emphasis added] that responds to the site's urban setting, required cultural positioning and *symbolism* [emphasis added] and primary uses (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 8).

Cultural diversity appears as a marketable asset, to promote the city to a global audience, but there is no reference to how Federation Square's built form, either in its buildings or through its urban design can accommodate the varied spatial practices that come from such diversity. The brief notes of the civic square (the main focus of this study):

The new civic square will become Melbourne's primary outdoor civic venue. It will have a wide range of potential uses both in terms of scale and type of outdoor activity. It will be a place for large assemblies and meetings, a place for outdoor entertainment and exhibitions, a place to commence and conclude Swanston Street parades and processions, a place for quiet contemplation and relaxation, a place to

observe other people and interesting activities, and a place where visitors to central Melbourne can orientate themselves between the CBD and adjoining precincts (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 61).

The proposed uses of the civic square are relatively passive, with no reference to self-expression, difference, and contestation; some of the characteristics more commonly found in urban public spaces (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). The design brief for Federation Square makes explicit reference to cultural diversity and multiculturalism, but it does so primarily with an emphasis on representation, inclusion through sanctioned events, and occupation under supervision. There is no explicit consideration of diverse spatial practices

Competition

In March 1996, the Victorian State Government announced the Federation Square Architectural Design Competition, which was open to Australian and international architects and run over two stages. The design brief was issued in December 1996 and closed in February 1997, receiving a total of 177 entries, which were adjudicated by a panel comprising 'two eminent architects, an eminent landscape architect, a nominee of the Premier of Victoria, a nominee of the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, and two members with acknowledged cultural, business or community experience' (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996b, p. 4). The jury included globally renowned architect Daniel Libeskind, which raised issues of authorship and influence when the winner was eventually announced.

In March 1997, the entries were shortlisted to five (Figure 62): two were Melbourne-based - Ashton Raggatt McDougall and Denton Corker Marshall; one Sydney-based - Chris Elliott; while two were London-based - Lab Architectural Studio and Jennifer Lowe & Adrian Hawker. The Australian Institute of Architects' (AIA), commenting on the shortlist noted:

All were graphically strong with the promise of architectural excellence and set themselves apart from the others, a necessary attribute in order to survive the ruthless, iterative culling process. Others equally interesting and strong were not chosen (Architecture Australia, 1997, November 1).

While praising the competition for being open, the AIA criticised the program for being 'surprisingly weak and unimaginative' (Architecture Australia, 1997, November 1), more focused on 'symbolism and urbanism', which they claim figured strongly among the entries.



Ashton Raggett McDougall (Architecture Australia, 1997, November 1)



Denton Corker Marshall (Architecture Australia, 1997, November 1)



Chris Elliott Architects (Architecture Australia, 1997, November 1)



Jenny Lowe, Adrian Hawker & Lyons Architects (Architecture Australia, 1997, November 1)

Figure 62. The four unsuccessful entries shortlisted for the Federation Square design competition.

The final submissions from the shortlisted entrants were presented in May 1997 and the judging took place in the following month. On the 28th July 1997, the Victorian State Government announced Lab Architecture Studio ("Lab") the winner. Lab was formed by two academics working at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in London - Australian-born Peter Davidson and American-born Donald Bates; neither of whom had, at this point, ever had a building realised. As a result, Lab formed an association with Melbourne-based architects Bates Smart and the Amsterdam-based landscape architects Karres en Brands, to deliver Federation Square. While this may have alleviating concerns about Lab's capacity to deliver the project, behind the scenes, some were more concerned about the proposed design.

The Victorian Premier, Jeff Kennett, who had been until this point unable to influence the competition or design, 'was horrified and privately declared it to be "rubbish"' (Dovey, 2013, p. 98). Kennett was challenged by the uniqueness of Lab's design and found their drawings difficult to read. However, six weeks later, when the architects produced new images, which had the agency to shift Kennett's opinion, as he then described the design:

Almost multicultural ... it is the coming together of a whole range of parts ... and that's what Federation is all about, it's also what Melbourne and Australia is all about (Dovey, 2013, p. 98).

This remark, as Dovey (2013) points out, aligned with Kennett's broader political portfolio as Minister for Multicultural Affairs. As discussed earlier, it also aligned with the government's sanitised narrative for centenary celebrations (Wellings & James, 2000). As the AIA had commented, symbolism was a key focus; Kennett's remarks endorsed Lab's design with the symbolism of multiculturalism, but only, as Dovey (2013, pp. 102-103) points out, framed within the dominant majority:

The project was identified earlier as: 'an opportunity to rethink the way we program public life, public space and public buildings. To program the project in terms of a

conjunction of differences ... to think in terms of a multiplicity of functions and meanings in space and time'. At the end of the twentieth century it was cultural difference, a 'federation of cultures', that for many marked Australia and Melbourne as a multiplicitous democracy. Yet the official discourse of multiculturalism was, as elsewhere, infused with a superficial tolerance for diverse traditions coupled with a deeper resistance to change – a multicultural mosaic framed by White Anglo-Saxon Protestant dominance.

With Kennett's seal of approval, as Premier and Minister for Multicultural Affairs, the project moved into construction.

Form

The documentary *Inside the Square* (Balendra & Murphy, 2003), which follows the construction and opening of Federation Square (Figure 63) from 1997 to 2002, reveals the struggles of two architects attempting to deliver (their first and) one of Melbourne's most important urban projects amid a series of controversies and political instability. These challenges were exacerbated by the inexperience of the builders to construct a complex design of 3.2 hectares on top of the city's busiest railyard. The architects desire for excellence is repeatedly challenged by the builder's pragmatism amid escalating costs and timeline blowouts. One year late for the centenary celebrations and \$266 million AUD over budget, Federation Square was finally opened on 26 October 2002.

Chapter 7: Federation Square



Figure 63. Design Concept for Federation Square (Lab Architecture Studio, 1995-1996)

Federation Square covers 38,000 m² of land, the equivalent of a city block, and is built over the top of Jolimont railyard. It is situated adjacent to Swanston Street - the main axis of the city – on its western boundary, directly opposite Flinders Street Railway station. It is bordered on its northern edge by Flinders Street, and the Central Business District. The southern edge it is bounded by the Yarra River, with the east open onto the railyard. The southern edge was formerly defined by Batman Avenue, which ran along the Yarra River connecting with Swanston Street at Princes Bridge. However, it was rerouted to allow for the construction of an inner-city park called Birrarung Marr in 2000, creating a pedestrian and cycling route along the Yarra River connecting with Melbourne's sporting precinct of stadia for soccer, tennis, rugby, cricket and AFL.

There are a limited number of pedestrian connections between Federation Square and the Central Business District. Access on the eastern boundary, along Flinders Street, is limited to the northwest and northeast corners, with no mid-block crossings. Access on the western boundary is integrated with access to the Flinders Street Station tram stop. Access from the southern boundary is limited to movements across Princes Bridge. Despite being constructed above Flinders Street Station platforms, no direct access was provided into the square. Although the site is relatively permeable, with paths provided through and between buildings, perceived permeability is reduced by the complexity of the spatial arrangement and multiple levels of the buildings, and the irregular shape and topography of plaza. The permeability of the buildings is not obvious, all of which require navigating stairs and escalators. The square rises up from Swanston Court and St Paul's Court, creating an amphitheatre focused on the stage and digital façade on the back of the Transport building. The topography, cobbled surface of the square, multitude of stairs and complexity of the site, has been heavily criticised by people with mobility impairments, including those with physical disabilities, the elderly and parents with prams (Withers, 2005). Several accessibility

improvements have been made since the site first opened in 2002 (Brennan, 2010), but many of the aforementioned problems persist.

The site presented several spatial challenges. First, the heritage-protected vaults, part of the original railyards, limited potential connections with the river. Although the designers had proposed these connections in their original scheme, the issue with the vaults could not be addressed and the southern boundary remains relatively disconnected from the river and Birrarung Marr. Second, positioned on the edge of the Central Business District, coupled with a limited number of attractions, or destinations, on its southern and eastern boundaries, meant people had to be drawn to it. As a result, the relatively exposed site necessitated enclosure of the civic square. Third, enclosing the square could only be achieved with buildings, which needed tenants.

The architectural style of Federation Square appears immanently post-colonial, deliberately breaking from the traditional form of colonial urban squares in its morphology, spatiality, materiality and programming. The irregular-shaped buildings are cloaked in a fractured façade of shapes and colours, spatially arranged to frame an irregular-shaped plaza, as one of the designers noted in an interview for this research:

The first aspect of Federation Square was to build a public plaza for gathering to celebrate sporting events and activities, political rallies and all this, but also to deal with Melbourne's multicultural aspect ... a gathering place for lots of different cultures to come together ... to celebrate all of the different cultural entities that make up Melbourne (Federation Square designer).

The design responds primarily to the provision of a space for hosting civic and cultural events, but also to the Melbourne's multicultural society. While the spatiality of the

plaza achieves the former, the latter is primarily addressed in the materiality of the buildings and plaza.

Federation Square's fractal façade is arguably one of its most iconic elements (Figure 64). The façade attempts to unite a diversity of differences:

For us, Federation was a continuous process of negotiation, and as such the idea of a federated system is, in some sense, at the heart of the entire project. It's about independent identities that come together to form a larger whole. It's about really something that centres around coherence and difference. Differences about individual entities, coherence about the whole they form (Peter Davidson, Lab Architecture Studio, quoted in Brown-May & Day, 2003, p. 32).

The chaotic composition of irregular shapes and colours present a deliberately distorted reading of the city. The façade can be read as a representation of Melbourne's cultural diversity, one that seems to 'frustrate the gaze that seeks to stabilise identities' (Dovey, 2013, p. 105). Where the façade attempts to give identity to a diversity of differences, it also attempts to give representation to a diverse Australian landscape. Both cultural and landscape diversity are locked into, or held together in, the unity of the façade. This theme is also present in the surface of the plaza – a diverse composition of Kimberly sandstones, which have been shaped into artwork *Nearamnew* by Paul Carter (Figure 65). The surface/artwork, like the façade, frustrates any attempt to be understood easily.

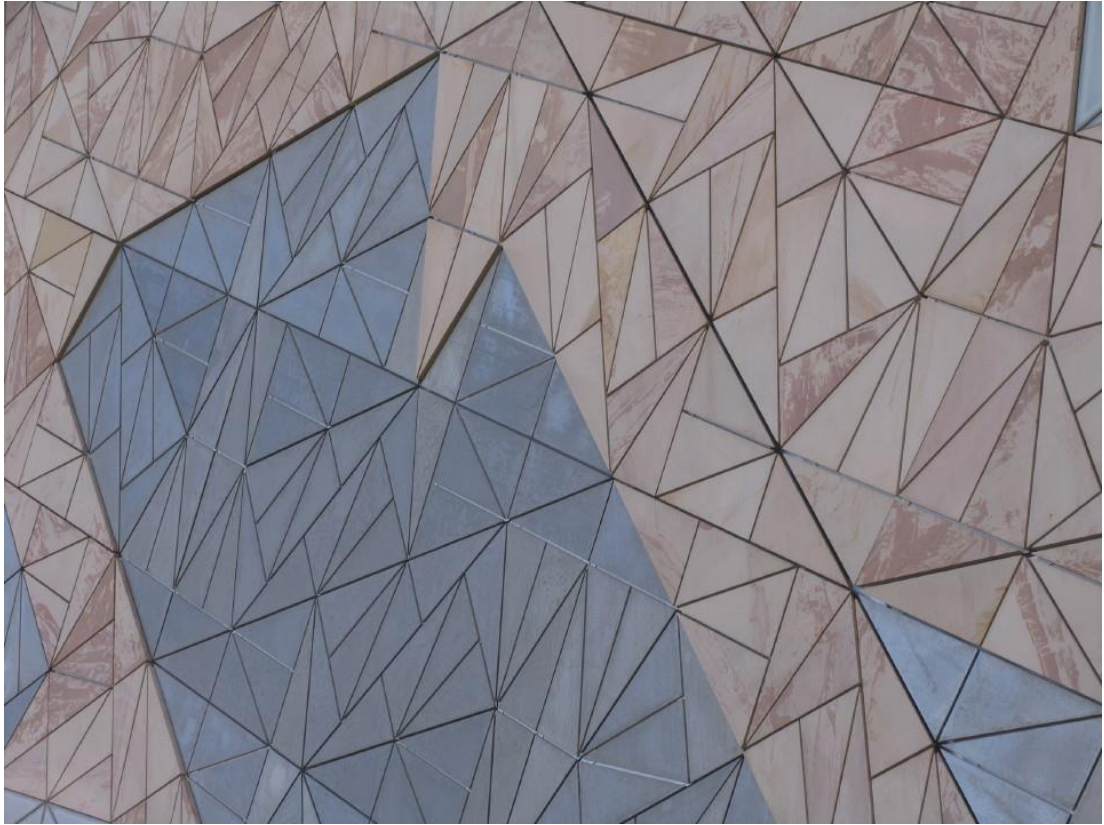


Figure 64. Fractal facade on Federation Square buildings (Seoidau, 2005).



Figure 65. The mosaic patterned cobbled surface of the plaza comprising the artwork *Nearamnew* by Paul Carter.

