



Ain Shams University
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Germany

Social cohesion and urban commons

**Urban commons as a socio-cohesive paradigm: the case of study
of Stuttgart urban commons: Repair Cafe Stuttgart and Casa
Schuetzenplatz**

**A Thesis submitted in the Partial Fulfillment for the Requirement of the Degree
of Master of Science in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design**

by

Mariana del Rosario Lugo Gonzalez

Supervised by

Prof. Dr. Mohamed Salheen
Course Director
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Prof. Dr. Astrid Ley
Course Director
University of Stuttgart

(16.08.2017)



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This dissertation is submitted to Ain Shams University (ASU) and University of Stuttgart - Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning (USTUTT) for the degree of Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design (IUSD), in accordance to IUSD-ASU regulations.

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Acknowledgements

It was an honor to work with such active and altruistic communities as Repair Café Stuttgart and Casa Schuetzenplatz. In that order I am grateful for their collaboration and help during the process.

I will like express my gratitude to the IUSD program and staff in Cairo and Stuttgart for life changing experience. Consequently I will like to thank my supervisors Prof. Dr. Mohammed Salheen and Prof. Dr. Astrid Ley for their feedback and support. Also I will like to thank Dr. Marwa Abdellatif and Franziska Laue for their constant work and encouraging feedback during the different phases of the program.

It would have been impossible for me to develop this thesis without the support and care of my dear friends. I will like to express my profound gratitude to Semegnish Eshetu for her constant support and feedback, to Clementina Lugo my inspiring figure, to Melanie Kupferschmid, a relentless friend, Trinidad Fernandez and Cady Nasr for their love and help, as well as to Anna Buchman, Stephanie Gil and Ariadna Weisshaar. I am grateful to enjoy the friendship and to have the untiring support of Jesus Martinez and Annika Wixler.

I want to dedicate this thesis to my loving, supportive and inspiring family; my parents and my sister, my base.

Abstract

Research title: “Social cohesion and urban commons. Urban commons as a socio-cohesive paradigm: the case of study of Stuttgart urban commons, Repair Cafe Stuttgart and Casa Schuetzenplatz.”

Author: Mariana del Rosario Lugo Gonzalez

In an increasingly unequal and intercultural world, social cohesion is vital for society’s welfare. Furthermore, a well-functioning city is one whose citizens have a sense of belonging build upon an intricate social network based on trust. However, a swiping effect of the digital era is changing our perception and practice of trust. Consequently since the concept of trust is evolving, our social cohesion system is being altered. In that order our socio-cohesive system could be evolving into one that is based on community projects and share goals, such as the urban commons. Therefore the socio-cohesive city of the future is one based more on distributed networks, generating stronger horizontal interactions and creating new possibilities of vertical ones, a system that counteracts the paradigm of fragmentation.

In this order, this research studies the complex topic of urban commons phenomenon and their role in our future cities. Therefore the aim of the research is to understand their possibilities as a socio-cohesive paradigm and the implications on our current urban development system.

Accordingly, the research will study two urban commons of Stuttgart, a city that presents an effervescent society, Repair Café Stuttgart and Casa Schuetzenplatz. The findings of these two types of urban commons, tangible and intangible, will provide differences and similarities which will help us to understand their possibilities as a socio-cohesive system. Consequently we will focus on their precarious vertical interactions, which will lead us to study emergent types of collaborative governance, founded on the emancipatory paradigm of urban commons.

Keywords: collaborative city, collaborative economy, commons, public, share economy, sharing city, social cohesion, urban commons.

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ACRONYMS

CS:	Casa Schuetzenplatz
CP:	Casa Parklet
ECLAC:	The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
EKiZ:	Eltern-Kind-Zentrum Stuttgart West e.V. „Parents-Children-Center Stuttgart West“
EU:	European Union
OECD:	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OXFAM:	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
NK:	Netzwerk Kernerviertel “Network Kernerviertel”
PS:	Parklet for Stuttgart
RC:	Repair Cafe
RCS:	Repair Cafe Stuttgart
RNM:	Reallabor für nachhaltige Mobilitätskultur “Real lab for sustainable mobility culture”
S21:	Stuttgart 21

Chapter 1: Introduction



Fig. 01: Las dos Caracas
Source: Renato Yanez 2014

1.1 Research relevance

The importance of social cohesion for our contemporary cities

“I can explain why and define the importance of cities in four numbers: 2/50/75/80. Cities account for 2 percent of the earth’s crust, and concentrate about 50 percent of the world’s population, account for 75 percent of energy consumption and 80 percent of CO₂ emissions worldwide. If we are able to optimize processes in the cities, then it will be good for the entire planet” Carlo Ratti (Mutti, 2013).

Since I read these words, the idea of optimization became imperative. But what does it mean in the 21st century our city’s *optimization*? What is there to be *optimized*? A city is constituted by public-private spaces, where *life occurs*. These public and private spaces have an infrastructure, energy and/or heating sources, water, sewage and a transportation system that interconnects them. But of course the most important ingredient is us, humans and our social life. In that

order when we talk about *optimization* we are not just talking about enhancing our city's infrastructure by making it greener, but improving the processes and the interaction with its users and developers.

Therefore it is important to understand what our current status is. Why does this *2 percent of earth's crust produce 80 percent of CO2 emissions worldwide?* Hereby we need to focus on the system that creates this deregulation, our socio-economic system. OXFAM in its 2010 report titled, "*An economy for the 1%*", manifested how the 1% population of our world had as much wealth as the other 99%. These numbers are reflected also in our cities. Most cities, especially in developing countries, suffer from fragmentation, as we can see in Caracas image named "*The two Caracas*". Francoise Navez-Bouchanine (2002) defines urban fragmentation as "*juxtapositions of very limited and confined, socially specialized spaces*" with in the city. The problem of socio-spatial fragmentation is that it can evolve into urban exclusion, as expressed by Jeantet:

"Urban exclusion means that a shift has occurred between the paradigm of inequality within a cohesive social entity to the paradigm of fragmentation, isolation, poverty pockets, radical otherness. If nothing is done to stop this shift from integration to segregation, cities will break up into separate sectors: on the one hand, overprotected areas and on the other, dangerous, ghettos and "outlaw zones" (Jeantet, 1994).

Hence it is vital for a city's welfare and optimization to focus on its social cohesion. As we can perceive this disparity trend is strengthening as well as our environmental negative impact. In that order the digital era we are submerged in is altering the bases of our social system, creating new possibilities. Rachel Botsman studies one of the most important and defining aspects of social cohesion: trust, the so called "*Social glue*". In her TED talk on June 2016 she expresses that: "*Trust is no longer top-down... A new recipe for trust is emerging. That once again is distributed among people and its accountability base.*" Adding up she argues that "*technology is creating new mechanisms that are enabling us to trust unknown people, companies, and ideas and yet at the same time trust in institutions, banks, governments and even churches is collapsing*" (Botsman, 2016). Her work reflects that trust has evolved from a local to an institutional system and from this to the current distributed one. Consequently these changes are represented in our emerging economic systems, the sharing economy and

the collaborative economy, and urban commons phenomenon. Hereby urban commons present an emancipatory phenomenon, a dramatic change in our social system, and therefore of social cohesion perception. Hence the aim of the research is to understand the possibilities of urban commons phenomenon as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm and its implications to our current urban development system. In that order the emergence of this *socio-cohesive* paradigm counteracts the *paradigm of fragmentation*. Several questions emerge from such a statement. One of the most important ones is what would become of our institutions? In a more philosophical level Prof. Reinhold answers this question by exploring the terms of Public and Common(s) developed though Arendt, Habermas and Hardt and Negri. He concludes that “*If another, common world is to be assembled outside of these networks; it would necessarily include the richly textured ruins of the public, as a medium and as a message.*” (Martin, 2013) In that sense it is significant to turn into a more tangible level. Hereby we will base our research on the emerging urban commons of Stuttgart. Hence we will first establish our theoretical and conceptual framework, where we will also review digital era emerging economic systems, followed by the assessment of our cases study. Consequently we will review our findings and study the possibilities institute in other references based on the different types of city’s governance emerging on one hand from the developing economic systems, as well as from the urban commons phenomenon. Hereby we will be able to understand the *socio-cohesive* paradigm of urban commons phenomenon and their implications on our urban development’s system.

1.2 Case study selection

Stuttgart represents an interesting case study and urban laboratory. Its mixture of a traditional cultural background and growing multicultural population, as we will further study, are a typical scenario of our heterogenic contemporary cities. Hence it is important to highlight that although the area of Baden-Württemberg has a high *socio-cohesive* rank within Germany (Dragolov et al., 2014) in a comparative study, the country had one of the lowest ranking among the rich countries of the European Union (Bertelsmann Stiftung & Eurofound, 2014). The report considered three dimensions of social cohesion: *connectedness, social relations and focus on the common good*, those indicators were measured in the period of 2003 - 2008. In general the three dimensions had a low score. Although we have to admit that common good had an average ranking, but the dimension

of *connectedness* was one of the lowest in the EU. This dimension focuses on identity and vertical interactions. Hence among other rich European countries, the people of Germany have lower connection or identity towards its country and higher levels of institutional distrust.