The building programme enclosing the plaza comprises a mix of cultural, entertainment and commercial uses (Figure 66). However, as noted, this program was necessary to enclose an exposed site devoid of attractions to draw people to the main element – the plaza. The edges of the plaza are activated by predominantly commercial uses, comprising bars, cafes and restaurants.



Figure 66. The main building programme of Federation Square (Fed Square, 2016).

The plaza itself is designed a series of smaller spaces that come together as one larger space designed for large civic and cultural events:

Rather than a closed enclave of controlled and regulated activities, Federation Square creates a complex network of experiences, a reaffirmation of the interactive nature of civic life (Bates et al., 1999, p. 60).

The main central space, or plaza, is largely unprogrammed outside of these events. The surface of the main square incorporates the *Nearamnew* artwork commissioned as part of the development. The topography creates an amphitheatre focused on the

stage and digital façade on the back of the Transport building. While the stage is primarily programmed for events, the façade remains active at all times, screening cultural, sporting, government and community programs. The northern edge is activated with restaurants, which includes outdoor dining separated from the main square by tiered steps that provide seating for public use. A similar programme is provided on the southern edge of the main square. The eastern side of the plaza, which is enclosed by ACMI, the Atrium and Crossbar, is programmed with a raised green space and planting with seating provided by its ledges, some giant board games and some moveable deck chairs, directors' chairs and umbrellas. A significant area of this space is programmed as outdoor dining and a beer garden for the commercial uses along these edges. A connection to the Yarra River Terrace is provided between the Yarra Building and Deakin Edge, which creates a smaller more intimate and private, but ultimately underutilised, space. The western edge is programmed primarily as seating, comprising tiered steps leading down into Swanston Court and St Paul's Court. Two raised green spaces enclose an open space at the top of the steps, connecting into the main square. This space provides vistas onto the Central Business District, St. Paul's Cathedral, Flinders Street Station and Southbank Promenade to the southwest. The Main Square Terrace on the northern edge is partially programmed with some moveable deck chairs, directors' chairs and umbrellas. This area connects with the Flinders Street Amphitheatre, which is enclosed at the base by the East Shard and the Alfred Deakin Building, but is largely unprogrammed outside of events.

7.4 Material agencies

This section explores how the human and nonhuman relations of Federation Square enable and constrain intercultural encounter. These findings are presented under six

themes that emerged through the constant comparative analysis framework: Occupation, Flow, Belonging, Control, Sanitisation and Programming.

Occupation

Figure 67 shows typical weekday and weekend day patterns of occupation by ethnicity in Federation Square. Levels of occupation peaked during midday, particularly during the lunch period (12-2pm). Occupation was higher in the morning compared with the evening/night-time, when levels dropped off considerably. Large groups of secondary school children comprised a significant proportion of all users across the morning and midday periods. These groups congregated on the section fronting Flinders Street Station and the Central Business District (CBD) and around the stage within the plaza upon arrival in the mornings, before dispersing into smaller groups to undertake some fieldwork. The groups were of mixed ethnicity, although some schools were observably more mixed than others, and some comprised mainly minority ethnic children. Occupation of the main plaza area in the morning was limited to a few people who sat on ledges watching the large screen while drinking coffee. During the late morning and across the midday, tourists/visitors were the dominant occupants of the plaza. They comprised both minority and majority ethnic groups, but few were mixed. Several informants interviewed for this research, revealed they are drawn to the square by the agency generated from its irregular morphology in contrast with the city's regular form, its sandstone plaza in contrast with the city's bluestone streets, and its striated fractal façade in contrast with the city's smooth glass buildings. They comprised people from both minority and majority ethnic backgrounds, but groups were mostly monocultural and mixing was never observed. They appeared upwardly mobile in the quality of their clothing and the accessories and cameras they carried. Their patterns of occupation were very consistent. Most circulating around the plaza, taking photos of the façade and each other. Some were attracted to the large screen, particularly when the camera is turned to the plaza for one hour during the midday

period, and many were observed photographing themselves on the screen. The majority of these occupations were relatively short, with tourists/visitors coming and going but few staying. The most heavily occupied period for any weekday was during the evening period on a Friday, when large groups of football supporters gathered in the plaza before moving onto the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG) sports ground. If the school groups, tourists/visitors and football fans are taken out of consideration, the plaza would be sparsely occupied across all weekdays, with the exception of the section fronting Flinders Street Station and the CBD.

Similar to weekdays, occupation peaked during midday, however, unlike weekdays, occupation was slightly higher in the evening/night-time than the morning. This change can be largely attributed to people attending shows and exhibitions at the Australian Centre for Moving Images (ACMI) and the National gallery of Victoria (NGV). In general, the composition of users did not change and the section fronting Flinders Street Station and the CBD remained the most heavily occupied area of the plaza. The occupancy patterns suggest the plaza is primarily used by people from majority ethnic backgrounds, particularly on weekend days. The mapping further reveals limited mixing between people from majority and minority ethnic backgrounds within groups. However, people from both majority and minority ethnic backgrounds did occupy the same spaces within the plaza.

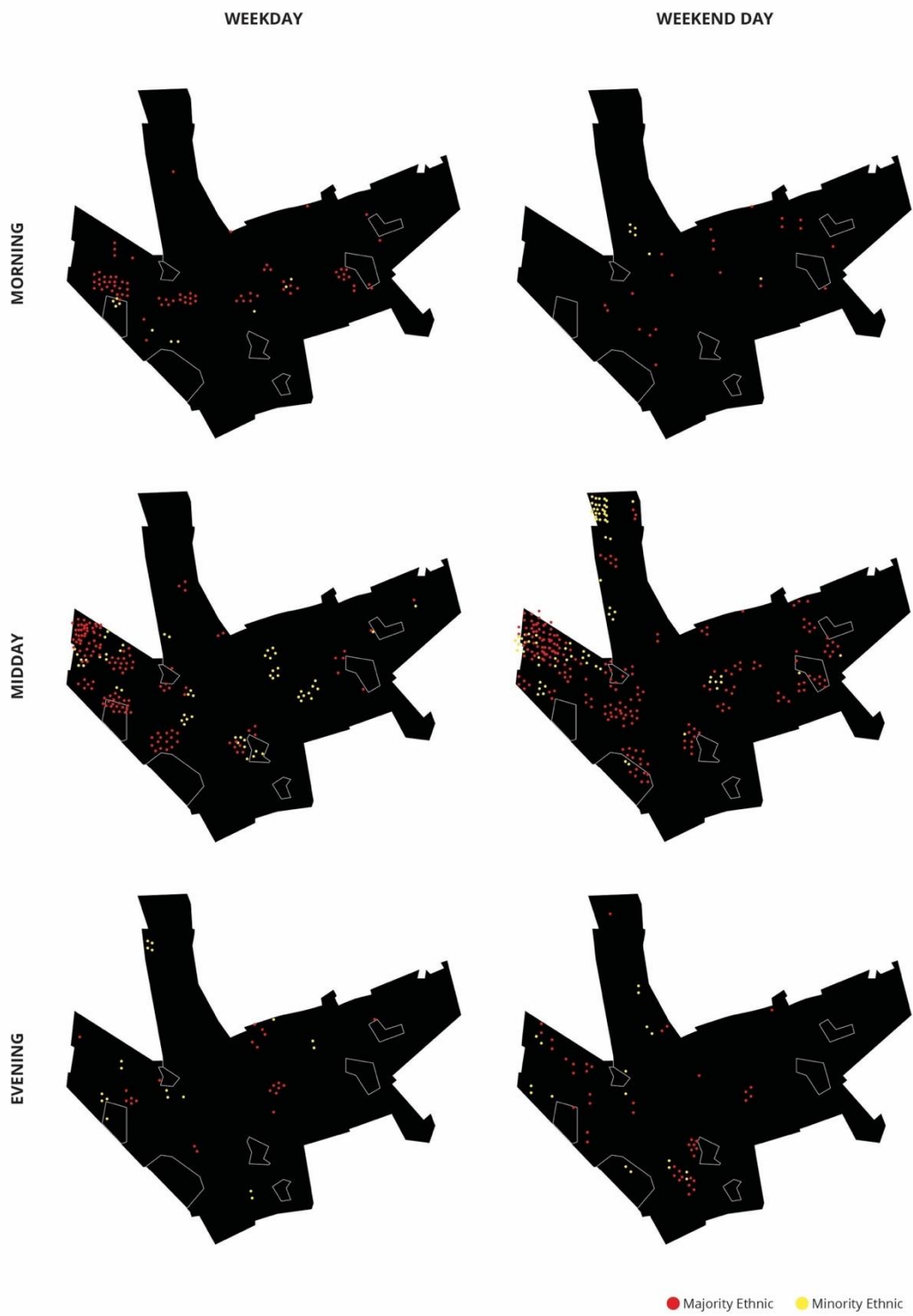


Figure 67. Occupation patterns by ethnicity for a typical weekday and weekend day.

Flow

Access to Federation Square for people arriving into the central city by train and tram at Flinders Street Station is relatively good, as it is for people arriving by car who can avail of the parking structure on the eastern side, adjacent to Birrarung Marr on the north bank of the Yarra River. However, access for people on foot, which accounts for 89 percent of all movement in the central city (City of Melbourne, 2014), is more limited, as shown in Figure 68.



Figure 68. Connections with the city and through Federation Square.

There are four main connections with the central grid via signalised pedestrian crossings; two connect with Flinders Street Station across Swanston Street, and two with the CBD across Flinders Street at Swanston Street and Russell Street. The former requires three separate crossing stages starting from the west side of Russell Street. Although the road rules allow pedestrians to cross anywhere twenty metres from a signalised crossing, the four lanes of traffic and tram tracks on Flinders Street render crossing impractical and unsafe for most people. This is despite specifications

in the design brief for connections with the fine grain of the city's laneways, which the designers duly provided. Similarly, heavy traffic flows and turning movements, as well as trams and a tram stop, limit connections across Swanston Street from the station. Furthermore, the time allocated to pedestrians at crossings is seven seconds with wait times between crossings of 83 seconds (City of Melbourne, 2014).

Access through Federation Square is possible for both north-south and east-west movements, but this entails navigating the square's relatively steep topography. North-south movements require climbing, steep steps and, with most of the northern side only permeable through buildings via stairs and elevators. Once outside the northern edge of the square, one is still faced with the relatively impermeable Flinders Street. Direct east-west movements are also possible, but only via the NGV building and then ascending/descending stairs to/from the plaza. In most cases, the 'perceived permeability' (Stamps, 2010) of the square is limited by the lack of visual connection. In other words, lines of sight for moving through the space are obscured by a combination of topography and enclosure. The square's terrain poses even more challenges for the mobility impaired, including senior citizens, people with physical and visual impairments, and those with prams, luggage, and shopping. While the square has been retrofitted with provisions for accessibility that make it surmountable, they remain a significant psychological and time-consuming barrier for many people with mobility impairments.

Indicative flows of people through Federation Square, based on observations for this research reveal the main flow through the square was across the western side of the plaza connecting to Birrarung Marr (Figure 68). However, observations revealed most people making this movement do so around the southwestern corner of the square, avoiding the plaza completely. Similar observations were made during the morning and evening commuter peaks for movements between Flinders Street Station and the

eastern end of the CBD. These flows moved across St Paul's Court, past the East Shard, and along Flinders Street towards the crossing at Russell Street. The movements shown within the plaza are primarily staff and visitors accessing the different venues in the square.

Access to, and permeability through, Federation Square are not the only urban design issues affecting the flow of everyday life to and through this space. The site on which Federation Square sits is relatively isolated, with few attractions or destinations located on its eastern and southern sides. The Yarra River on the southern edge creates a relatively impermeable boundary, beyond which is primarily green open space. Similarly, the eastern edge is bordered by Jolimont railyard and Birrarung Marr. In other words, there are few attractions to draw everyday life through Federation Square, which renders it primarily a destination. Because there are few reasons to go through it, one needs a reason to go to it.

Belonging

Interviews with minority ethnic informants for this research revealed a number of common issues related to a 'sense of place' (Tuan, 1977) and a 'sense of belonging' (Cattell et al., 2008) in Federation Square. Informants from South America and South Asia noted feeling generally safer in all public spaces in the city, including Federation Square, compared with similar public spaces in their respective home cities. This was often related to lower overall levels of crime, but also in relation to gender issues in public spaces. One informant noted the absence of a culturally, politically or religiously specific statue in Federation Square, made them feel more welcome compared with some spaces in their home city. These nonhuman actors had the agency to mark territories and dictate who was in/out of place. Such objects are common features of most colonial public spaces but were deliberately omitted from the post-colonial design of Federation Square. Nonetheless, all informants revealed they rarely visited

Federation Square, which they attributed to the formality of the space - a combination of its built form, management and programming, all of which has the agency to limit self-expression:

I'm not really restricted of who I am, but I feel I have to repress some things. Some things are common sense here but not in the rest of the world (female Indian informant).

Another informant, speaking about the kind of public life created by a space like Federation Square, noted:

You want to go to places where you can meet people. It's hard to do this in Australia. You try to integrate but it is hard. It is difficult to integrate with Australians and to remain true to your culture. I feel like when you look around [Federation Square] it's so dull (female North African informant).