Although Stuttgart, compared to most of the cities of the world, has a high quality of living level, the 6th in Germany (Dill, 2015), its recent political changes tell us the story of an effervescent society. In that order Stuttgart poses an example that social stability does not equal a cohesive society, a differentiation we will study in our conceptual framework chapter. In this growing mixed society we find Stuttgart's emerging urban commons as manifestation of this emancipatory phenomenon. Based on the website *Stadtthuecken* (2016), created by Hanna Noller and Sebastian Klawiter we can recognize a common goal of civil society activation and empowerment on different mapped initiatives. Consequently we can identify a variety of urban commons among those initiatives. In that order, as we will study on our first chapter, we have typified them into tangible and intangible urban commons. Hence we have selected two urban commons *Repair Café Stuttgart* (2016), an intangible one, and *Casa Schuetzenplatz*, a tangible one, as our study cases. These urban commons have two dissimilar representative approaches and scales among the initiatives. It will therefore be interesting to understand their differences, similarities and attributes as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm.

Chapter 2: Research Design

2.1 Research aim

The principal focus of this research relies on the urban commons phenomenon and recent society's social cohesion development. Therefor this research has a qualitative and descriptive approach; by trying to understand such processes it poses questions that intend to create the foundations for further studies. Hence, as we have already established, the aim is to *understand the possibilities of urban commons phenomenon as a socio-cohesive paradigm and the implications in our current urban development system.*

2.2 Research objectives

In that order it will be important to understand the beneficial relationship between our social cohesion's recent development and the emergence of urban commons phenomenon, and therefore their implications to our city's welfare and systems. Hence, we will need to establish our digital era context and characteristics, which enable their emergence and development. Another objective is to understand some of the similarities and differences between the different types of urban commons and their attributes as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm. Consequently, it is significant to revise the role of the public.

2.3 Research questions

Parallel to the above statement it is important to specify the research's primary and secondary questions, which will structured the development of our study.

Primary question

- *What are the possibilities of urban commons phenomenon as a socio-cohesive paradigm and which are the implications to our current urban development system?*

Secondary questions

- What is social cohesion?
- How important is social cohesion for our city's welfare?

- What are urban commons and why do they emerge?
- What types of urban commons exist?
- Does our socio-economic system as a counter effect empower their emergence?
- Which are urban commons possibilities and challenges as an urban social cohesion paradigm?
- How do urban commons emerge in Stuttgart?
- What is their perceived community impact and what types of connections do they build in Stuttgart's society?
- What are the differences and similarities between our case studies?
- What possibilities and challenges do our case studies present as an urban *socio-cohesive* paradigm?
- What is the role to be played by governing institutions?

2.4 Research hypothesis

The hypothesis of the research is that in an increasingly unequal and intercultural world, social cohesion is vital for society's welfare. As we know the digital era is changing our perception of trust. Therefore if the concept of trust is evolving, our social cohesion system is being altered. In that order our *socio-cohesive* system could be evolving into one that is based on community projects and share goals, such as the urban commons. Therefore the *socio-cohesive* city of the future is one based more on distributed networks, generating stronger horizontal interactions and creating new possibilities of vertical ones, a system that counteracts the *paradigm of fragmentation*.

2.5 Research methodology

As a qualitative research it will have an important theoretical and conceptual framework based on literature review. The assessment and data collection of the study cases will be based on semi-structure interviews developed on the main stakeholders. Such as the members of the urban commons, the public sector, including city and university representatives. The second data collection strategy implemented is the participative and non-participative observation of the study groups. Through which we will be able to observe the nature and impact of the study groups' horizontal and vertical interactions.

2.6 Research structure

The research will be divided into six chapters. The first three chapters will be mostly literature review based. These chapters are the introduction, where the research relevance and case selection have been discussed. The second chapter reviews the research's design, establishing the aim, hypothesis and objective, as well as the structure and methodology. The third chapter will be comprised by the theoretical and conceptual framework, establishing definitions on social cohesion, urban commons and our emerging economic systems. Therefore it will establish the foundations of our research objective. The fourth chapter will introduced Stuttgart's urban commons and assess our study cases, *Repair Café Stuttgart* and *Casa Schuetzenplatz*. The fifth chapter will review our findings and study the role of the public in an evolving society therefore understanding the *socio-cohesive* paradigm behind the urban commons phenomenon. The sixth chapter will be a conclusion of the research, which will discuss the relevant research observations made through its entire process as well as noticing the further research topics.

2.7 Research scope and limitations

The first limitation we have to mention is the researcher's background. As an architect with almost no urban research experience it is a challenge to perform a thoroughly investigation on topics around urban sociology and economy. The second limitation is the recent emergence and current development of this phenomenon, which poses a challenge on its scarce literature review and study. The third limitation is the research's qualitative approach, in that order; it assesses only two case studies and the interactions among its members. It does not assess a quantitative community impact. Therefore the scope of the research is more theoretical. Hence our scope is defined by active case studies with a *socio-cohesive* objective. Furthermore, we will not select urban commons that focus more on a reproduction or management of a good, but which posed in their mission community building goals.

Chapter 3: Social cohesion and the urban commons

A theoretical and conceptual framework

“The study of urban phenomena is no longer the province of any one discipline in a complex socio-economic climate marked by reshifting notions of scale between the global and the local, increasing emphasis on interconnectivity, networks, infrastructures and flows and concern with interdependence and sustainability” (Sassen et al., 2005).

This chapter aims to build a theoretical framework by analyzing the socio-economic circumstances in which urban commons emerge and by doing so developing the conceptual framework of social cohesion and urban commons. Both terms are recent to our history and academic fields, even more the latter, which is an emerging term. It is important then to comprehend the conditions which have created this phenomenon. As Sassen et al. (2005), point out the study of urbanism is a multidiscipline study. Therefore, in the first section of this chapter we will review the conditions of our predominant socio-economic system that has led to the creation of urban commons. Since its problematic has been widely study we will just focus on these conditions and the emerging economic systems. The main literature review is based on economists and philosophers focus on our socio-economic system. The second section will revise the concept of social cohesion and the recent change of one of its core values trust, consequence of the conditions established in the first section. The main literature review is based on sociologists and policy makers. In the third section we will conceptualize the term of urban commons. The literature review is based on urban and social science academics. Hence our research involves three important fields, sociology, economy and urban studies. It is then important to highlight that in order to develop a sustainable city, the optimization of our cities, these three fields are crucial, constituting the urban, the environmental part of urban sustainability concept.

3.1 Contemporary socio-economic systems

A review on Neoliberalism’s problematic and the emerging sharing and collaborative economy systems

Neoliberalism

“Capitalism only triumphs when it becomes identified with the state, when it is the state” Fernand Braudel (Hardt & Negri, 2000).

Capitalism, our current predominant economic system, is based on the private ownership of the means of production by individuals. (Rosser & Rosser, 2003) Neoliberalism under the umbrella of capitalism is then related with *laissez-faire* economic system where the market is free from government regulation. Some of the consequences of neoliberal policies and the recession of the government are privatization, accumulation of capital and deregulation (Kaminer, Robles-Duran and Sohn, 2011). These effects are of course tangible in our cities. The result of *“an economy for the 1%”*, as Jeantet explained in her shift towards a paradigm of fragmentation, an ever widening disjunction of city domains. This in turns results in the inevitable evolution of overprotected clusters and outlawed areas, which ends up forming cities with very low degrees of social cohesion. The guiding economic structure in such a city leads not only to privatization and enclosure of urban land, but also as Kratzwald states to *“urban space being commodify”* (Dellenbaugh, 2015). In that order Harvey poses that urbanization is a key mean on the accumulation of capital, which has been favored by institutions such as The World Bank:

“The World Bank plainly favors speculative capital over people. The idea that a city can do well (in terms of capital accumulation) while its people (apart from a privileged class) and the environment do badly, is never examined. Even worse, the report is deeply complicit with the policies that lay at the root of the crisis of 2007- 09” (Harvey, 2012).

He argues that the market crisis of 2007-09 based on property market and its consequences of unemployment and austerity has not been completely understood, since there is no theory of the laws of capital motion and the urbanization process. He explains that the credit system, consumerism and the competitive real estate market were crucial in the development of the speculative activity that led to the crisis. Harvey poses that since the real estate arena is vital for value and surplus production it needs a combination of the private and public sector on the long term. Hence he identifies the National Partners in Homeownership initiative, proposed by President Clinton in the 1990’s in the United States, as the policy that initiated the housing market and urban development’s speculative behavior in order to absorb surplus and over accumulate capital. Harvey states that *“the urbanization capital presupposes the capacity of capitalist class powers to dominate the urban process.”* This domination involves not only the control over

the state institutions but also over the entire population's labor as well as their values and political powers. (Harvey, 2012)

On a more philosophical and supranational level Hardt & Negri rescue this idea of capital system and state engagement through the idea of correlating our world socio-economic system to an *Empire*.