This agency to repress self-expression among minority-ethnic groups is partially addressed more in *Control* (p.280) and *Programming* (p.287). However, minority ethnic informants also revealed that, for them, the aesthetics of Federation Square - the quality of design, the materiality, and its cleanliness - communicates a language of class:

Minority ethnic people who come here don't feel like they are worthy of using these public spaces. They are too fancy. They think they cannot afford it. Someone has to pay it. They already feel lucky to have asylum and this is all extra and they are not entitled to it (female African informant).

In unpacking this issue, informants revealed that, for them, Federation Square is like the beautifully and expensively designed home, full of expensive artwork, furniture and antiques, and immaculately maintained. It is beautiful and can be admired, but it is a place in which they do not feel entirely comfortable. A place where they feel out-of-place, uncomfortable, where they are worried about 'doing something wrong' or 'being seen to do something wrong'. They contrast this kind of place with the

somewhat messy, very much lived in and cosy home. The kind of place that you feel instantly comfortable in – a place where they feel you can be yourself because the aesthetics communicate a language of classlessness and inclusiveness.

Control

Key human actors implicated in the control of spatial practices include the staff of Federation Square Pty Ltd (“management”) and the security guards they employ (see A, Figure 69). On occasion, police officers are enrolled into these associations when patrolling the plaza, which have become more commonplace after the various terror-related incidents that took place near to, or were planned to take place in, Federation Square. The security guards clothing communicates authority and bears a striking similarity to the police, making them highly visible at all times. As one minority ethnic informant for this study noted:

It’s a bit scary when you see security coming to you all the time, being around all the time. I don’t know if I feel safer or I feel less safe. They keep us safe, but I feel more unsafe. They are very visible. It’s like big brother. Like 1984. People always feel like they need to behave. It stops the space from being livelier (female Asian informant).

The security guards were observed surveying the square from key vantage points but focused primarily on the area facing onto Swanston Court - the most occupied part of the plaza. They stood on the terrace at the top of the tiered rows of seating and the steps, creating a view-from-able affordance that enabled them to simultaneously see and be seen. Observed interactions with users of the square were largely discrete and mostly appeared amicable. On several occasions they were observed intervening when youths were playing with balls, even simply bouncing a basketball while navigating through St. Paul’s Court. Critical to the associations of control are the network of CCTV cameras (see B, Figure 69), which are monitored by management who are connected to the security guards via mobile communications. This network expands surveillance into the semi-enclosed spaces of the square.

Although the guards were omnipresent, observations for this study revealed the base of the Flinders Street Amphitheatre was much less surveyed than most of the square. This was also the setting for the most successful appropriation of space observed during fieldwork. On a Saturday afternoon, a group of approximately twenty-four Chinese women, of different adult ages, arrived appropriated a significant part of this space to practice traditional Chinese dancing (see C, Figure 69). They brought their own sound system and props, and the dancing was choreographed, giving the appearance of an officially sanctioned event. However, discussions with some of these women revealed they had not obtained an official permit to occupy this space, nor had they expected one would be needed for such an activity. As one minority ethnic informant for this study noted in relation to how people appropriate public spaces in East Asian cities:

They self-organise. The government don't get involved. People negotiate the space in Asia. If they need to, they just move. Sometimes they have conflict, but this is normal (female Chinese informant).

Nonetheless, the occupation of this space appeared to be a strategic decision on the part of the group of Chinese women given the range of observed affordances.

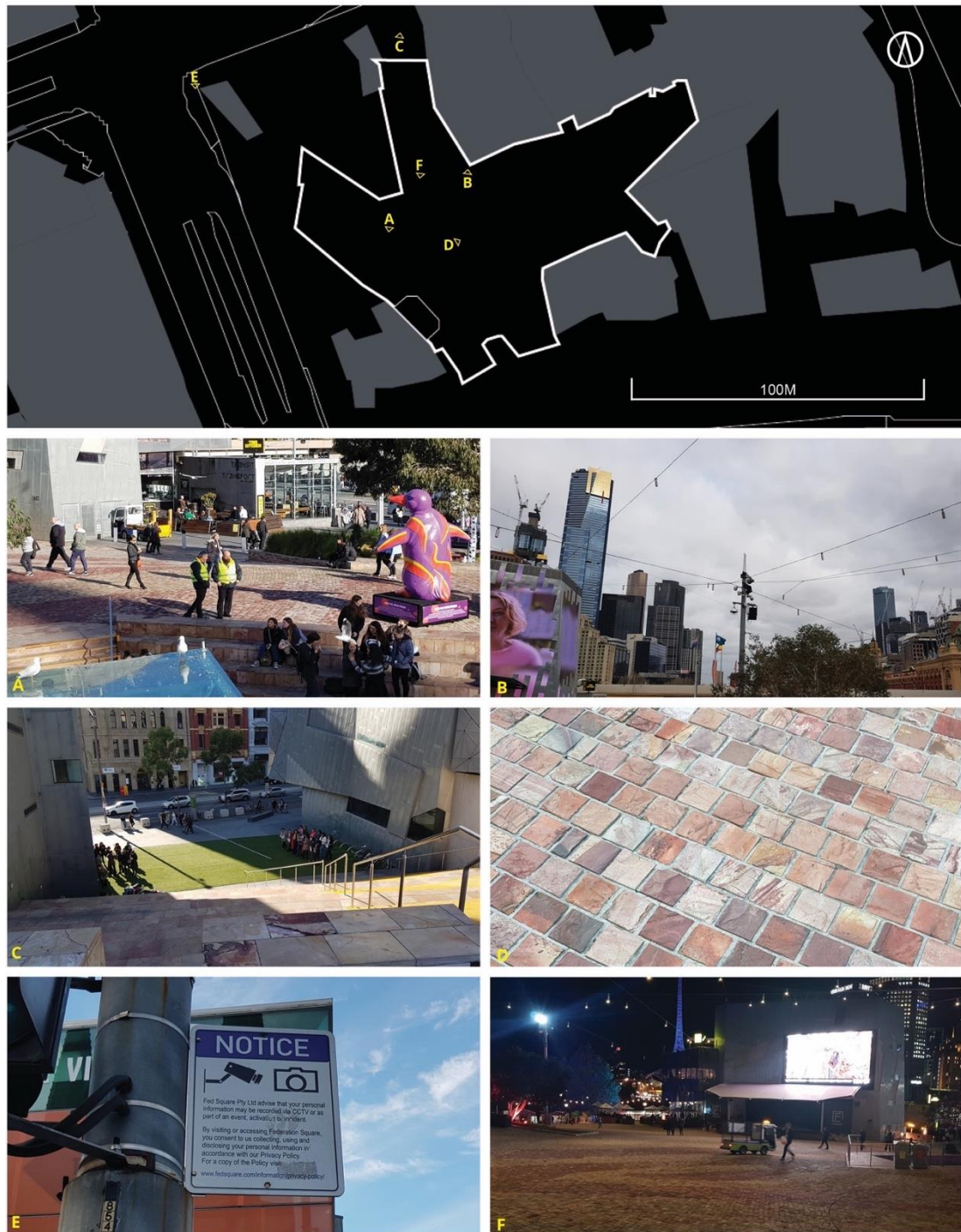


Figure 69. Modes of control in Federation Square: (A) Security guards patrolling plaza; (B) CCTV mounted in plaza; (C) Appropriation of Flinders Street Amphitheatre; (D) Cobbled surface of plaza; (E) Privacy notice sign located outside boundary of Federation Square; (F) Early morning cleaning regime in plaza.

The combination of the East Shard, the Alfred Deakin Building and the tiered plaza was shelter-from-able the blustery weather, and also largely hidden-from-able the security guards. The soft surface of the artificial grass was dance-on-able. The offset position of the steps leading to/from the main plaza create a space that was accommodate-within-able for their specific dancing formation, and out-of-the-way-able from other users of the square. While the corner between the shard and the edge of the plaza was secure-in-able for their props and personal belongings. In other words, the built form of this space enabled appropriation by the Chinese women. The spectacle of this performance regularly enrolled a mix of people from minority and majority ethnic backgrounds. However, most were pedestrians passing along Flinders Street as the Amphitheatre was rarely occupied by more than a handful of people at any one time.

Observations for this study revealed the cobbled surface of the plaza (see D, Figure 69) was occasionally enrolled by the security guards to help control the use of the space. The surface alerts the security guards to the prohibited act of skateboarding, as the wheels of a skateboard comes into contact with the striated cobblestones a highly audible sound is created that reverberates around the amphitheatre-like form of the plaza. Although a skate-on-able affordance is reduced by the surface, several attempts were observed during fieldwork, mostly by majority-ethnic male youths. However, all such attempts were shut down within seconds by the security guards.

The agency of the security guards to control what happens in the space is further enhanced by signage that communicates what is prohibited and the use of personal information collected by management through CCTV, photography and video (see E, Figure 69). The location of these signs has the agency to enrol users of the space into associations with another (virtual) nonhuman actor – management's policy governing the use of personal information, which is provided via a website. During fieldwork, one

such sign was observed, attached to a streetlight pole position on the edge of the footpath along Flinders Street (now removed), which is outside the boundary of Federation Square. The sign was attached at the same height as the traffic signal lantern for pedestrians crossing from the CBD at St. Pauls Cathedral. Despite crossing here almost every day, I only noticed the sign on the last day of fieldwork. The green phase for crossing provides insufficient time to read the sign. Subsequent discussions and interviews with a diverse range of locals revealed no awareness of the sign or its agency to assign personal rights over to the management of the square.

The Federation Square Civic and Cultural Charter – discussed in detail under *Brief* – is another (virtual) actant enrolled into this association to control how the space is used. Under the operating principles, the Charter states:

The management company will enforce rules and codes of public behaviour, and ensure an adequate level of supervision in the Square's use by the public (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1997, p. 3)

The rules and codes of public behaviour are not elaborated upon, but rather, as noted by an informant for this study, left to the discretion of management, and sometimes to the security guards. Although the Charter is intended to protect the publicness of the square, it is difficult for the public to enrol its agency to their benefit. Rather, it remains largely hidden behind the human and nonhuman actors that control the use of the space.

Like the Charter, permits are a largely virtual nonhuman actor that contain considerable agency in controlling what does or does not happen in the square. There are few uses of the space that do not require a permit, including public protests. The process to obtain a permit begins digitally online, which then enrolls several other human and nonhuman actors. The initial enquiry is assessed by management. If approved, a contract has to be signed and various insurances provided. A site

meeting is held with management and a quotation issued, after which a risk assessment must be completed that may require providing OH&S documentation. Such a process is clearly geared to organisations with experience, funding and the systems in place to deliver formal events. An interview with a group of Sudanese Muslim women and community leaders revealed that although Federation Square is supposed to be provided free to community organisations, such a process is actually a barrier that has the agency to constrain their use of the square. They are challenged by the formality, a limited understanding of English, particularly technical language, and a lack of knowledge about different elements of the process.

Tai Chi originated from the Chinese martial art 'Wushu' in the 16th Century but is now a common health and fitness practice in the public spaces of Western cities. It is a regular event in Federation Square, taking place every Tuesday morning from 7:30am to 8:30am. It also takes place in other public spaces around the city, such as outside the Melbourne Museum in Carlton, to the north of the CBD. However, only in Federation Square does it require a permit. Upon learning that the simple activity of Tai Chi required a permit in Federation Square, a minority ethnic informant for this study responded:

I can't believe they need a permit to do Tai Chi in Federation Square. They should be more relaxed. Maybe because it's the main space they control it more (female Thai informant)

Tai Chi was observed in Federation Square on several occasions for this study (Figure 70). The classes always took place in the same location between the ACMI Lounge and the largest of six plinths located across the plaza, all surrounding and supporting a tree. This location is one of the few areas in the plaza with a flat surface, which was practice-on-able for the class. The proximity to two buildings enclosing the plaza was shelter-from-able adverse weather, and out-of-the-way-able of other people in the plaza. The plinth was stand-on-able for the Tai Chi master, so that he/she could see

and be seen from the ground plane. The classes attracted people from both minority and majority-ethnic backgrounds, almost all of whom were older adults and seniors, both male and female. Encounters between participants from different ethnic backgrounds were observed occasionally, most were fleeting in nature but always amicable.



Figure 70. Tai Chi being practiced in Federation Square.

Sanitisation

The first day of observations in Federation Square began at 06:00 on a Monday morning, at the same time as a team of cleaners began high pressure washing the plaza, part of a comprehensive cleaning regime. From 08:00 to 18:00, every day during observations, a team of cleaners patrolled the plaza armed with dustpans and brushes, sweeping up litter and cleaning spillages. During this time, a small driver-operated cart roamed the square emptying and cleaning the rubbish and recycling

bins. This cleaning regime appeared highly organised, efficient and effective. However, this cleaning regime appears to have agency to repel some minority ethnic groups:

It's too clean. [laughs] Too set up, too formal. I want some chaos. In Asia, there is some chaos. People from Asia will be more used to the chaos. It's too calm. You feel like part of the furniture. Chaos is more interesting (female Vietnamese informant).

Several minority ethnic informants suggested the extent of cleanliness in Federation Square contributed to a class-based aesthetic, creating a sense of out-of-placeness for them.