“The problematic of Empire is determined in the first place by one simple fact: that there is world order. This order is expressed as a juridical formation” (Hardt & Negri, 2000).

This juridical formation mentioned by Hardt & Negri is expressed in the United Nations as a supranational center that poses the transition from the sovereign right of nations to a global system. In this global system the economic and political power are brought together in order to constitute the capitalist order, working together towards the reproduction of capital. At the surfaces of this capitalist order resides the *multitude*, an anti-capitalist resistance movement that seeks the right to reappropriation. *“The right to reappropriation is first of all the right to the reappropriation of the means of production... is really the multitude's right to self-control and autonomous self-production”* (Hardt & Negri, 2000). The multitude as Kratzwald expresses does not feel represented by politics: *“The government, however, has proved itself to be a bad trustee and manager of public property, and has tried to fill empty state coffers through their sale. These experiences of dispossession and exclusion have led to the revitalization of the discourse about and fight for the urban commons”* (Dellenbaugh, 2015). Adding on this, Harvey poses and relates to, the reclamation of urban ownership has led to the emergence of commons as a space out of the capitalist influence.

There are then some important aspects worth highlighting about the effects of our current predominant socio-economic system and its crises, besides the environmental effects and capital accumulation leading to high degrees of disparities and therefore to the *fragmented paradigm*. The first aspect is the social impact of the 2007-2009 crisis. In that sense the order established by the combination of public and private sector is then evident in the resulting loss of trust on the institutional level. A close example of this damage to institutional *trust* is the movement surrounding Stuttgart 21, as we will further study in the next chapter. But as Botsman argues it is not only the institutional mismanagement that has caused such loss, as we will further study when defining social cohesion, it is also due to the characteristics of the digital era. The latter characteristics and the shift on the conception of trust have encouraged the emergence of new socio-

economic systems, which we will focus on consequently.

Sharing and collaborative economy

“The first aspect of the telos of the multitude has to do with the senses of language and communication. If communication has increasingly become the fabric of production, and if linguistic cooperation has increasingly become the structure of productive corporeality, then the control over linguistic sense and meaning and the networks of communication becomes an ever more central issue for political struggle” (Hardt & Negri, 2000).

As an emerging concept *sharing economy* has been related to concepts such as, *collaborative economy, peer economy, access economy, shared capitalism, enabling economy, people economy, gig economy, the mesh and collaborative consumption*, among others. We will briefly identify the commonalities and differences between these two concepts. In his paper, “You are what you can access”, Belk recognizes two common characteristics. The first one is that both are based on non-ownership models by the temporary use of goods and services. The second is that both emerged through the internet, specifically with Web 2.0, that enabled users to add content and communicate with each other’s (Belk, 2014). Hence it is important to acknowledge the key aspect of the *multitude*, communication, which allows the cooperative production of the commons (Hardt & Negri, 2000). But as Bollier mentions it is important to differentiate between cooperative forms of production and the privatization of social cooperation such as Facebook, Uber, Lyft, Airbnb, among others (Bollier, 2016).

“The central conclusion is that the collective laboring that is now productive of value must ground collective not individual property rights” (Harvey, 2012).

Hence since the topic of our research focuses on an altruistic *bottom-up* approach, we will focus our attention on the differentiation of the types of economic systems enable by a cooperative form of production. In that order Botsman identifies five principles of truly sharing or collaborative companies. 1) The business is based on *unused or under-utilized assets* for profit or non-profit. 2) The company has a *value-drive mission* with meaningful principles. 3) The company should value and empower the lives of the providers, economically and socially. 4) The consumers should get goods and services efficiently through an access payment and not ownership compensation. 5) The companies should be created based on decentralized networks that generate a community by creating

a sense of belonging and collective accountability. Consequently Botsman defines sharing economy as *“An economic system based on sharing underused assets or services, for free or for a fee, directly from individuals.”* She later defines collaborative economy as *“An economic system of decentralized networks and marketplaces that unlocks the value of underused assets by matching needs and haves, in ways that bypass traditional middlemen”* (Botsman, 2015). Hence the difference between share economy and collaborative economy is not completely clear. It appears as sharing economy constitutes a type of collaborative economy. Hints on the difference between share and collaborative economy might be addressed in the definition developed by Beck on collaborative consumption *“Collaborative consumption is people coordinating the acquisition and distribution of a resource for a fee or other compensation.”* (Belk, 2014: 1597). He argues that the main difference between collaborative consumption and share consumption is the compensational attribute of the first one; instead the latter relies on the actor’s altruistic behavior. For example Couchsurfing is a share consumption example, where the profit is even forbidden. An example given by Beck as collaborative consumption is *Zipcar*, a commercial *“car-sharing”* platform, where there is a fee for the temporary use of cars. Botsman identifies also platforms as *Peerby* (enables people to borrow from their neighbours), *Zopa* (matches people in a need of a loan with people willing to invest) as collaborative consumption examples. In that order Belk agrees with Botsman when she defines collaborative consumption as *“The reinvention of traditional market behaviors—renting, lending, swapping, sharing, bartering, gifting—through technology, taking place in ways and on a scale not possible before the internet”* (Botsman, 2015). In the sense that it is a reinvention of traditional market behaviors since it has a compensational attribute.

Another important step in clarifying both terminologies would be to revise the origins of the terms to share and to collaborate. Sharing ‘to share’ is defined by the Oxford dictionary as *“Have a portion of (something) with another or others.”* In that order Belk defines it as *“the act and process of distributing what is ours to others for their use and/or the act and process of receiving or taking something from others for our use”* (Belk, 2014). On the other hand, to collaborate comes from col ‘together’ and *laborare* ‘to work’, working together. Based on the origins of both terms we could agree with Belk’s definition on collaborative consumption, where both parties work together towards mutual benefit. Instead sharing economy is based on a *“nonreciprocal pro-social behavior”* (Belk, 2014). This differentiation between both types of socio cooperative economies is important

for the types of urban commons and city's governance that are emerging as a result.

Based on this we can then summarize some aspects of our current socio-economic systems. The deregulation of our current predominant capitalist system and its crisis has led to the emergence of an anti-capitalist movement, *the multitude*. The essence of this multitude relies on communicational attributes of the Digital Era which have enabled a shift on the conception of trust and new socio-economic systems. The crystallization in our cities of this *multitude's* labor on our urban landscape is represented by the urban commons. It is then important to understand the difference among the emerging economic systems. As we will study later on there are two models of cities evolving, the *sharing city* and the *collaborative city* (Foster & Iaione, 2016).

3.2 Social cohesion

On social cohesion: "I think is a core value of society, the basis, everything sustainable synergetic needs this feedback, connections, otherwise is a fragmented system." (Heynold, J., 31.05.17, Interview)

The definition of social cohesion, as many other recent concepts, has been the topic of discussion among different specialists since its emergence and even more in the last decade thanks to the importance given by policymakers. It is then significant to understand first of all the fields that have developed this concept. In the academic field we find the social science disciples of sociology and psychology. The second and most recent is the social policy field (Chan et al., 2006). In coining a relevant definition, we will focus our attention on the sociology and social policy fields since both posed the most commonly used definitions of social cohesion and constitute the areas of our research topic. Nevertheless it is important to highlight that the psychology field has contributed to its development by the study of groups and collective behavior.

Social policy field

The recent attention given by the policy makers to the concept comes in a time of social policy reconsideration after neoliberalism (Jenson, 2010). Hence we will focus on the definitions given by some of the most influential policy making

institutions.

The OECD doesn't give a precise definition of social cohesion but agrees with the one given by Club de Madrid in its 2011 report *Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World*:

“Socially cohesive or ‘shared’ societies are stable, safe and just, and are based on the promotion and protection of all human rights, as well as on non-discrimination, tolerance, respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, solidarity, security and participation of all people, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons” (OECD, 2011).

The OECD gives then a concept of social cohesion associated to social stability, equal social rights and the promotion of social inclusion. It does not explain the core of social cohesion. Another important institution is the Council of Europe, which defines it in 2001 as:

“Social cohesion, as defined by the Directorate General of Social Cohesion of the Council of Europe, is a concept that includes values and principles which aim to ensure that all citizens, without discrimination and on an equal footing, have access to fundamental social and economic rights. ...It is a concept for an open and multicultural society” (Jenson, 2010).

As the concept given by the OECD, the main statement of this definition relies on social stability and social inclusion. It also describes social cohesion as process and not a quality or state of society. Furthermore, another institution that agrees with such definitions of social cohesion as social inclusion and a process is The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) defines it as:

“Social cohesion may thus be defined as the dialectic between instituted social inclusion and exclusion mechanisms and the responses, perceptions and attitudes of citizens towards the way these mechanisms operate.” (ECLAC, 2007)

Although it is important to highlight the importance given to the civic sector, it is also describe as a process, but not any process, it is a perceptive process that relies only on the civic actors.

We can observe in these concepts that social cohesion is defined mainly as a process, and not as a state of society, that ensures socio-economic stability

and social inclusion. It is as Chan describes it ‘problem driven’, a response to contemporary socio-economic disparities and multiculturalism, fighting exclusion and promoting an open society with equal rights. This ‘problem driven’ approach of social cohesion is mostly the post-industrial government’s realization of the need to evolve as a consequence of our socio-economic system’s effects, as we have already mentioned. In order to evolve three aspects are vital; to promote trust and civic participation and to adopt a more holistic approach in public policy. (Chan et al., 2006) Consequently the concept becomes a solution a policy to be implemented in order to solve the problems generated by our deregulated socio-economic system. It does not explain the essence of a socio cohesive society, but of a desire for one. It is also pertinent to understand that such definitions describe social cohesion as a process with a *top-down* approach, which in our particular case does not correlate with the urban commons *bottom-up* approach. Nevertheless two of the three aspects mentioned before, trust and civic participation, are shared as key elements of social cohesion’s definition in the academic field.

Academic field

Prof. Larsen “...defines social cohesion as the belief—held by citizens in a given nation state—that they share a moral community, which enables them to trust each other” (2013).

As we mentioned before from the academic field we will center mostly our attention in the social science discipline of sociology. There is no clear definition, social cohesion has been associated to solidarity and trust as well as related to social capital and social inclusion. The confusion on the term has even generated a pluralistic vision of it (Chan et al., 2006). Chan cites Jenson in order to explain this approach: “[A] lesson to take from this very limited overview of... social cohesion is that there is no single way of even defining it. Meanings depend on the problem being addressed and who is speaking.” (2006)

Therefore, it is important to specify the emergence of the concept from one of sociology’s fathers, Emile Durkheim, when developing the concept of solidarity in his work *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893). Durkheim poses two types of solidarity, *Mechanical and Organic*, describing two types of societies. The first one is the one found in the agrarian society or pre-modern societies. It emerges

from the homogeneity and similarity of its society, characterized by familiar networks. In this kind of society similarities could be material or non-material, the latter is called by Durkheim '*collective consciousness*' which is the origin of social cohesion's definition. The '*collective consciousness*' is the set of beliefs, values and morality that constitutes a society. Durkheim argues that in the case of the agrarian society this '*collective consciousness*' was strong and with a fortified religious foundation (Larsen, 2013).

Organic solidarity emerges in the industrialized society, characterized by its less similar and more differentiated composition. In this type of society the '*collective consciousness*' is based on the citizens' dependency on one another.

"In the agrarian economy, a large number of citizens could be more or less self-sufficient, while in a modern society, industrial or service workers are dependent on raw material delivered by others, food produced by others, and markets where products can be exchanged" (Larsen, 2013).

Larsen points out the importance of this argument in modern societies, the prevalent interaction among strangers which enables them to trust each other. Therefore this trust on the unknown, as also (Botsman, 2016) describes enabled by internet and the Digital Era, becomes one of the core values of this new '*collective consciousness*'.

Another important contribution for the development of social cohesion's definition is given by Lockwood's framework. Lockwood specifies the different actors and levels of our society, defining it as a strong network system at the communal level, based on altruism and voluntary organizations. Chan will incorporate the society levels framework and altruistic attribute into its social cohesion concept. He also bases his definition on the psychologist's Bollen and Hoyle studies of group cohesion where they specified the vitality of a sense of belonging for a group's existence (Chan et al., 2006). Chan defines social cohesion as:

"Social cohesion is a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioral manifestations" (2006).

We have to acknowledge first that it recognizes social cohesion as a *state of affairs*; it is not a process or a solution for a contemporary problem, but a condition of society. It identifies the different layers of it and the interactions among them. In order for a society to be cohesive the interaction between the government

with the civic society, the vertical interactions, need to have a balance with the *horizontal* ones, the ones among individuals as well as different groups and organizations, together these layers form the *members of society*. Chan analyses the concept of ‘cohesion’ itself and concludes that to cohere is to ‘*stick together*’ and that in a society people do so when three aspects are met. The first one is that people can trust each other in order to cooperate between them, as already mentioned by Durkheim and Larsen. The second is that people share a same identity or a sense of belonging, mentioned in the studies of Bollen and Hoyle. The third aspect is the behavior, the acts that people undertake encourage by the previously mentioned ones. Social cohesion is then not only a perception of society but an actively productive state of it. Hence the *willingness to participate* is based on feeling part of that community which trusts each other and holds an altruistic value. Consequently a cohesive society understands the importance of cooperation and solidarity among its members. It is not based on social and economic stability. A society can share economic and social stability, but if its members don’t cooperate between them, don’t trust each other, we couldn’t agree that it is a cohesive one. As well as if we have a society with social and economic disparities formed by cohesive communities that don’t cooperate among them we couldn’t say that in its whole, it is a cohesive one as Kearns and Forrest explain it: “*A city of neighborhoods with a high degree of social cohesion could be a city with a high level of conflict within and between neighborhoods*” (Jenson, 2010). Consequently we will focus on trust as one of the core values of this definition and its development in recent years in order to understand the evolution of social cohesion in our society.

Trust

“*In Raumlabor (an architecture firm where Arch. Marius Gantner used to work) they had this logo: No trust, No city. ... Especially in the last few years with Reallabor and really working with civil society and initiatives I understood that it’s always about trust. Cooperation is based on trust, so if you want to build cooperative structures between administration and civil society or business or science you need to create structures of trust*” (Gantner, M., 09.06.17, Interview).

We will be focusing our interest on institutional trust, since it is this type of trust who has suffered and change more recently. Oxford dictionary defines trust as: “*Firm belief in the reliability, truth, or ability of someone or something*” (En.

oxforddictionaries.com, 2017). We agree with Gantner when expressing that the foundation of any cooperative structure is trust, this conviction that the person or organization is truth and reliable enables us to act, to participate, and to cooperate. Nevertheless it is important to understand the evolution of trust as mentioned by Jeremy Rifkin when he poses that radio, television and now internet have contributed to the extension of empathy extending across group's boundaries (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). In that order television and press as Larsen argues influences perception of certain groups which in return impacts trust levels (Larsen, 2013). Media therefor has had a double sword power on one hand creating perceptions of certain groups or on the other hand generating in a long term an understanding of the other.

Rachel Botsman argues that since the industrial revolution, institutional trust has been the rule of our society. Nevertheless this condition is changing. She argues that it is not only shifting due to institution ineffectiveness, corruption, resulting in scandals that have led to mistrust of the people as we have previously mentioned, but also because the institutional trust doesn't correlate with the information or Digital Era. Hence the characteristics of institutional trust are "*big, hierarchical, centralized, gated, and standardized*", which works for our predominant socio-economic system and its institutions. Nevertheless those characteristics don't apply to our emergent share economy and collaborative economic systems, where companies work on the basis of a "*micro, bottom-up, decentralized, flowing and personal*" features. These characteristics are being raised by internet and the Peer-to-Peer application, creating a new type of trust, one that relies on the unknown and that grows in a collaborative market and distributed networks. Botsman calls this type of trust "*Peer-trust*", the importance on this shift relies on its main actors, it is a change from institutions to individuals. Consequently it is not a top-down approach but a *bottom-up* approach on trust (Botsman, 2016). Hence we could observe the urban commons phenomena as the civic manifestation on this trust shift, where citizens participate actively by creating a community based on trust with an altruistic approach. The importance of such posture is that it generates an imbalance on our concept of social cohesion, among the *vertical and the horizontal interactions*. In that order we could say that there are growing levels of trust among the horizontal interactions and decay on the vertical ones. The question that arises of such imbalance is: which should be the role of the public institutions in this new growing horizontally *socio-cohesive* era? A possible answer to this question will be mentioned in the next

section as well as in Chapter V.

We will consequently clarify the concept of social capital, since it is often associated or even confused with social cohesion and therefore could be easily mixed-up with urban commons phenomenon.

Social Capital

“The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” Bourdieu (Portes, 1998).

There is a lack of clarity on the definition of not only social capital but also with social cohesion and it is common to confuse both terminologies or to imply that their terms are dependent on one another. Portes recognizes two elements in Bourdieu’s concept. The first one is the relationships among individuals that allows them the access to their acquaintances resources, the second the quality of those relationships and resources. The importance of this definition is that it establishes a clear difference between social cohesion and social capital. The latter definition only specifies the relationships that are more or less *institutionalized* and that pursued a benefit. It is not associated with an altruistic or solidarity approach, but rather a profitable one. As Portes recognizes it:

“Despite these differences, the consensus is growing in the literature that social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures” (Portes, 1998).