Programming

There are three large digital screens in Federation Square: one in the atrium building; one on the north-eastern side of the plaza; and the 'big screen' attached to the Transport Hotel building, above the stage on the southwestern side of the plaza (Figure 71). The 'big screen' is one of the defining features of Federation Square and a key element of its programming. The 'big screen' was initially used to broadcast commercial television but evolved from 2005 to screen major events such as the Australian Open, the World Cup, and in 2008 the National Apology to the Stolen Generation by former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd. Since then, the screen has evolved further with a stronger focus on cultural and artistic content (Papastergiadis et al., 2013). However, this research focused on the everyday, as opposed to special events. As such, this study attempted to understand if the 'big screen' mediated intercultural encounter.

Upon arrival in Federation Square for the first day of observations, the 'big screen' was active and seemed to fill the plaza with flashing light and loud sounds that stood in stark contrast to the still dark morning and unoccupied spaces of the square.

Government promotions of Multicultural Victoria were screened before the morning news shows took over. At this time of the day the big screen is all consuming, almost impossible to escape, with all of the few people passing through the plaza stopping briefly to check what was on. As the morning progressed, I found the screen intrusive and distracting – engaging only as a form of disengagement from everyday life.

My observations of interactions between people in the plaza and the big screen suggest mostly passive engagements. The only time that active engagement took place over a one-hour period during midday when the camera is turned onto the plaza and people standing in the centre can see themselves on the screen. During this period some engage briefly with the screen, such as a group of Chinese tourists who photographed themselves appearing on the screen. However, on no occasion did I observe the screen mediating any form of intercultural encounter in the plaza.

In 2018, the 'big screen' (see A1 and A2, Figure 71) was replaced with a digital façade covering almost the entire wall of the Transport Hotel building (see B and C, Figure 71). The website for Federation Square notes of the new installation:

Fed Square's new Digital Facade lights up the square 24 hours a day, seven days a week. With specially curated artistic content, live news and TV streams, sporting and cultural events and much more, the Digital Facade is breathing new life into Fed Square. More than just a dazzling viewing and live event experience, it's a living piece of architecture ("Digital façade," 2018).

Observations for this research, undertaken post installation of the new digital façade, suggests that it may also lack the agency to mediate intercultural encounters in the plaza. Nor did it appear more able to attract either minority or majority ethnic backgrounds, than the big screen.



Figure 71. Urban screens in Federation Square (A1) The 'Big Screen' during the day; (A2) The 'Big Screen' during after dark; (B) The digital façade from the main plaza; (C) The digital façade from the side.

There are two types of seating in Federation Square. The dominant type of seating is in the form of straight ledges and steps (see A to C, Figure 72), which are primarily located around the edges of the plaza, with the highest proportion provided in the area facing onto Swanston Court. The steps had agency to double as seats as a result of their deep tread and high riser properties, which were observed to accommodate the majority of human bodies. The ledges surrounding the six plinths, located within the plaza, also provided seating opportunities (see D to F, Figure 72). Observable

affordances across different ethnicities, ages and genders included sit-on-able, lie-on-able, and set-on-able. However, for children and youths, run-along-able, climb-on-able, jump-off-able, and, on a few occasions, skate-on-able, were also observed. Users from minority ethnic backgrounds were observed more frequently to sit on ledges with a lower riser off the ground (see L, Figure 72), particularly those from East and South Asian countries. The sit-on-able affordances observed appeared to relate to sitting postures typically found in these cultures. The observed users, who appeared Middle Eastern in origin, sat cross-legged on these ledges, which is also a posture in yoga known as 'Sukhasana' or 'Padmasana', while the users who appeared East Asian in origin, sat in a squatting posture on the same ledge. No other differences were observed for seating postures across different ethnicities, ages and genders. However, the occupation of up to two rows of seating on the area of the plaza facing onto Swanston Court, by South Asian male adults, sitting as individuals or small groups of two to three, was commonly observed throughout the fieldwork between 18:00 and 20:00. Discussions with informants for this research revealed they were either finishing a shift or about to begin one at various locations across the CBD. Federation Square was, for them, a convenient meeting place to converse with friends from their own ethnic background, but not as a place to encounter difference.



Figure 72. Types of seating in Federation Square: (A) Ledge seating facing onto St Paul's Court; (B) Terraced seating facing onto Flinders Street Amphitheatre; (C) Ledge seating on the perimeter of the plaza; (D) Ledge seating along the plinths facing out of plaza; (E) Ledge seating along the plinths in the plaza; (F) Ledge seating along the plinths facing into the plaza; (G) Deck chairs with umbrellas; (H) Deck chair repositioned in the plaza; (I) Deck chairs at the top of the plaza; (J) Seating outside commercial area; (K) Sitting on the edge of the stage in the plaza; (L) Sitting cross-legged and squatting on low ledge.

Based on observations for this research, the properties of the ledges and steps forced people to sit side-by-side and face forward, which observably limited eye contact and constrained social interactions among groups larger than two people. These properties also limited the potential for encounters among strangers, including people from different ethnic backgrounds.

The other type of seating found in the plaza came in the form of moveable deck chairs and directors' chairs (see G to I, Figure 72). These objects were commissioned by Fed Square Pty Ltd in 2013, with the aim of adding new 'outdoor comfort zones' (Falinc, 2013). They are part of a set of objects that include umbrellas and cushions, all contained within a mobile storage unit, and are available between 08:00 and 20:00. It appears that these objects were enrolled into the plaza assemblage in response to criticisms about the lack of shade and the uncomfortable cold, hard fixed seating (Withers, 2005). These objects had agency to attract a range of users, across different ethnicities, ages and genders, providing all with sit-on-able and sleep-in-able affordances, and shelter-from-able inclement weather. A further attraction of the moveable agency of the chairs was observed as a vantage-from-able affordance that allowed users to position and reposition them to sit and watch the life of the square or the big screen. For the most part, the chairs were not moved far from the umbrellas, which were less mobile and tended to stay where first placed in the morning. Observations showed that this seating was occasionally territorialised by large groups of tourists and school children. However, it was mostly used by a mix of individuals and smaller groups of two to three people. The relatively fixed positioning of these seats did bring people from different ethnic groups into close proximity, and this occasionally resulted in some short encounters when a person seeking use of a seat would enquire about its availability with those already seated. The cushions were almost always used in association with the ledges and steps, their agency enhancing the comfort of the fixed seating. The cushions ranged in size, comfortably

accommodating individuals, or groups of two to three albeit more intimately. On no occasion where people from different ethnic backgrounds observed sharing a cushion who were not already in a group.

In 2016, giant games, including Connect Four, Chess and Jenga, were installed in Federation Square with the former two placed in the plaza (Figure 73). These objects were initially installed for a two-week period during the school holidays but have been retained in the space. Similar to the deck and director chairs, umbrellas and cushions discussed previously, these objects are placed in the plaza between 08:00 and 20:00 each day.

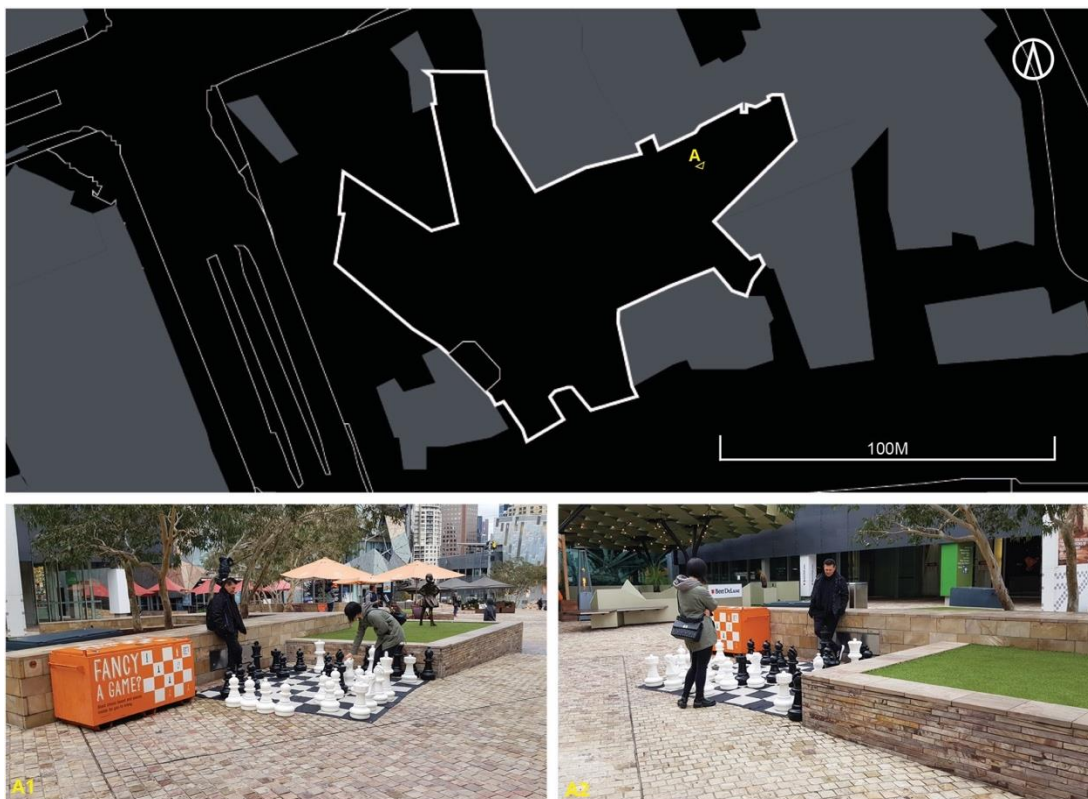


Figure 73. 'Giant Games' in Federation Square plaza.

The installation of objects, such as games, is a form of space activation where there is a desire to increase everyday life or to attract more customers (Baggini, 2014,

September 4). Giant chess games can also be found in the public space outside the State Library, off Swanston Street, and a small public space located on Swanston Street, at the intersection with Little Collins Street. Observations showed some potential to mediate encounter across different ethnicities, ages and genders who shared a common interest in participating in the game, but not among those watching a game. Similar observations were made in the plaza of Federation Square. Participation required an ongoing interaction among players, sometimes verbal, sometimes through body language, but always amicable. However, in most cases the participants in Federation Square appeared to be tourists/visitors. Whereas, the participants in the other spaces appeared to be mainly locals who were visiting the State Library or just hanging out with friends.

Public art takes several forms in Federation Square. It is temporary such as the content appearing on the big screen. However, one artwork is a permanent element of the square, installed in the surface of the plaza as part of the original design (Figure 74). 'Nearamnew' is a post-colonial work that celebrates Australia's pre-colonial history by Melbourne artist, architect and academic Paul Carter (2005). In extolling the importance of Nearamnew, Rutherford (2005, p. 4) notes:

Walking quickly over the hill and dale surface of the square you could walk right over Nearamnew and not notice what was below your feet (p. 4).

Rutherford goes on to note:

To tread [or read] *Nearamnew* one has to get down on one's hands and knees and clamber over the surface of the ground deciphering the songs that sound in the rock by tracing out their letters in a braille that hovers between a language one knows and a linguistic form one cannot identify. Knowing and unknowing, the reading is slow, the memories it conjures partial and the grasp of the text always there at the edge of one's reach (p. 9).

Nearamnew is deliberately challenging, which informants for this research, both minority and majority, found difficult to engage with. Many were not even aware of its existence. Observations revealed most engagements with the artwork were fleeting, some took photographs, none got down on their knees. On no occasion did I observe the artwork mediating any form of intercultural encounter in the plaza.

Enclosing the plaza with buildings and filling them with attractive tenancies to bring people to Federation Square was an essential aspect of the original design. This was in part due to the relatively isolation of the site away from the CBD, and in part because of the lack of attractions to its eastern and southern side that could draw people through it, which also left it exposed to the elements. The Victorian State Government, at the time of the square's development, decided that the main tenants should be primarily cultural institutions with a mix of commercial retail. The former comprises NGV Australia, the Koorie Heritage Trust, and multicultural broadcaster SBS. The retail offer comprises restaurants, cafes and bars, mainly located around the edges of the plaza, and the NGV Design Store and some craft shops in the Atrium. The minority ethnic informants interviewed for this research identified the tenancies as a key reason why their communities do not use Federation Square:

Here things close early. People hang out more, eating in the streets. Its more social. Our interactions with vendors are like you eat there because you like them. We use public spaces differently. You don't go to places because it was reviewed on google, you go because you like someone there. Back home, you describe places and give directions by the people you know who hang out there, like the street vendors. People would be playing music, dancing, even people just passing by. It's livelier. People are attracted by parties (female African informant).



Figure 74. 'Nearamnew', by Paul Carter, contained within the surface of the plaza.

Another minority-ethnic informant noted a lack of diversity in food in the square:

Something like an African restaurant here, more multicultural, would be more attractive. Many east Africans don't drink that much so food is more important (female East African informant).

While several minority-ethnic informants suggested that Federation Square was unaffordable for many in their communities, as one noted:

Why buy a \$30 meal when you can buy a \$10 meal elsewhere. Why bother coming here (female Asian informant).

The actual and perceived affordability of Federation Square was noted by another minority-ethnic informant:

With the low class and migrant people, they will not come here because it is too expensive. They will come sometimes for festivals but normally they won't come. More people would come here if they could buy cheap food, noodles, from stalls. This would make the space more inclusive and more multicultural (male African informant).

Another minority-ethnic informant suggested a falafel stand would be more attractive, but she stressed that it had to be like the kind you find in the suburb of Brunswick, not an expensive hipster version. The cultural venues also posed issues for the minority-ethnic informants in this study, as one noted:

You don't grow up where I am from going to galleries. I would only go to these places once. I think if they had the multicultural hub here it would be better. Things you can do on a more regular basis (female East African informant).