Another important definition is given by Putman who defines social capital as *“features of social organizations, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit”* (Chan et al., 2006) Although Putnam recognizes the collaborative attribute of social capital, it ratifies the consensus posed by Portes where the core meaning lies on the profitability of the actors and not on the altruistic attributes of those networks. It is therefore important to recognize that just as the term profitable networks aspect the term of social capital is much related to urban commons in its resource dimension as we will study.

There are then some important aspects and questions worth emphasizing from social cohesion’s conceptual framework. The first aspect is that we will center our

research on the concept of social cohesion develop by Chan and not on the policy makers, social stability and social inclusion, based concept. In that order there are relevant characteristics that relate social cohesion directly with the phenomenon of urban commons. The essence of this concept relies on the values of trust and solidarity, which differs from the gainful definition of social capital. In that order it is much related to the collaborative activity of *commoning* as we will further study. Another important characteristic of this concept is that it includes the vertical and horizontal interactions of our society. But as already mentioned the shift on the conception of trust has caused an imbalance between the horizontal and vertical interactions of members of society. On one hand such imbalance has enable the emergence of urban commons as an emancipatory movement; on the other hand it questions the role of the public, as we will further study.

3.3 Urban commons

Commons

“Commons are not things, per se. They are composed of three elements: a resource, i.e. the ‘common good,’ a group of people that use, tend, preserve, and reproduce this resource, and the rules that these people make to achieve these ends” (Dellenbaugh, 2015).

The origin of the English term derives from “*Common Land*”, which was established in 1215 with the signature of England’s Magna Carta. It is the first document to establish the fundamental rights of the people. Making it significant to highlight that King John recognizes the “*common law*” practiced by the Norman Conquest instead of the Roman ruling England. This legal act recognizes the equity of the people in the eyes of law by granting them access to “*common land*”. The latter was property of aristocracy and therefor this access had its restrictions, which in time, developed according to the needs of the people. The Magna Carta crystallizes a political shift where it is not the king who favors the people by granting access, but it is the people’s birth right. Hence commons were not only a resource, a piece of land shared in order to fulfill people’s needs, but a place where resistance against landowners began, an emancipatory place (Dellenbaugh, 2015).

Bollier identifies two layers of the Commons terminology, as an *unmanaged*



Fig. 02: The Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin
Source: Gruen Berlin

resource, popularized by Hardin in *The Tragedy of the Commons* and as a *social institution* rescued by Ostrom in *Governing the Commons*. In that respect, Bollier highlights that commons more than a noun is a verb, *commoning*, popularized by historian Peter Linebaugh. Hence the importance of the Common's definition relies in the action taken by commoners and not in the resource or resource pool aspect. Bollier as well as Kratzwald identify three elements that constitute commons. The resource, the community that manages, preserves and reproduces this resource and the rules, values and own strategies this community creates by *commoning*¹ (Bollier, 2016). (Dellenbaugh, 2015) Harvey also recognizes these three aspects in his definition of commons:

“The common is not to be construed, therefore, as a particular kind of thing, asset or even social process, but as an unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet- to-be-created social and/or physical environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood. There is, in effect, a social practice of commoning” (Harvey, 2012).

He also distinguishes the tangible resources, such as environmental (Ostrom's fisheries) or human-made ones and intangible resources, such as intellectual or knowledge based (Foster & Iaione, 2016). An example of knowledge based commons would be *Wikipedia*, yet the most studied ones have been commons based on natural resources, such as the ones studied by the Nobel Prize winner Elinor Ostrom. Ostrom concludes that successfully governed commons fulfill eight principles:

“1. Define clear group boundaries.

1 Commoning describes the social practices of a community in order to manage shared resources.

2. *Match rules governing use of common goods to local needs and conditions.*
3. *Ensure that those affected by the rules can participate in modifying the rules.*
4. *Make sure the rule-making rights of community members are respected by outside authorities.*
5. *Develop a system, carried out by community members, for monitoring members' behavior.*
6. *Use graduated sanctions for rule violators.*
7. *Provide accessible, low-cost means for dispute resolution.*
8. *Build responsibility for governing the common resource in nested tiers from the lowest level up to the entire interconnected system” (Walljasper, 2011).*

Ostrom's principles focus on the institutional dimension of commons. She argues that many successful case studies have a mixture of “*private-like*” and “*public-like*” instrumentalities (Ostrom, 1990). Hence the importance of her findings and theory lies on questioning the conviction of CPR needing an external authority private or public, in order to be successful, which was Hardin's theory and which has influenced deeply policy making. “*...major policy decisions will continue to be undertaken with a presumption that individuals cannot organize themselves and always need to be organized by external authorities*” (Ostrom, 1990).

Commons then pose important questions on property and governance, therefor on the public.

Prof. Reinhold explores the terms of Public and Common(s) through Arendt, Habermas, Hardt and Negri (2000) works. The relevance of Reinhold's philosophical analysis on the *Public and Common(s)* is that by questioning the role of the public in our collective space gives us a possible answer through its future role as mediator (Martin, 2013). However Foster & Iaione rescue the public's regulator role when questioning the effects of sharing and *commoning* and its necessary negotiations in the collective realm. As already mentioned we will further study these aspects in chapter V. Nevertheless there is an important point to rescue from Reinhold's analysis of Hardt and Negri's work. They posed, as we have already mentioned, that public and private work together towards the establishment of capital order. In the *multitude* they recognized a productive anti-capitalist movement that works through cooperation towards the production of common goods and knowledge. By doing so the multitude seeks the right of reappropriation, as we have mentioned before. Therefore the multitude constitutes an emancipatory movement (Martin, 2013).

It is then important to summarize the aspects that form the concept of commons.

The first three defining elements are the resource, the community and the social practices this community develops in order to manage, preserve and reproduce this resource. The second aspect is its emancipatory attribute (Dellenbaugh, 2015) (Hardt & Negri, 2000) (Harvey, 2012). Hence as Massimo De Angelis poses, rescuing the emancipatory discourse on commons:

“Commons are a means of establishing a new political discourse that builds on and helps to articulate the many existing, often minor struggles, and recognizes their power to overcome capitalist society” (Angelis & Stravrides, 2010).

Urban Commons

“Commons were a form of public space long before the term was used during the bourgeois revolutions. It is therefore not a contradiction to employ the concept of the commons in the defense of urban public spaces, and thereby to shift the term “public” in an emancipatory direction” (Dellenbaugh, 2015).

Commons as an emancipatory space have their clear representation in the recent phenomena of Urban Commons. A notable example of this phenomenon is *The Tempelhofer Feld* in Berlin. The former Berlin airport became an important recreational area for its citizens. The real-estate market became interested and consequently a plan for the development of the area was proposed by Berlin senate. The citizens organized through committees and activists successfully blocked the development in a 2014 referendum. These actions allowed citizens to preserve the airport in its unplanned state. It is in such an example that we can grasp the problematic around urban commons, they invoke *“the “Right to the City”* as a collaborative space. It is through Urban Commons that we can appreciate a scream of reclamation and re-appropriation of our socio-economic system and in turn of our city.

“The overall effect is a concerted attempt at a universal global regime of capitalist enclosure to the extent that all areas of social life are governed by market logics and the profit motive.

In opposition, commons are viewed as collective spaces created ‘outside’ of the networks of capital where different social relations and norms can be reclaimed” (Cumbers, 2012).

These collective spaces rescue the essence of the public. Massimo De Angelis explains the importance of the commons social dimension when he highlights “*There is yet a third way beyond markets or states, and this is community self-management and self-government.*” He explains the two dimensions of Marx’s factory, the first as the place for capital to exploit, the second as the place where *social cooperation of labor* unfolded, a *non-commoditized space*. Therefore as the place to share being the general definition for commons. It is by this collaborative action taken by a community that liberation from our socio-economic system unravels. In that order Kratzwald defines commons as “*...dissident practices in emancipatory spaces, which lead to the creation of new modes of production and social relationships*” (Dellenbaugh, 2015).

We have established already by our literature review the three defining aspects of commons; resources, community and *commoning*. In addition we have explained the essential emancipatory attribute of urban commons. It is then important to generate a definition of urban commons. Although Foster & Iaione define urban commons focusing on its resource aspect, based on the definitions given by Kratzwald, Harvey, Bollier, Cumbers, Linebaugh, we propose that:

Urban Commons are self-organized collective spaces that through the cooperative social practices developed in order to preserve, manage or reproduce resources generate tangibles or intangibles outcomes that emancipate the community, the resources and therefore the city.