Most of the minority-ethnic informants suggested that these venues are exclusive, primarily targeted at people with high incomes and Western tastes. However, rather than suggest their removal, they advocated for more diversity to reach a more diverse audience.

7.5 Discussion

Everyday life

Everyday life can be understood as what happens outside of special events (Amin, 2002; de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991a). It is the mundane, routineness that we live day-to-day – commuting to work, shopping, running errands, and meeting friends. The everyday has a relationship with places, movement through them, occupations and interactions within them, particularly with 'others' (Gardiner, 2000). Observing

intercultural encounter during the everyday life of Federation Square proved difficult because it was rarely present.

Successful urban squares act as nodes connecting places within the fabric of a city. They facilitate flows of everyday life through them, as much as they attract people to them (Carmona, 2019). These flows are generated by people going to and from work, buying groceries, going to school, getting shoes repaired, visiting the doctor, going to pray in a church/temple/mosque, walking their dog. They represent the mundane, humdrum rhythm of daily life in the city (de Certeau, 1984), enabling random encounters among people – what Jacobs (1964) argued are the lifeblood of cities. These interactions, although mostly fleeting in nature, help develop familiarity with difference, including ethnic diversity (Chacko et al., 2016; Peters & de Haan, 2011). Familiarity with ethnic diversity reduces fears associated with otherness (Madanipour et al., 2013). Urban design, which shapes public space, has the agency to enable flows of everyday life which create the potential for intercultural encounters. However, such assemblages of human and nonhuman actors can also constrain such interactions. Such is the case with Federation Square, which does not function as a node embedded within the fabric of a city. Rather, it is relatively isolated with limited pedestrian connections on its northern and western edges – what one critic called ‘anti-urban’ (Davey, 2003), whereas the southern and eastern edges are effectively impermeable boundaries. Although the path along the Yarra River connects with a major sporting precinct, it is not active on a daily basis. Federation Square therefore relies on drawing people to it, which makes it primarily a destination. Observations for this study revealed that these flows of everyday life are largely absent from Federation Square because of issues associated with access, permeability and connection. In Space Syntax terms, Federation Square would have a low level of integration (axial analysis) and a low-level field of vision (isovist analysis).

Ambient power

Allen (2006), drawing on the work of others (including Anderson, 2006; Derek, 2003), notes that public spaces are designed to elicit affective responses through material, spatial and programmatic qualities; what he terms *ambient power*. He argues that ambient power is mediated through what Zukin (1995) has called the 'domestication' of public spaces:

Domestication, in this respect, works by making public spaces attractive to certain users but not others, primarily by 'softening' the landscape, opening it up to more sedate forms of recreation whilst policing the whole process by a range of security measures, from private guards to electronic surveillance cameras (Allen, 2006, p. 453).

The domestication of Federation Square can be understood in the comparison between two homes: the beautifully designed, highly curated home filled with expensive furniture and artworks, versus the somewhat messy but cosy family home. For the minority ethnic informants, Federation Square is the former, whereas the latter is more appealing to them, and therefore arguably more inclusive. As a result, they lack a 'sense of place' (Tuan, 1977) and a 'sense of belonging' (Cattell et al., 2008) in Federation Square. This sense of out-of-placeness derives from power relations at play in public spaces between the dominant majority and minority ethnic groups. These relations can be understood through the concepts of *power over* and *power to*, where giving power to can result in power over others (Pansardi, 2012). Dovey (2014, p. 53) notes five forms of power over - force, coercion, manipulation, seduction and authority. He claims that 'the most problematic buildings and urban designs are often a complex mix of seduction, authority and coercion. And the exercise of power can slide from one form to another, thereby masking itself'. This research, and others (Miller, 2018), show all three forms of power present in Federation Square. Dovey (2014, p. 50) defines seduction as:

[A] practice which manipulates the interests and desires of the subject. This is a sophisticated form of 'power over', hinged to constructions of desire and self-identity, with significant implications for the built environment.

As the findings have shown, minority ethnic groups see in Federation Square an aesthetic of class contained within its architecture, programming and management. This is consistent with one of the ways that Dovey (2014, p. 59) claims the aforementioned forms of power are mediated by built form:

Buildings and places inevitably construct and symbolize socially constructed identities and differences – of persons, classes, cultures, institutions and nations.

The politics of identity in built form mediates who we are and where we belong.

These informants read the architecture of Federation Square, its regimented cleaning, and the cultural and commercial functions, as unaffordable. This form of power over is what Allen (2006) calls a logic of inclusion rather than exclusion. In other words, exclusion through inclusion, where a place is made so desirable to one group that others do not feel they belong.

Another aspect of Federation Square's ambient power is mediated by what Miller (2018, p. 16) calls 'sanctioned consumption', which she defines as:

[An] attempt to sanction preferred dominant cultural practices while marginalizing and controlling subcultural practices in order to stabilize conduct for the benefit of wider society.

As minority ethnic informants for this study noted, for them, the food offering in Federation Square is culturally limited and largely unaffordable compared to the rest of the city. The agency of Federation Square's ambient power is amplified by authoritarian forms of power over such as the daily presence of highly visible security guards, and coercive forms of power over, such as CCTV and signage communicating sanctioned rules and spatial practices.

Postscript

In May 2019, I successfully applied to take part in 'Hack Fed Square' run by Fed Square Pty Ltd as part of Melbourne Knowledge Week³⁶. This design hack sought to answer the question: *How can we ensure Fed Square remains one of Melbourne's key cultural landmarks and iconic meeting places – a space where creativity, curiosity and inspiration collide?* On Friday the 24th May, a briefing session was run for participants in the offices of Fed Square Pty Ltd in Federation Square. One of the presentations was provided by the marketing team who announced that they had just completed the most comprehensive survey of visitors to Federation Square, which was informing the development of a new branding strategy. Based on this work, they presented two personas representing their key target market for developing the future visitor experience in Federation Square. These personas would also form the basis for the design hack. One persona was female and one male, both were white and both had incomes in excess of 100,000 AUD, which is well in excess of the average salary in Victoria at 60,907.60 AUD (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2019b). The statistical region of Melbourne City is reported to have the most unequal incomes in Australia, with the top 20% earning 8.3 times that of the bottom 20% (Biddle, 2017, July 6). Within the bottom 20% an 'ethnic pay gap, is reported (O'Leary et al., 2017). Ethnic minorities do not appear to be a key target market for the commercial aspirations of Fed Square Pty Ltd.

Fragmentary demand

The brief for the design competition for Federation Square specified an architecture strong in the representation of the city's growing diversity:

³⁶ Melbourne Knowledge Week (MKW) is an annual event run by the City of Melbourne's exploring innovative solutions to a range of urban issues.

The design of Federation Square's fabric should also aim to express the diversity, sophistication and contribution of Melbourne multi-cultural heritage (Melbourne City Council & Office of Major Projects, 1996c, p. 49).

The architecture of Federation Square achieves this requirement by cloaking the buildings within a façade of fractals or fragments, while resisting reductive notions of identity (Dovey, 2013). This is consistent with Maurice Blanchot's notion of 'the fragmentary demand', in reference to a body of work that 'exceeds all figures of totality and refuses all subsumption of fragmentation into a greater whole' (James, 2006, p. 2). Writing about Federation Square shortly after it opened Charles Jencks noted:

[For] the first time, architects were asked to express ethnic diversity and the tangled path of a national identity based on the suppression of minorities, and to do this right in the center of downtown on a major public building (Jencks, 2003, p. 109).

Jencks is effusive in his praise of Federation Square's architecture, which he claims expresses the ideals of cultural pluralism – where ethnic groups maintain their identity within a larger society, noting:

Where pluralism used to result in conflicting geometries, oppositional aesthetics, and eclectic difference, the new digital generation is intent on showing it can be handled equally well by coherently varying the grammar of smaller parts. In effect, a fractal architecture of supple variation can be more subtly unified — hence "coherent" — than an amalgam of disparate parts, while still honoring pluralism (Jencks, 2003, p. 110).

His claims of unity and coherence parallel the government's narrative of the centenary celebrations. Federation Square's architecture, particularly the façade, I argue, achieves the representation of an ideal multicultural society – diverse yet equal and together. While some may be able to read the architecture as a representation of ethnic diversity, this research suggests that many cannot. Federation Square has been closely associated with the deconstructivism movement in architecture, which was influenced by the work of Jacques Derrida (Wigley, 1993). Derrida's

deconstruction theory drew, in part, on his contestation of Saussure's theory of the signifier and signified, which he claimed was too simple a relationship. Rather, he contended that the signified, or meaning, could be multiple. While Federation Square, as a signifier, is difficult to reduce to one meaning, it is also difficult, based on this research with minority ethnic informants, to be read as any kind of representation of them. The architecture, like the Nearamnew artwork, appears too esoteric for these groups. As such, the architecture of Federation Square lacks the agency to attract minority-ethnic (human) actors into associations, at least in sufficient numbers and durations to become stable associations.

This research suggests Federation Square is geared more to the highly controlled 'closed systems' criticised by Sennett (2018). Promoting the idea of a controlled multicultural society was consistent with the Victorian Government's focus on positioning Melbourne and Victoria as a safe and profitable place for business within a global marketplace in the late 1990s (Wellings & James, 2000). Federation Square, as an actant, succeeds as an architectural icon geared to this goal, as suggested by Jencks' claim in the concluding remarks of his review of Federation Square, when he stated that it 'sets a new standard for city fabric engaged with the issue of global pluralism' (Jencks, 2003, p. 117). The iconic quality, or agency, of Federation Square speaks more to a culturally diverse global marketplace of business and tourism, than the everyday lived experience of a multi-ethnic society, particularly one that was and remains struggling to be the ideal of multiculturalism. As such, this iconic quality projected on a global scale gave Federation Square, and those associated with it, significant symbolic capital.

Symbolic capital

In September 2017, The Age newspaper revealed that Federation Square had operated at a loss every year since opening in 2002 (Heffernan & Lucas, 2017,

September 23). In December 2017, the Victorian Government announced plans to demolish one of the buildings in the square to make way for an Apple Global Flagship “Town Square” Store. It was revealed shortly afterwards that confidential discussions had been ongoing for around a year between the state government and Apple. When the state government made the final decision, they did so without any public consultation. According to the state government, Apple would address Federation Square’s annual losses, and provide a better connection to the Yarra River. The proposal, and the Norman Foster designed Apple building, was also supported by Donald Bates, one of the original architects of Federation Square, as well as the Office of the Victorian Government Architect. However, after renders of the proposed insertion of Foster’s building (actants) were published in newspapers and online, the backlash was swift and widespread, including professional architects and urban planners, academics, and the wider community, and instigated the ‘*Our City. Our Square.*’ grassroots community campaign against the proposal. Many saw the proposed changes as out-of-keeping with the iconography of the existing architecture, and as the increasing privatisation of public spaces and cities more generally. Others were angry that the state government had chosen not to consult the public about such a significant change to what is arguably the city’s most important icon. As the backlash raged, the proposal was delayed.

In August 2018, an interim protection order was placed on Federation Square by Heritage Victoria, which was upheld in April 2019, resulting in the collapse of Apple’s Town Square store proposal. The day after Heritage Victoria’s decision, the Victorian Government announced a review into Federation Square, which noted:

The review will tap into the vision Victorians and the very best urban design minds have for Melbourne’s public square – considering ways to deliver more public space, encourage public gatherings and provide better access to the Yarra River (Minister for Tourism Sport and Major Events, 2019, April 5).

The Victorian Planning Minister Richard Wynne, commenting on the review in an interview with The Age Newspaper, claimed that ‘if you go there pretty much anytime outside of maybe a weekend event it’s pretty sad’ (Topsfield, 2019, April 15). In a follow up editorial in the same newspaper, Federation Square was described as ‘a desolate, windswept blankness, with a confusion of cultural charms hidden behind the drama of architecture’ (“Review of ‘sad’ Federation Square needs to consider all options,” 2019, April 17). These claims are consistent with my findings, much of which was completed before the Apple controversy began and the failures of Federation Square were made public. It is interesting to consider the state government’s revelations in light of the public backlash, particularly the position taken by the community campaign:

Fed Square is more than the sum of its built elements — it is Victoria’s most important civic and cultural public space. It is Melbourne’s town square and we love it! (Citizens for Melbourne Inc., 2019).

This research suggests the main users of Federation Square, outside of major events, are visitors and tourists, not locals, which begs the question; why do Melburnians seem so attached to Federation Square? This research suggests the answer is the same reason that the Victorian State Government built in the first place, and why Apple wanted to locate their global flagship “town square” store there – its symbolic value (Bourdieu, 1986). For the Victorian State Government, Federation Square was a symbol of a city and a region ready for the global marketplace (Harvey, 1989). Even before the decision to build Federation Square was made, Melbourne was in the midst of an urban regeneration process (Dovey et al., 2018a), which contributed to it being ranked number one in the Economist’s *Global Liveability Index* for seven years in a row between 2011 and 2017. Although Melbourne lost this dubious title (Rozek et al., 2018, August 15) in 2018 to Vienna, it was still considered the “world’s most liveable city” when Apple pitched their global flagship store proposal to the Victorian State

Government in 2016. Despite its critics, being top of this index gave Melbourne significant symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2008), on a global scale. For a global corporation like Apple, Federation Square presented an opportunity to locate its new global flagship store within the most iconic setting, in, what was, “the world’s most liveable city”. At the same time, the Victorian State Government wanted to utilise Apple’s symbolic capital as one of the world’s most iconic brands (Torelli, 2013) to offset their losses in economic capital.