In that order there are two important aspects worth highlighting from our proposed definition, the social practices, *commoning*, and the *tangible and intangible urban resources and outcome*. The first one is crucial regarding our concept of social cohesion, since *commoning*, as a collaborative activity benefits the development of trust structures and of social cohesion. These social practices of *commoning* adopt, among other cooperative forms of production, our previously mentioned sharing and collaborative economic systems, therefore generating two types of strategies. The second aspect is the dual dimension of its resources and outcomes, the tangibles and intangibles, already mentioned by Foster and Iaione. In that order an important differentiation between the types of resources, *rivalrous, limited resources; non-limited, non-rivalrous resources*, is mentioned by Kratzwald when commenting on Ostrom’s principles. Foster & Iaione distinguish between “*open access*” and “*limited-access*” commons on

Hardin's insights and based on economists and scholars between public goods and common goods. Nevertheless such classification implies a more specialized study on the different types of urban resources; therefore we will focus now on its differentiation on a more general level.

Tangible resources and outcomes

Perhaps because of their noticeable statement of the *Right to the City*, the most studied *urban commons* are the tangible ones. In this category we can mention, urban gardens, where the resource can be a sidewalk or an empty slot and whose outcome is primarily physical, food for the community. The re-appropriation of public areas for communal use, such as *The Tempelhofer Feld*, among others, is a clear example of the preservation of an urban resource, but its outcomes are a mixture of tangible and intangible. Hence in one hand there is the tangible outcome of preserving a historical site, but in the other hand we have a social outcome, community building and recreational purposes for the city. Another example of a mixed outcome with a tangible urban resource is the *Stuttgarter Staeffele Galerie*, initiated by *Reallabor*, an organization for the development of sustainable mobility. The project was developed in the frame of its real experiment initiatives founded by the Ministry of Science, Research and Arts with a university partnership. Hence we couldn't say it is a completely *bottom-up* approach or in that sense a typical *urban common*. *Stuttgarter Staeffele Galerie* encouraged the activation of Stuttgart's staircases by re-appropriating them with different programs. The outcome was community building, neighbors who lived for more than thirty years and didn't know each other started relating to one another.

Intangible resources and outcomes

“As neoliberal politics diminishes the financing of public goods, so it diminishes the available common, forcing social groups to find other ways to support that common (education, for example)” (Harvey, 2012).

These types of urban commons are in my personal opinion more controversial in its emancipatory core statement as the tangible ones since they are mostly based on knowledge sharing, therefor producing intellectual commons. They are not as visible as the tangible ones, by not emerging from an urban tangible resource, but from communication, and in that order they don't question, who owns the

city? In the era of information and communication as we have already mentioned these types of commons create a horizontal collaborative knowledge system. Hence they develop another task which shares the *emancipatory collective space* attribute of urban commons, knowledge liberation. We could group in this category, social networks, hackerspace, *Repair Café*, among others. These types of commons tend to replicate around the world, due to its communicative and informative nature. Intangible urban commons have been classified so far as *meeting places, associations, open community labs, commons-based peer production*, among others. The latter is a terminology coined by Harvard Law School Prof. Yochai Benkler, which describes a cooperative peer production system that lacks of profitable purposes, mostly internet based communities (Johnson, 2012). The importance of these commons, urban wise, is that some of them do have an impact on our city scape and communities, therefor becoming an urban common. We will be able to appreciate such impact and the emancipatory economic knowledge sharing around the case study of *Repair Café* Stuttgart.

It is important to mention another type of classification under the tangible and intangible urban commons, which is their impact scale. As we will be able to observe in our case studies, urban commons can have a city impact or a neighborhood impact macro study. This scale difference can also influence the type of social cohesion such *commons* generate, but such classification and outcome will require a quantitative and macro study. Nevertheless as we will observe the impact scale can be also conditioned by the type of urban common. In that order an intangible urban common with its knowledge sharing approach tends to expand. Therefore its local community impact is not as strong or as important as carrying it emancipatory discourse as far as possible. Urban commons, as we have seen are a complex phenomenon, with the potential of becoming a collaborative socio-economic system, one with its roots on the collaborative foundations of internet. Their emancipatory attribute poses questions on different layers. On governance, by asking: *Who owns the city?* On our economic system, by the re-appropriation of resources, producing locally and by creating knowledge sharing structures, and on our social system by developing more horizontal, inclusive and collaborative social structures. We will now concentrate on the possibilities and challenges as a socio cohesive paradigm.

3.4 Urban commons as a social cohesion paradigm

“The more profound influence of the commons may be cultural. Commoning regenerates people’s social connections with each other and with “nature.” It helps build new aspirations and identities. By giving people significant new opportunities for personal agency that go well beyond the roles of consumer, citizen, and voter, the commons introduces people to new social roles that embody wholesome cultural values and entail both responsibility and entitlement” (Bollier, 2016).

Perhaps it is too soon to study the urban commons phenomenon as a paradigm of social cohesion, but we can see in the foundations of *commoning* the values of cohesive structures. As Bollier mentions the social connections and roles that urban commons generate *“entail both responsibility and entitlement.”* Such values are developed through a sense of belonging, by feeling part of a community, which is a key characteristic of cohesive societies. We will now look at the possibilities and challenges of urban commons as a social cohesion paradigm.

Possibilities

- As self-organized collective spaces, urban commons share characteristics from our emergent socio-economic systems and *“Peer-trust”* concept. In that order they have a bottom-up approach and a horizontal structure (Botsman, 2015). Hence they fortify the interactions and trust among members of the society on a horizontal level with the potential of creating vertical interactions, as we will see in emerging types of governance.
- Communication is as we have mentioned the essence of our digital era and therefore of the *multitude*. Hence in order to develop functioning *structures of trust* with in society, communication among its members is vital. The emergence of urban commons and its cooperative essence is therefore evidently based on communication.
- Urban commons are socio inclusive structures implying that the commons focus on social cooperation and solidarity. Therefore racial, ethnic and gender differences are welcome to work together towards a common good (Bollier, 2016). Such qualities benefit the *willingness of participation* of society members.
- As Bollier mentioned the emancipatory attribute of urban commons

gives a sense of entitlement. The responsibility that comes with such right is a key component in developing trust and community.

- *The preventive nature of co-production* of urban commons provides *mutual support* systems by knowledge, goods sharing or production (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). The collaborative essence of the commons, based on solidarity, generates a sense of community by creating a supportive system.
- The tangible and intangible outcomes of *commoning* generate two types of sense of community. The first one for example by preserving an urban resource, such as *Templehofer*, attach to a locality and a community. The intangible resources generate a principles-driven community, one that believes in certain moralities, for example *Repair Café*, a community that by sharing knowledge defends sustainability principles.

Challenges

- The misuse of urban commons resources can lead to its monopolization and exploitation. Hence “*appropriated by private profit-maximizing interests*” (Harvey, 2012). In that order the commons lose its solidarity and collaborative essence as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm.
- The communities of urban commons face social mobility and social differentiation. In that order: “*Urban commoners thus should be thought of as engaging in constant boundary negotiation*” (Dellenbaugh, 2015). This constant negotiation could weaken the sense of community.
- The governance of the commons face problems when developing into “*multi-scalar and large scale*” institutions (Dellenbaugh, 2015), losing the personal interaction turning into a more hierarchical structure. In that order as we will further study the possibility public/common partnership might answer such dilemma (Bollier, 2016).
- As communication is on the foundation of *commoning*, miscommunication or the existence of inadequate structures is one of the biggest disadvantages for urban commons success.
- Urban commons cooperative quality depends on motivational aspects. Motivation can fluctuate bringing instability. In that order urban commons are flexible structures but some degree of stability is needed to generate a sense of community.

As we have seen urban commons have high possibilities as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm, nevertheless some of its attributes can turn into disadvantages as its horizontal and communicative structure. The challenge of such structures when developing into multi-scalar systems increases their chances on becoming more hierarchical, developing communication problems and resources misuse or privatization. Therefore some of the important questions on urban commons rely on methods of governance and its vertical interactions. Urban commons as an emancipatory movement develop a minimal connection with the public system. However it is important to remember that most of urban common resources are public goods. It is then vital to develop the legal framework that will protect urban commons emergence and development as well as the management of public goods. It is through the development of such strategies and frameworks that the vertical interactions could find a path towards a balanced *socio-cohesive* society. Other challenges of urban commons have to do with their composition. Hence as flexible structures they need to develop permanent re-evaluation processes in order to keep sustainable levels of motivation and cope with its heterogenic formation. We will be able to appreciate some of these possibilities and challenges in the following chapter, where we will discuss two of Stuttgart's urban commons.

Chapter 4: Stuttgart urban commons

As an urban whole, Stuttgart encompasses an interesting combination of contemporary living and traditional values whose population is growing multicultural and liberal. Recent political changes, intensified by government planning lack of participatory processes, such as *Stuttgart 21*, have enable us to witness such mutating society, one that finds its crystallization in its urban commons. Stuttgart urban commons are a rich mixture of tangible and intangible resources and outcomes of citizens' response to planning actions and as well as socio-economic emancipatory principles. Most of these urban commons constitute a *Verein* (club or association), a terminology we will further study. We have selected one tangible and one intangible urban common. In that order we will like to study their emergence, development and their community impact. We will then discuss their commonalities and differences in order to understand their problematic and attributes as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm.

4.1 Case studies background

4.1.1 Stuttgart

Stuttgart is the largest city and capital of Baden-Wuerttemberg with a population of 609,735 in its city center and, up to 5.3 million including its Metropolitan region. It is ranked as the 21st on Mercer's list of quality of living in 2015 and the 6th in Germany (Dill, 2015). Stuttgart's main economic activity is its high tech industry, some of its most known companies are Daimler AG, Porsche, Bosch, among others. As a result its GDP per capita with an employment was 73.000 euros by 2008 which is one of the highest in Germany (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2010). The predominant religion is Protestantism, but since 2000 there has been an increase in Catholicism. Politically Stuttgart and the State of Baden-Wuerttemberg have shifted in recent years, from a more traditional center-right position to the center left Green Party. Furthermore, Stuttgart's demography is also increasingly diversifying attracting significant, due to its flourishing economy, education system and quality of life. Almost half of its population has no regional background and 40% of Stuttgart's population has a foreign background. More interesting is that 64% of its 5 years and below population has a foreign background (Service.destatis.de, 2015). In that order it is relevant to highlight that although the city, as most contemporary cities, has a relevant level of multiculturalism, the area of Baden-Württemberg was ranked with a high *socio-cohesive* index within Germany. But, as we have mentioned

before, the country had one of the lowest ranking among the rich countries of the EU, due mainly to its lack of connectedness (Bertelsmann Stiftung & Eurofound, 2014). It is important then to understand some of the events that have led to recent political changes in the area of Baden-Württemberg and in Stuttgart.

4.1.2 *Stuttgart 21*

The “*explosion of middle class*” ... “*is a sudden increase in the volume of social cooperation and a correspondent release of playful energies, which together create a socio-cultural shock wave*” (Angelis & Stravrides, 2013).

The railway and urban development project *Stuttgart 21* attempts to improve local infrastructure by moving the current main station underground and creating high-speed connections to other cities. The Deutsche Bahn project was proposed in the 1980’s, announced in 1994 and finally its construction began in 2010. By 2013 the project cost’s estimation has increased from the 4.5 billion euros to 6.5 billion euros (Railway-Technology, 2013). There has been opposition towards the project since its emergence in the 1990’s. Some of the complaints expressed by the civil society were its high cost, the veracity on transportation’s benefits, ecological impact, historic preservation issues and the lack of a participative process. By autumn 2010, when construction was scheduled to start, a series of protests were held ending in forceful police action (Peters & Novy, 2012).

The impact of *Stuttgart 21* project on the civil society is tangible in the political scene. A conservative region with more than 50 years of Christian Democrats governance along with its coalition partner the Frees Democrats, lost in 2011 the state election against the Greens and Social Democrats. (Kaldor et al., 2012) It also is reflected on the appearance of the term the ‘*wutbuenger*’, called the word of the year in 2010 by the Language German Society which was coined after *Stuttgart 21* protests. It first appeared in Hamburg when the city-state was introducing a school reform and it reemerged in Bavaria in order to reinforce the law protecting non-smokers. “*There is no ‘wutbuenger’ ideology other than a certain belief in the liberal state order and the political rights that such an order provides.*” (Kaldor et al., 2012: 24). In that sense the ‘*wutbuengers*’ recognize the limitation of government’s scope and offer achievable options. Since the movement has no coalition to traditional or any particular political party, it attracts a wider range of citizens. (Kaldor et al., 2012) We can then relate the ‘*wutbuengers*’ with urban commons appearance as an emancipatory space.

4. STUTTGART URBAN COMMONS



Fig. 03: Urban Gardening for Kids

Source: Mariana Lugo 2017

Fig. 04: Österreichischer Platz

Source: Stadtlücken 2016

Although *Stuttgart 21* is a Deutsche Bahn and state project we can see the political impact, not only regionally, but also locally through the election of Stuttgart's first Green Mayor in 2013. Furthermore the impact can be clearly observed through the formation of different civic initiatives such as Kopfbahnhof-21, Netzwerke 21, among others. We can appreciate the political effects also in the participative process implemented by the municipality when developing the master plan *StadtRegion Stuttgart 2030* and the employment of the *Buergerhaushalt*. The latter is a participative strategy implemented since 2011, where citizens take part on the distribution of the city's budget (Stuttgart.de, 2017). We will consequently focus on Stuttgart urban commons.

4.1.3 Stuttgart urban commons

On the website *Stadtluecken*, created by Hanna Noller and Sebastian Klawiter we can appreciate a variety of initiatives. Among these initiatives we can recognize a common civil society's goal of activation and empowerment. Most of these initiatives were founded after 2011 and can be classified as urban commons, not in its urban resource essence but in its emancipatory mission. In that order we can recognize tangibles and intangibles urban commons, which have a mixture of public and private partnerships.

The tangible urban commons are represented in initiatives such as *LastenRad*, *Hobby Himmel*, *El Palito*, *Das Kleine Parkraumwunder*, *Stadtluecken: Wo ist der Oesterreichische Platz?*, *Staeffele Galerie*, *Stadtacker* and *Casa Schuetzenplatz*, among others. Most of these initiatives developed on unoccupied, under used or misused urban land or public good. *Stadtluecken* with its project: *Wo ist der Oesterreichische Platz?* Is a clear example of an emancipatory urban common, with a specific resource to preserve or emancipate. *Oesterreichische Platz* is currently a 'no-place', as the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* defined it, a parking lot underneath the Paulinenbrücke. (Volkmann, 2016) In that order *Stadtluecken e. V.* mission is to look for spaces "where public life can reemerge in the absence of repressive processes" (Stadtluecken.de, 2016). Hence it is also relevant to highlight that most of these urban commons generate a mixture of intangible and tangible outcomes. Tangible outcomes can be appreciated on a place reactivation such as *Staeffele Galerie* or in the productive urban gardening and food sharing programs developed by *El Palito*. Their intangible outcome is community building. As we have already mentioned *Staeffele Galerie* focused on the reactivation of Stuttgart's staircases and as an outcome neighbors started

relating to each other. *El Palito* builds community around sustainable principles, the contact with their neighbor community is not as relevant as with outsiders. These outsiders share emancipatory principles, such as building a productive city around urban gardening or saving eatable food through food sharing.

The intangible urban commons are represented by initiatives such as *Containt*, *Deine Strasse* and *Repair Café*. Although the first example can be classified as a tangible urban common, it has a clear intangible outcome through its emancipatory culture and knowledge sharing agenda. In that order intangible urban commons make use of an urban good or not in order to develop their emancipatory mission such as community building and education. Repair Café is in that sense one of the most representative ones, since it does not emerge by *reappropriation* of a public good or urban land, but through communication. Hence a self-organized community with emancipatory principles, as we will study further.

It is important to clarify that most of these urban commons are legally a *Verein*, specifically *gemeinnuetziger Verein*. We will now focus on clarifying these concepts and its contemporary problematic on the development of urban commons.

Verein

“Why the Verein works so well is because they give everyone that is involved a legitimation, but there is a certain connotation with Verein being old school... and not really dynamic” (Gantert, M. 09.06.2017, Interview).

Verein (club, association, organization, union) etymologically comes from ‘becoming one’ or ‘bringing together’. Duden defines it as an *“organization in which persons become members of a particular common action, determined by statutes, for the maintenance of certain common interests”* (Duden.de, 2017). By 2013, there were 580.000, registered in Germany, almost double compare to 50 years ago. The numbers grew exponentially between the 1980’s – 1990’s, especially in the areas of social, health and education. Another important characteristic is that one of the most active groups of these organizations is people around 60 years old. Nevertheless, in the last five years the number of young people engaged has increased. Most of the problems faced by these associations have to do with members and board members recruitment (Faz. net, 2013). *Verein* origins in Germany date to Prussian time. There are different types of *Verein*, legally they are classified as registered, as a juridical person and

non-registered with responsible natural person. Within these legal forms these *Vereine* (more than one *Verein*) develop in different areas such as sport, nature preservation, self-help and education, among others. As a registered *Verein* an initiative can become a *gemeinnuetziger Verein* (Charitable association) when its altruistic objectives and actions pursue the common good. The latter is the type most of urban commons adopt, since it is for the community's benefit. As any other registered *Verein* it requires a minimum of seven members, a constitution establishing its foundation date, address, goal and members names, with their signatures. The benefit of becoming a *gemeinnuetziger Verein*, which is established by the Finance Department, is that the initiative is exempted from paying some taxes (JUM-BW, 2014). In that order it is important to highlight that the proportion of politic, idealistic and self-help or *Vereine* for the common good accounted for 72% of the total amount by 2011 (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2011). But as Gantert mentioned most *Vereine* are seen as “*old school... and not really dynamic*”. *Vereine* have traditionally a more of hierarchical structure with the legal requirements members have to fulfil, as already mentioned. Gantert continues, “*in that way you are becoming an institution an there is the idea of an obstacle for new people coming and joining in, because they will have to join the Verein... It becomes a more formal way of interacting together*” (Gantert, M. 9.06.17, Interview).