Melburnians also gained symbolic value from Federation Square, as the urban square so long deprived from them and as the architectural icon that evokes civic pride (Lindsay, 2018; Sklair, 2017). The Apple controversy can, therefore, be better understood as a battle for symbolic capital between the public, the state and the private interests of a global corporation. While the identity of the latter two is clearer, who constitutes ‘the public’ is less so. To this end, it is worth noting no submissions were made to Heritage Victoria from ethnic minority or aboriginal groups in Melbourne or Victoria, which raises questions about ‘who’ in the public derives symbolic capital from Federation Square.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This research set out to address a critical gap identified in the literature concerning the role of the built environment in mediating intercultural encounter, with the aim of better informing policy makers and design practitioners in the creation of intercultural cities. This is important because, in the open-public spaces of Western cities, the spatial practises of migrants and minority ethnic groups are markers of difference. The sharper the difference, the greater the potential for racial stereotyping, discrimination and a reduction in social cohesion (Bennett, 2007).

The study began with a review of current literature, making four key arguments. First, although cities have always been places of encounter with difference, the intercultural city has a role in shaping encounters with difference through the design of public space (Marconi & Ostanel, 2016). Second, all forms of intercultural encounter in open-public space are meaningful, holding the promise of breaking open fixed notions about difference over time, and the cumulative impact of these interactions has the potential to strengthen social cohesion (Radice, 2016; Wilson, 2017a). Third, although there is an established body of literature on inclusion and the design of open-public spaces, less attention has been paid to issues facing minority ethnic groups (Madanipour, 2016). Moreover, even less attention has been given to the role of the built environment in shaping intercultural encounter. Finally, although several relational frameworks consider the role of space and place, posthuman relational frameworks attend to the agency of built form (Watson, 2019). However, limited attention has been paid to these frameworks in the study of intercultural encounter, particularly Actor-Network Theory.

Based on the literature review, an actor-network ethnography was developed, as a posthuman relational framework, for studying the agential qualities of the built environment. Affordances were used to explicate human and nonhuman agency, and the relations between them. The flat ontology of both actor-network theory and affordances provided a nondeterministic approach to agency. Case studies were selected from Europe, North America and Oceania, as a cross sample of the Western world, using a filtering process beginning with countries with high levels of migration. Within these countries, sites were limited to main cities as the primary destinations for newly arrived migrants. Within these cities, sites were limited to central locations where the design of open-public space included deliberate provisions for intercultural encounter.

Mixed methods were employed to 'follow the actors' and trace their associations (Latour, 2005). The fieldwork began by retrieving key documents and artefacts, including papers, videos, reports, briefs, images, books and news media. These actors revealed key matters of concern and actants relating to the history and design process of each case study. The fieldwork then moved into an empirical phase, involving nonparticipant observation and mapping, together with semi-structured interviews. A constant comparative framework enabled the data collection and analysis to be undertaken iteratively and concurrently, through a process of ongoing reflection and revision, supporting the emergent nature of actor-network ethnography (MacLeod et al., 2019). Descriptions of key human-nonhuman associations were then produced (Latour, 2005).

In the following sections, I first draw together the discussions presented in each of the three findings chapters (5, 6 & 7), to address the four research questions. I then present the key conclusions from this discussion, in the form of learnings for policy makers and design practitioners to apply in future urban design schemes. Following

this, I outline the key theoretical, methodological and practical contributions from this research. Finally, I summarise the main limitations and conclude the chapter, and this thesis, with some prospects for future research.

8.2 Discussion

In this section, I draw together the discussions presented at the end of the three findings chapters to show how the research questions have been addressed, beginning with the main question.

Material agencies

How does the materiality, spatiality and programming of open-public space enable and constrain intercultural encounter in Western cities?

It was not the intention of this research to prove that the built environment *has* agency in relations with humans, which is already addressed in the literature (Rietveld, 2008; Withagen et al., 2012), rather my focus was on *how* built environment agency mediates intercultural encounter. This research shows that open-public spaces mediate intercultural encounter through and between materiality, spatiality and programming, in five main ways.

First, intercultural encounter is shaped by the meanings communicated through the combination of form, colour, materials and associations. Overtly coding objects and surfaces with closed or narrow ethnocultural and political meanings was shown to constrain intercultural encounter in three main ways. In Superkilen, the reproduction and modification of objects led to a loss of meaning for minority ethnic groups. In particular cases, the ethnoculturally coding of everyday utilitarian objects, such as rubbish bins, bollards and drainage grates, offended the very groups they were supposed to hold meaning for. Furthermore, the spatial arrangement of certain

objects drew associations with geopolitical conflict, leading to a breakdown in social relations between minority ethnic groups. In Federation Square, the abstract coding of ethnic diversity in the fractal façade of the buildings surrounding the edges of the plaza proved unreadable for minority and majority ethnic groups alike. In Nathan Phillips Square, the confinement of the daily flag raising ceremonies of minority ethnic groups to the remoteness of the podium, limited potential intercultural encounters.

Second, this research shows that affordances, ie. the relations between human and nonhuman associations, enable intercultural encounter. In Superkilen, the play-related affordances generated through the interactions of children and certain objects, triangulated intercultural encounters between adults of different gender and ethnicity. These objects had a certain avant-garde quality that was surprising in form and presence in the space, giving them agency to attract people. The performances generated through these human-nonhuman relations attracted more children and therefore more adults. These spectacles also drew in other people of different ages, gender and ethnicity, leading to even more encounters. This was also the case in Nathan Phillips Square, where the three-dimensional Toronto sign proved the most occupied programme, attracting people of all ages, genders and ethnicities. Although this object works against the intentions of the revitalisation scheme, it regularly drew people into associations through the many playful affordances that emerge from interactions with it.

Third, seating, which was the most common programme across all three case studies, had strong agency to enable and constrain intercultural encounter. The ergonomics of public benches support seating for all ethnic groups, genders and most ages. However, this research reveals the shape of benches has particular agency in enabling and constraining social interactions between minority and majority groups. The most common seating type across all three spaces was the straight bench, which

limited eye contact and social interaction. Such benches attend to the needs of individuals and small groups of familiar people. Circular benches were even more constraining in terms of eye contact and social interaction because occupants not only faced directly outwards but also at angles away from one another. Both seating types failed to enable intercultural encounter. A third seating type, found in Superkilen, however, proved to have more agency to enable eye contact, social interaction and intercultural encounter. This bench had a concave shape, with a width and gentle curvature that accommodated individuals and groups of varying sizes. These properties enabled eye contact and social interactions without forcing them, leading to repeated intercultural encounters. These findings build on the work of Osmond (1957) and Sommer (1969), by revealing the agency of seating to enable and constrain social interactions is not just in the spatial arrangement of these objects, but is also contained in their form.

Fourth, programming proved to enable and constrain intercultural encounter, sometimes in surprising and contradictory ways. The temporal nature of the civic programmes in Nathan Phillips Square and Federation Square created vast open and empty spaces with limited activity outside large planned events, constraining the potential for any form of social interaction, including intercultural encounter. Large events, whether multicultural ones such as URBANI_T in Nathan Phillips Square or with ethnic specificity such as Diwali in Federation Square, created a safe, controlled and sanitised encounter with difference that is much removed from the reality of everyday life (Wilson, 2017b). However, filling open-public spaces with varied programmes did not guarantee intercultural encounter. For example, Superkilen's three spaces provided an undetermined form of programme that attempts to provide something for everyone. This proved counterproductive in two ways. First, it enabled small scale appropriations and territorialisations, such as skateboarding in the Red Square, which limited the use of certain spaces for particular groups and not others.

Secondly, this openness attracted many different groups and activities that drove some minority groups away, such as older Muslim men who are attracted to smaller public spaces. In doing so, potential intercultural encounters with this specific group were limited. However, the openness of Superkilen also enabled occupation by Muslim women who typically gathered in indoor public and private spaces. In contrast to the 'providing something for everyone' approach in Superkilen, the more undetermined programme of Mimersparken, focused on play and eating, proved more effective in facilitating intercultural encounter. Although eating in open-public spaces was common across minority and majority ethnic groups, the habitus of some minority ethnic groups, particularly cultural practices around sharing food, was influential in mediating these encounters.

Finally, the atmosphere of these open-public spaces, derived from the cumulative agency of materiality, spatiality and programming, proved to have strong agency to shape intercultural encounter (Böhme, 2014; Borch et al., 2014). The materials, forms, surfaces, symbols, signs, CCTV, security guards, fences, rules, cleanliness, seating, affordability, affordances, and so forth, give these spaces a particular affective quality, which communicates a sense of belonging (Allen, 2006). Federation Square, as a publicly-owned but privately operated space, proved the most exclusive in this respect, representing a highly controlled or 'tight space' (Sommer, 1974), whereas Superkilen was geared more to a 'loose space' (Franck & Stevens, 2013). Nathan Phillips Square sits in between but is much closer to Federation Square. In all three case studies, minority ethnic groups preferred looser spaces that are more accommodating of difference.

Matters of concern

What key 'matters of concern' in the everyday life of a multi-ethnic city instigated the development of an open-public space scheme?

Each of the three case studies in this research, emerged, in part, from controversies concerning intercultural tensions and conflicts where the dominant majority sought to maintain power over minority ethnic groups. In Bourdieusian terms, these controversies arise from a mismatch between the habitus of minority ethnic groups, particularly newly arrived migrants, and the various fields (eg. law, religion, politics, culture) at play in each of the cities in which the case studies are located. Through these open-public space schemes, the dominant majority sought to strengthen their position in these fields, to maintain or grow power and control. A range of documents emerged as key actants in these controversies. Federation Square can be traced to three such actants and three historical controversies. First, Batman's Treaty instigated *terra nullius* prohibiting land rights from the indigenous population. Second, following *terra nullius*, the establishment of Melbourne through Hoddle's grid plan, which excluded urban squares to limit public gatherings that could threaten British Crown control. Third, the Immigration Restriction Act (The White Australia policy), the first act of the newly Federated Australia in 1901, an overt racist policy to maintain White Anglo-Saxon Protestant hegemony. In Toronto, the emergence of Nathan Phillips Square owes much to the sectarian newspaper article written by former Mayor Leslie Saunders, a representative of the dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant and Orange Order majority. The article instigated a shift in various fields through a restructuring of economic, cultural and social capital, giving rise to a new form of symbolic power in city governance. While some minority ethnic groups and individuals may have improved their social status through this shift, the balance of power between the dominant majority appears to have remained intact. As such, this shift seems more like an illusion of change. In Copenhagen, the twelve caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad published in a national newspaper proved pivotal in the development of Superkilen. The subsequent national and international backlash damaged intercultural relations in Denmark and around the globe, instigating, what appears to be, a series of actions designed to re-establish symbolic capital. At the same time,

neoliberal actors operating simultaneously in the fields of urban development, philanthropy and architecture, appear to have taken the opportunity to enhance their own symbolic capital, through Superkilen.

In each of the three case studies, the open-public space schemes emerged in partial response to changes taking place across several overlapping fields, including politics, religion, property and economics. The restructuring of these fields, and others, through processes of globalisation (beginning in the 1960s), neoliberalism (accelerating in the 1990s) and migration (from 2000 onwards) is tied to urban regeneration and development (Sklair, 2006, 2012). From this restructuring, cities emerged as key players in a field of global economics. The distinctiveness of a city, its brand, played a significant role in determining positions in this global economy. Stronger brands are achieved by accumulating symbolic capital in the form iconic architecture, such as *La Grande Arche* in Paris and the *Swiss Re* (The Gherkin) in London (Jones, 2009). Iconic architecture is part place-branding and part visual consumption by an upwardly mobile global elite, what Urry (2002) calls 'the tourist gaze'. In this sense, iconic architecture creates and reinforces a Bourdieusian class distinction (Bourdieu, 1984), while objectifying the power of dominant majorities (Jones, 2009; Yaneva, 2017). All three case studies represent iconic architecture geared more to global audiences than the everyday life of the city, particularly minority and other marginalised groups. The Modernist architecture of Nathan Phillips Square was framed as a break from the Neoclassical style associated with the city's conservative White Anglo-Saxon Protestant past, to represent the emerging diversity of Toronto. At the same time, the modernist architecture of Nathan Phillips Square was also framed as a symbol of a city ready and open for an increasingly globalised world. The poststructuralist architecture of Federation Square marked a similar symbolical break from the Victorian architecture of the city's conservative White Anglo-Saxon Protestant past. Whereas the Modernism of Nathan Phillips Square was

deliberately devoid of ethnocultural representation, the poststructuralism of Federation Square engaged in an overt form of representation. While Nathan Phillips Square fell victim to the agency of Modernism to simultaneously neutralise difference and diversity, Federation Square achieves, at best, only the image of a multi-ethnic city. Both Toronto and Melbourne needed an urban icon symbolic of a city ready for globalisation. Whereas Toronto was seeking to show the world a more open and welcoming image, Melbourne was seeking to leverage the appeal of ethnic diversity to a global market. The avant-garde architecture of Superkilen attempted to address difference with difference at a local level but was also aggressively marketed to a global audience by its media-wise architects and financiers. This appears to have fuelled the gentrification of the local multi-ethnic community. Iconic architecture also has symbolic capital/value for a city's inhabitants, as it becomes part of both the city's identity, as well as individual and collective identities, as this research showed was the case for both Nathan Phillips Square and Federation Square. In the case of Nathan Phillips Square, heritage protection emerged as a key actant that reinforced these associations, but in doing so, the problems of Modernism (discussed in section 6.5, p. 243) became locked in. Similarly, the heritage status awarded to Federation Square in 2019, also reinforces these human-nonhuman associations, but also threatens to lock in certain problems (discussed in section 7.5, p. 303). In both cases, heritage protection may limit the potential of these open-public spaces to adapt to the changing conditions of the city, including the increasing diversity of its inhabitants. Heritage protection can be seen as a form of cultural capital, but is primarily determined by the dominant majority, with the potential to reinforce hegemonies of class, race, ethnicity and gender.

The key controversies from which each of the three case studies emerged were not isolated to local issues of intercultural conflict but took place within the broader political-economic context of globalisation, neoliberalism and migration. As such,

these open-public spaces schemes were shaped by multiple actors (including architects, politicians, developers, technologies, and laws), all jostling for position within multiple fields of practice through the accumulation of social, economic and cultural capital. Nathan Phillips Square and Federation Square both sought to express a more diverse, open and inclusive place to position the city for an increasingly global economy. Whereas Nathan Phillips Square can be seen as the objectified power of a new political hegemony conscious of the emerging global economy in the 1960s, Federation Square can be seen as an attempt to strengthen an incumbent hegemony through the objectification of power, with the aim of capitalising on an accelerating global economy in the 1990s. Superkilen achieves iconic status through the avant-garde architecture of its 'starchitect'³⁷ designer (Bjarke Ingels) and promotion-savvy financiers (Realdania). While Superkilen is on one hand an attempt to address local and national issues of intercultural conflict, it is on the other hand accused of being a deliberate attempt to fuel gentrification. For all three case studies, iconic architecture appears as a 'trojan horse' for the accumulation of all forms of capital. Following Jones (2009, p. 2531), paraphrasing Hirst (2005), 'architecture is both configured by power and a resource for power'. Certain actors in the field of architecture, particularly the elite or starchitects, are both subject to these political-economic forces and complicit in them (Dovey, 2002; Jones, 2009; Sklair, 2012; Stevens, 2002). The architectural elite were at play in all three case studies. For Nathan Phillips Square, Eero Saarinen, a leading proponent of Modernist architecture in the mid-twentieth century, held the defining role on the jury. For Federation Square, Daniel Libeskind, a founder of the deconstructivist architecture movement and former employer of one of the winning architects, played a pivotal and controversial role in the competition. For Superkilen, it is reported that key financiers Realdania demanded that starchitect Bjarke Ingels be awarded the project or they would withdraw funding. Iconic architecture, more

³⁷ 'Starchitect' is a term used to describe celebrity architects commissioned by governments, wealthy developers and institutions to design iconic urban projects around the world.

generally, seems to be at odds with everyday urban life, particularly the needs of minority and marginalised groups. Civic urban squares, therefore, delivered as iconic architecture, seem to be at variance as sites of proclaimed inclusiveness.

Design actants

What key actants emerge in the design process for open-public space schemes that influence how built form shapes intercultural encounter?

Design briefs can be understood as scripts that prescribe certain, or minimum, functions for the materiality, spatiality and programming of the open-public spaces. As such, the brief inscribes certain expectations for designers to follow. However, in all three case studies the brief allowed for some degree of translation by the designers. Through these translations, the brief became a key actant in shaping intercultural encounters. The process of translation occurred through the relations between the brief and the designers: between the prescriptions of the brief and the constraints of the sites, and between the brief and the design sensibility of the practitioners. In Superkilen and Federation Square, the designers produced new scripts with prescribed expectations for users. However, in Nathan Philips Square, the designer's desire to protect the integrity of the original scheme limited translation to a contemporary interpretation of the original scheme. In this way, the original script is given to new actors on an updated stage setting. In Federation Square, the deconstructionist translation of the designers produced a representational interpretation of intercultural encounter that is lost in an abstract image of diversity. In Superkilen, the consortium of designers brought conflicting views and approaches together: the architect's avant-garde style and tendency to play with surfaces; the landscape architect's charismatic provocations; and the artists' creative interpretations. As such, Superkilen emerges through many translations of the brief and different design approaches, leading to the production of a script hampered by

lost, altered and foregrounded ethnocultural meanings that constrains intercultural encounter.

In Toronto, the most ethnically diverse neighbourhood in the city was erased to create a prominent site for Nathan Phillips Square. In Melbourne, with no land available for a new open-public space, Federation Square was constructed over the top of a railway yard. Isolated on the edge of the main grid with limited connections to other places, the site struggles to attract the flows of everyday life that give rise to random encounters among strangers. In Copenhagen, Superkilen replaced an existing green park that was highly valued by local residents, including minority ethnic groups. In this sense, 'site' emerges as an unexpected actant in how these spaces mediated intercultural encounter (Yaneva & Mommersteeg, 2019).

Several objects from the design processes for each case study were revealed as key actants that subsequently altered the final built form of each scheme. In Nathan Phillips Square, the architect's model for the original competition was initially discarded before being "rescued". In Federation Square, the original renders produced by the designers for the competition lacked sufficient political agency and had to be reworked. In Superkilen, the catalogue of ethnoculturally coded objects used by the design team in the participation process limited the agency of minority ethnic groups and instigated a chain of other actants in procurement and production, including design standards, manufacturing, and freight services.

The brief, drawings, renders, models and participation materials produced through the design process emerged as key actants that altered, modified, transformed, mutated or recast the design brief. The relations formed between these objects and professionals are derived in part from knowledge and skills gained through education and experience, as well as cultural values and beliefs. In all three case studies, although the professionals were cognisant of ethnocultural differences, all adopted

very traditional and limited methods of participation with little appreciation of intercultural communication. Assumptions formed the basis for provisions for ethnocultural differences and intercultural encounter, such as the notion that you can only design for everyone by designing for no one in particular.

Describing networks

How can Actor-Network Theory be operationalised to study the agency of built form in mediating intercultural encounter in open-public space?

The epistemology of ANT to follow the actors, usefully directed the research in the selection of methods and how they should be applied. This way of doing ethnography directed fieldwork to focus on the agential qualities of humans and nonhumans; the formation and stabilisation of relations between them; and the key actants that enabled and constrained intercultural encounter. For example, in an actor-network ethnography, public benches are observed as more than a mere stage for social interactions. Rather, the properties of the bench are considered in relationship to the abilities of people of different age, gender and ethnicity, and in relationship to other objects, people, movements, weather and natural elements in the space. From this diverse constellation of actors, a range of associations can be observed. Some stabilised as patterns, repeating over and over, while others did not hold together. In focusing on stabilised associations, the trap of social and material determinism can be avoided. For example, affordances were revealed as important mediators of intercultural encounter; a key finding of this research. The fluid and agile nature of actor-network ethnography usefully facilitated the emergent nature of the fieldwork. Not all actors could be determined in advance, rather they emerged during the fieldwork. Following the actors, therefore, took me to unexpected places, such as Berlin to conduct an interview for Superkilen; and in some unexpected directions, such

as exploring the role of Northern Irish Protestant Orangemen in the development of Nathan Phillips Square.

The use of Heft's (1988) taxonomy of affordances was useful in demonstrating conjunctions of human and nonhuman agencies. At the same time, this approach was limited to observations of relations through interactions between humans and nonhumans. However, human and nonhuman actors also formed relations without physical contact. For example, in Nathan Phillips Square indigenous people were repelled by the extensive use of concrete; in Federation Square some minority ethnic groups were repelled by the 'exclusive' feel of the space (Allen, 2006); and in Superkilen some minority ethnic groups were repelled by the ethnocultural coding of certain objects. Interviewing actors proved useful in addressing what could not be observed. Affordances were also limited in exploring the key matters of concern and the actants involved in the design process from brief to built form. Interviews with key actors, along with analysing important documents and artefacts helped to address this gap.

The methodological framework employed in this research, incorporating ANT, Assemblage, Affordances and Habitus, proved operationalizable, non-deterministic and capable of revealing the agency of the built environment. This posthuman relational framework also drew on several concepts from scholars associated with the behavioural, sociospatial and sensorial turns that have been influential in the field of human-environment relations. Posthuman frameworks, such as ANT and Assemblage, may have much to offer these fields in future studies.

8.3 Learnings

To address the main aim of this research: *to inform urban design policy and practice by exploring the role played by the built environment in mediating intercultural*

encounter in open-public spaces, the conclusions are presented as learnings for the delivery of intercultural open-public spaces.

Affordances

This research suggests that affordances, as the relations between humans and nonhumans, mediate intercultural encounters. The spatiality and materiality of certain objects, designed for playful interactions attracted significant numbers of people of all ethnicities, ages and genders. Although 'play' was a functional element of these objects, such as the Thai boxing ring and Japanese Octopus-shaped slide in Superkilen, each had a strong underdetermined dimension that enabled many playful improvisations. In the case of the three-dimensional Toronto sign in Nathan Phillips Square, play is almost completely undetermined but enabled through the properties of the object that supported various forms of sitting and climbing. Improvised play proved more able to draw people into contact with one another. Movements are unpredictable giving rise to more encounters and negotiations. The unexpectedness of these outcomes produced positive emotions that seemed to draw others to the spectacle and into contact with one another. As a result, encounters occur between those involved in the act of play, the parents/guardians watching over them; and those simply watching. Affordances also proved important for more mundane occupations of the public spaces, particularly sitting. Straight and circular benches were the most common type of seating across all three case studies. Based on this research, these seating types proved least able to support social interaction among strangers, largely because users face outwards, and in the case of circular benches away from one another. Eye contact in these cases is limited because it requires a more deliberate effort by the users. Based on observations of the crescent-shaped bench in Superkilen, curved benches, in a concave or semicircular form, proved most able to support intercultural encounters. The width and gentle curvature of this bench supported private and social seating. This form enabled eye contact without forcing

it. Furthermore, benches located adjacent to the main flows of everyday life through the open-public spaces, were not only more utilised but also supported more random intercultural encounters. There is no suggestion here that open-public spaces should be filled with boxing rings and curved benches. On the contrary, rather than closing down options for policy makers and designers, these findings open up possibilities for exploring different forms that enable playful improvisations and a variety of private and social seating opportunities. In this sense, the non-functional or underdetermined dimensions of the built form of open-public space may open up more opportunities for intercultural encounter (Hertzberger, 1991).

Programming

This conclusion builds on the previous one, expanding it out to consider the programmes *designed into* open-public spaces. This research suggests that an underdetermined form of programming for open-public spaces, one based on providing 'something for everyone', may not be the most effective strategy to enable intercultural encounter. On the contrary, the findings point to the agency of a more overdetermined form of programming, one limited to a small number of activities common to most ethnic groups, as a more effective way to enable intercultural encounter. Take for example, Superkilen and Mimersparken, two open-public spaces in close proximity of one another, and both delivered under the same urban regeneration scheme. Both spaces were relatively highly occupied. Whereas Superkilen was designed for intercultural encounter, Mimersparken was not. However, this research suggests that Mimersparken is more enabling of intercultural encounter because its programming focuses mainly on eating (for families) and playing (for children and youths). Both eating and playing created a density of difference that brought different ethnic groups into close proximity of one another, producing frequent encounters. On the other hand, Superkilen has a much more expansive programming, attracting high levels of use but with less density and

proximity and, therefore, fewer intercultural encounters. This is not to say that more underdetermined programming does not have benefits for some minority ethnic subgroups. Because, as this research showed, in both Superkilen and Nathan Phillips Square, Muslim women were more likely to occupy open-public spaces that limited large scale territorialisations by specific groups through more underdetermined programming. However, the presence of a minority ethnic group or subgroup does not guarantee intercultural encounter without sufficient proximity to others. At the same time, large underdetermined open-public spaces proved unattractive to certain minority ethnic subgroups, such as older Muslim men, who preferred smaller spaces with a more overdetermined programme. These findings suggest that designing open-public spaces with an underdetermined programme, in an attempt to provide something for everyone, may be less effective in supporting intercultural encounter. Depending on the scale of the space, it may be possible to find the right balance of both over and underdetermined programming. Alternatively, it may be more beneficial to consider a network of open-public spaces, providing a range of under and overdetermined programming within close proximity of one another. After all, it is unrealistic to expect every open-public space to meet everyone's needs at the same time. Nor is it necessary for every open-public space to be designed for social interaction. Some may also provide for relative privacy and relaxation.

Atmosphere

Informants from minority ethnic groups in Melbourne claimed Federation Square *felt* like a space for people of a higher class, those with wealth and an appreciation of high culture. They pointed to the quality of design, the cleanliness, high levels of security and, for them, the unaffordable restaurants, shops, cafés and cultural institutions. In Toronto, some of the minority ethnic groups interviewed for this research claimed the stark and vast expanses of concrete, the overtly civic nature, and the various physical and virtual control measures made them *feel* uncomfortable

and uneasy. According to the literature, atmospheres are produced through the design and management of open-public spaces, but experienced relationally and mediated by social, political and ethnocultural cultural backgrounds and histories (Borch et al., 2014; Thrift, 2004). Furthermore, and importantly, how built environments are staged or curated, therefore, has the power to include some and exclude others (Allen, 2006). This research adds weight to these claims, suggesting that highly controlled open-public spaces limit spatial practices to normative codes of behaviour deemed appropriate by the dominant majority, particularly those geared to commercial consumption and civiness. As a result, these environments are more likely to exclude minority ethnic groups, limiting the potential for intercultural encounter. In the creation of a truly inclusive atmosphere, policy makers and designers could aim more for the somewhat messy, lived in family home where most people feel welcome and comfortable, and less for the highly curated house, filled with expensive artefacts, that reproduce hierarchies of class, where marginalised and minority ethnic groups look and feel out-of-place. In this sense, open-public spaces might be less polished in appearance, using a palette of softer/warmer/lighter/natural materials. At the same time, such spaces could be allowed to show some signs of wear and tear, including allowing and retaining graffiti. The building programmes that envelope these spaces could also provide for everyday tastes in food and culture, rather than be limited to those with certain levels of economic and cultural capital. While safety is unquestionably important in open-public spaces, less overt measures should be explored, such as softening the appearance of security staff. Finally, the rules and regulations that dictate normative codes of behaviour can be relaxed to allow for, or even encourage, small-scale appropriations.

Representation

While representations of ethnic diversity in the built environment is one of the most common design strategies, this research suggests that it may also be the least

effective for enabling intercultural encounter. In some cases, representations of ethnic diversity may go unnoticed, such as the fractal façade of Federation Square, or the *melting pot-esque*³⁸ Modernist architecture of Nathan Phillips Square. More overt or literal forms of representation carry the risk of fuelling intercultural tensions and conflict. The research undertaken in Superkilen suggests several potential risks with representations of ethnic diversity. First, the ethnocultural coding of utilitarian objects such as rubbish bins and sewer covers, as well as poorly reproduced ethnocultural objects, proved highly offensive. Secondly, attempting to engineer encounter by spatially arranging objects representing the State of Palestine and Israel in close proximity of one another, proved counterproductive by strengthening division and hatred where it had not been a significant issue before. This is not to say that representations of ethnic diversity do not have a role to play in creating open-public spaces where minority ethnic groups feel welcome. Rather, it may be more effective for policy makers and designers to place more emphasis on providing for the spatial practices of different ethnic groups (see Affordances and Programming).

Everydayness

In exploring the origins of each case study, this research has shown how these open-public space schemes emerged from the intersecting and overlapping desires of many actors operating in a range of fields, including architecture, law, religion, urban development, politics, education, and heritage. Each scheme has been intentionally shaped as iconic architecture for a global audience, to enhance the brand of each city and strengthen their respective positions in an increasingly global economy. This goal appears at odds with the more humble, everyday lives of a city's inhabitants, particularly marginalised and minority ethnic groups. Can such open-public spaces actually be proclaimed as spaces of true inclusiveness? If a design brief calls for an

³⁸ A reference to the assimilationist immigration policy of the USA, based on the metaphor of dissolving ethnocultural differences into a new homogenous culture.

architectural or urban icon, can it realistically also meet the everyday needs of marginalised and minority ethnic groups? Perhaps, if the brief was more grounded in the spatial practices of multi-ethnic communities. If intercultural encounter is a key goal for open-public space schemes, more consideration may need to be given to how this goal has been addressed in the assessment of competition entries. This may also mean shifting priority from iconic qualities to everyday life. To this end, jury panels may benefit from the inclusion of professionals, academics, and other stakeholders, with a background in the needs of minority ethnic groups and intercultural encounter.

Following, participation processes might benefit from being more geared to the needs of the multi-ethnic communities. This research suggests that traditional methods for engaging minority ethnic groups, understanding their spatial practices and interpreting their needs in participation processes appear inadequate. In Superkilen, what may have appeared as an “extreme” participation process, given the level of resources invested, achieved only low levels of input from local minority ethnic groups. Rather than assume indifference on the part of these groups, perhaps alternative methods of engagement should be explored that begin with the leaders of minority ethnic community groups and organisations. Furthermore, the voices of those who already feel excluded from the space and the process, such as the older Muslim men in Nørrebro and the various informants from minority ethnic groups interviewed for the Federation Square case study, can add invaluable insights into participation processes.

This research also found, particularly in Federation Square and Nathan Phillips Square, which both play a more overt civic function in the life of Melbourne and Toronto respectively, a stronger emphasis is placed on providing for ethnic diversity through planned events than through everyday life. Whether ethnoculturally specific events like Diwali in Federation Square, or the fashion focused URBANI_T in Nathan

Phillips Square, the role of ethnic diversity in such events tends to be framed by the dominant majority and presented in a safe and consumable way. There is no suggestion here that such events do not have an important role to play in a multi-ethnic city. Rather, this research suggests that everyday life holds more importance for the inclusion of minority ethnic groups and, free from the staged and performative dimensions of planned events, holds the potential for more productive intercultural encounters (Wilson, 2017b).

Finally, each of the three case studies has demonstrated how cities are always in a state of becoming. Patterns of migration are difficult to predict and, as was the case in Toronto, Melbourne and Copenhagen, the ethnic composition continues to change over time. Although the built form of cities typically evolves to meet the changing needs of its inhabitants, when a building or public space attains iconic status, as was the case in Nathan Phillips Square and Federation Square, heritage protection can be attained. However, heritage status is often based on the values of the dominant majority, rather than on those of marginalised and minority ethnic groups, particularly if they had little or no input in the original scheme. As a result, heritage protection has the potential to lock-in problems and failures of the past, as appears to be the case with both Nathan Phillips Square and Federation Square. If an open-public space holds little appeal to minority ethnic groups, heritage protection has the potential to continue limiting intercultural encounter. Rather than abandon heritage protection, careful consideration should be given to what elements of open-public spaces should be conserved and what can be changed to meet the changing needs of a city's inhabitants.

Competency

In undertaking this research, interviews with the designers and managers of each case study, as well as other local built environment practitioners and policy makers,

has sought to establish how provisions are made for ethnocultural differences and intercultural encounter for the specific open-public space schemes under consideration, and more generally. While all informants have demonstrated a clear intention to design inclusive spaces, most have admitted, or in some cases demonstrated, a lack of intercultural competency. For some, the idea that their work may have lacked this knowledge was challenging and difficult to accept. Nonetheless, across all three case studies, there was a consistent reliance on assumption and limited use of empirical evidence. Intercultural competences comprise the skills of listening, critical thinking, observing and analysing; an attitude of openness, curiosity, discovery and respect; the capacity to communicate verbally, nonverbally as well as visually; and an appreciation of different values and beliefs (Leung et al., 2014). Many policy makers and designers will possess some of these competences. Teaching, training and formal professional development are obvious ways to address any gaps, but emerging research in understanding and engaging with ethnic diversity will help provide more practical directions going forward.

In concluding these learnings, this research shows that, although form can follow function, tension, friction, conflict, money etc., in mediating intercultural encounter in open-public spaces, form might be more effective if it followed humility. In this sense, built form would be grounded in everyday life; for a predominantly local audience; with a quality of finish designed for comfort rather than gloss; and where authorship is penned in many languages.

8.4 Recommendations

Based on the key lessons outlined in the previous section, the following practical applications are recommended:

Designing practice

- Integrate intercultural competency across built environment courses in tertiary education; as part of continuing professional development; and through projects by including professionals with this knowledge from other fields (eg. cultural anthropologists and urban sociologists).

Designing process

The design brief:

- Emphasise the importance of public spaces as nodes through which everyday life flows, supporting random encounters between different ethnic groups. Maximise connections between these spaces and other places of everyday life in the city.
- Emphasise the importance of public spaces as sites of everyday life above special events and tourism.
- Carefully consider the potential for heritage protection to limit the capacity of public spaces to adapt to the future (unknown) needs of an increasingly ethnically diverse society.

Proposal assessments / design competitions:

- Include criteria for enabling intercultural encounter in the assessment of urban design proposals and competitions.

Participation process:

- Engage with community, political, and religious groups and individuals in the design a participation process, to maximise engagement with minority ethnic communities and better understand their needs and desires.
- For regeneration schemes, engage with minority ethnic groups and intersectional subgroups (the missing voices), who are infrequent or non-users, to establish the reasons why they avoid the existing space.

Designing encounter

Strategies than enable intercultural encounter:

- Unusual objects and structures have agency to attract people of all ages, gender and ethnicity, producing public performances that draw others into close proximity, facilitating varied forms of intercultural encounter.
- Public seating shaped in a gentle concave form has more agency to enable intercultural encounters than the straight and circular benches more commonly found in Western cities.
- Limiting the programming of public spaces to a smaller number of activities common across different ethnocultural groups, particularly play and eating, has more agency to enable intercultural encounter than spaces that attempt to provide something for everyone.
- Conversely, larger public spaces with a diverse programme of activities limit territorialisation and support the presence of certain minority ethnic subgroups, such as Muslim women.

- Some minority ethnic subgroups (eg. older Muslim men) prefer to occupy smaller public spaces, which can be more easily territorialised, and therefore cater to specific cultural practices.
- Minority ethnic groups are more likely to feel a sense of belonging in public spaces that look and feel like an everyday, lived-in, somewhat messy but cosy home where self-expression is more tolerated, and transgressions more easily forgiven / overlooked.

Strategies than constrain intercultural encounter:

- Consider providing alternative public spaces, or changing the programming of existing public spaces, to cater to conflicting ethnocultural needs.
- Symbolic representations of minority ethnic groups in the built form of public spaces can have positive impacts for sense of belonging among minority ethnic groups. However, ethnoculturally coding utilitarian objects, such as sewer lids and rubbish bins, should be avoided because of the negative connotations associated with them.
- Avoid political representations by coding materials, colours and objects, as well as deliberate spatial arrangements of objects, which may produce new or exacerbate existing intercultural conflicts.

8.5 Contribution

This research makes contributions on three levels: theoretical, methodological and practical. On a theoretical level, this research contributes three key findings. First, it adds to the existing literature on intercultural encounter by demonstrating how the built environment of open-public space shapes these social interactions. Second, this research builds on Whyte's (1980) account of triangulation by showing that the

relations between humans and nonhumans (ie. affordances) triangulate intercultural encounter. Third, this research challenges Sennett's (2018) under/over-determined dichotomy, suggesting that both forms of programming have agency to enable and constrain intercultural encounter in conflicting and contradictory ways. In this sense, following Deleuze, underdetermined and overdetermined programming can be more usefully understood as folding into one another.

On a methodological level, this research breaks new ground in applying a posthuman relational framework, in the form of ANT, to demonstrate the agency of the built environment in shaping intercultural encounter. Whereas existing research has focused mainly on the social, political and historical formants of intercultural encounter, the flat and relational ontology of ANT has helped to reveal the agential qualities of the built environment. A further methodological contribution of this research has been the combination of Assemblage, ANT and Affordances as a methodological framework that could benefit further exploration within the field of human-environment relations.

On a practical level, this research provides guidance on how the materiality, spatiality and programming of open-public spaces enable and constrain intercultural encounter. For policy makers, recommendations are provided on the preparation of design briefs and competitions for open-public space schemes where intercultural encounter is an intended outcome. This research also provides recommendations for both policy makers and designers on the development and delivery of participation processes to more effectively engage with minority ethnic groups. Finally, this research provides recommendations for improving intercultural competency through professional development.

8.6 Limitations

Empirically, this research was limited to three case studies from the vast terrain of the Western world by several resource constraints, including the capacity of a single PhD researcher, available time and finances. To compensate, detailed explorations of the selected case studies were undertaken, comprising more than 600 hours of observation and mapping, and 168 interviews. My own ethnocultural background, age and gender, as the researcher, may have influenced the willingness of some minority ethnic people to participate or participate fully/openly in the study. I attempted to minimise this by following closely the ethics approach approved at the outset of the research and by maintaining a strong sensitivity and empathy in observations and interactions. Finally, the operationalisation of affordances in the methodological framework was useful in observations of human-nonhuman interactions but limited in tracing actor-networks through time or where important human-nonhuman relations occurred at distance. Interviewing various human actors helped to address these gaps. Nonetheless, affordances provided a strong account of the mechanism of human-nonhuman relations. While Heft's (1988) taxonomy of affordances proved somewhat clumsy in the descriptions of human-nonhuman relations, it was effective in capturing the conjunction of agencies.

8.7 Prospects

This research opens up several prospects for future studies on how the built environment shapes intercultural encounter. First, the actor-network framework could be applied to other open-public space typologies, such as streets and the public transport system. This could be extended to exploring a series of connected open-public spaces. Second, an intersectional approach to minority ethnic groups could be applied to explore variations by age, gender and class in more detail. Third, a longitudinal research approach could be applied focusing on one case study to

examine how intercultural encounters change attitudes towards minority ethnic groups over time. Fourth, the findings from this research could be tested in the design of an open-public space, potentially in the form of a tactical and temporary urbanism project. Fifth, the actor-network methodological framework could be applied more generally to studies of everyday life in open-public space focused on social interaction.

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