Although the practical figure of *Verein* supports an initiative formalization in order to acquire the state's support it is also seen as a traditional structure. Therefor as part of the system, losing the emancipatory attribute of urban commons and inducing rejection from young and critical groups. We will be able to appreciate such effect in the further study of our chosen urban commons *Repair Café Stuttgart* and *Casa Schuetzenplatz*.

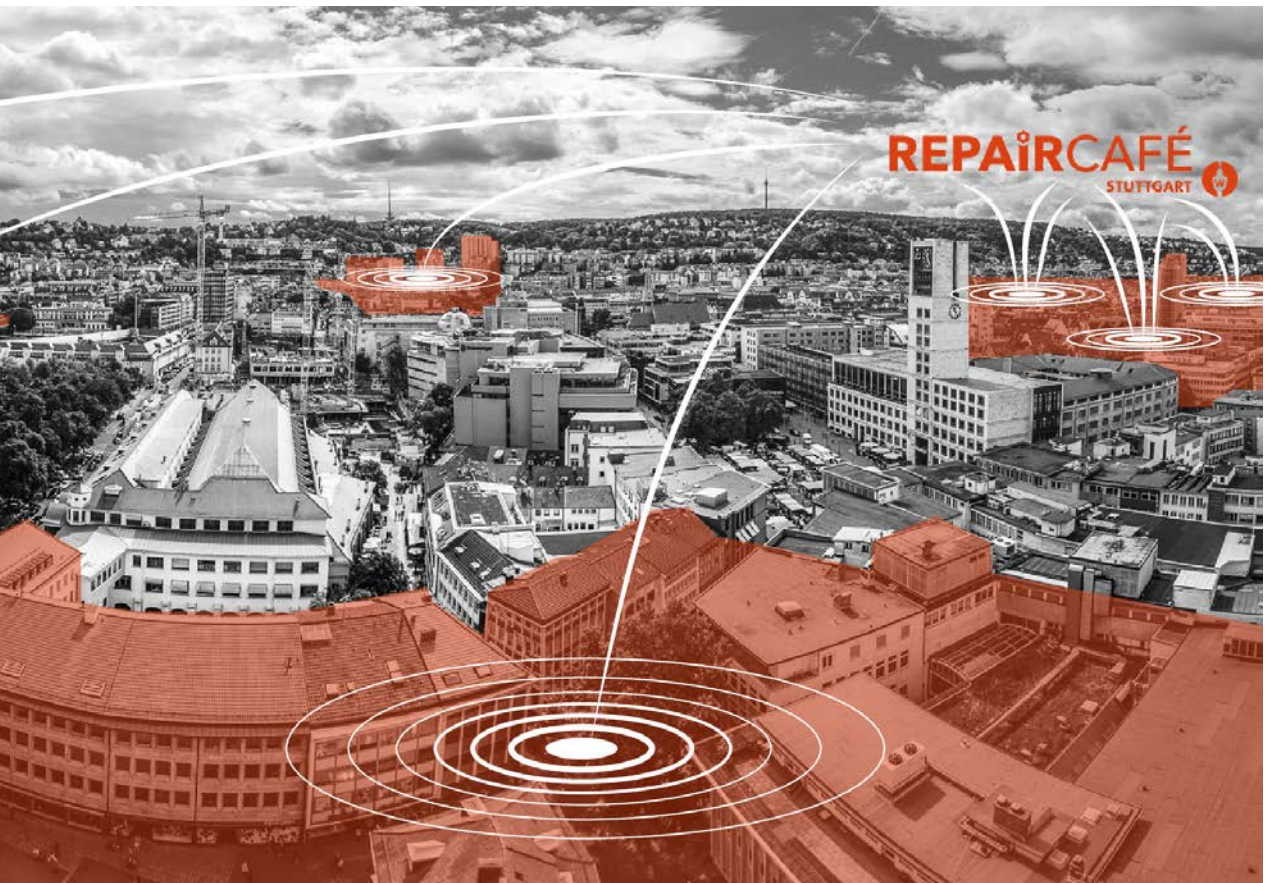
Fig. 05: The local and urban impact of Repair Café
Adapted from: Stiftskirchenpanorama
Stuttgart. Michael Haussmann 2015



4.2 Repair Cafe Stuttgart

4.2.1 Repair Cafe movement

Repair Café initiated in Amsterdam on October 18, 2009. Since then the movement has grown into a non-profit foundation, established in 2011, whose goal is to support other communities in the creation of other *Repair Cafés*. There are currently more than 1300 *Repair Café* in the world. “*The Repair Café teaches people to see their possessions in a new light. And, once again, to appreciate their value. The Repair Café helps change people’s mindset. This is essential to kindle people’s enthusiasm for a sustainable society*” (Repaircafe.org, 2016), In that order their mission is an emancipatory act through knowledge sharing. It stands for the sustainable principles of repairing instead of throwing away and continuing the over consumption cycle.



There are some relevant findings from the worldwide survey executed by *The Centre for Sustainable Design* an initiative of *The University for the Creative Arts* in England in 2016. Most of the findings correlate to our local case study. Some of those findings were that 34% of Repair Café members were between 56 and 65 years old. The most important reasons they chose to participate were “*to encourage others to live more sustainably. To encourage others to repair. To provide a valuable service to the community. To be a part of the movement to improve product reparability and longevity*” (Charter & Keiller, 2016). In that order most of the reasons have a knowledge sharing, altruistic and emancipatory discourse. Seventy percent *Repair Cafés* members also engage in other local groups, which ratifies the altruistic behavior of such communities. It is important to highlight that 90% of *Repair Cafes* don't perceive great obstacles in their success, but a fifth of respondents recognize that funding and marketing could be ‘*somewhat of a barrier*’. Most of the Repair Cafés communicate with their local community through social media and websites, in addition many of them hold a

monthly session in a fixed venue with an average of 10 members and 29 visitors (Charter & Keiller, 2016). As we mentioned most of these findings apply to our local case study.

4.2.2 *Repair Cafe Stuttgart background*

Felix Hebler and Tobias Koßbiel are Repair Café Stuttgart's founders, which officially began on May, 2014 (Schieler, 2014). This initiative based in Stuttgart West had from its beginnings a clear community building and knowledge sharing mission. Such objectives allow us to classify it as an intangible urban common, since its emancipatory goal is not achieved through *reappropriation* of a public good, but through communication and knowledge sharing. It is then important to overview the known green and liberal neighborhood of Stuttgart West and *Repair Café Stuttgart's* mission, in order to understand its emergence.

Stuttgart West

Stuttgart West is one of the most vibrant districts of the city known for its liberal and growing young population. Stuttgart West is predominantly residential with a mix of commercial functions. The average inhabitant age is 40 years old and from 1990 to 2014 the group of people between 25 and 30 years old has grown 12% and the group between 30 and 45 years old has grown 24.7%. The group of people between the age of 75 and 85 has decay 22.9%. The total population is 51.250, from which 10.464 are foreigners and 18.052 have a migration background. When talking about family status 57.8% of Stuttgart West citizens are single and 48% have no religious affiliation. Politically a majority of the voting population, 31.1%, elected Green councils in 2014 (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2015 b). We can say then that the district has a rich mixture of conservative and growing liberal population. Hence it is interesting to point out that the majority of participants in RCS are between the age of 50 and 70 years old. Some of the factors could be that this group has more time to spend, are interested in knowing local people and repairing is part of their mind setup. Therefore, it is important to clarify that the growing critical and young population was observing how "*more and more shops are closing, that people are taking less and less responsibility for each other, that the West becomes more anonymous*" (Repaircafe.org, 2016). Consequently, a parallel objective is to generate a community meeting point.

4.2.3 Emergence

Sylvia Keck recalls the first meeting they held after a Facebook post written by Felix Hebler, a post that became the starting point. Which is a clear example of communication enabling new forms of trust and collaborative behavior. *“In this session we talked a lot about doing something, starting to become active, in contrast to just feeling helpless and powerless, which is a problem for many people in these days, because they feel sad and depress and the world has turned into such a bad place, and in my experience doing something actively is the only way to deal with this feeling of helplessness.”* This *“starting to become active”* has a lot to do with the *self-control* and *self-reproduction* mentioned by Hardt and Negri or the *community self-management* and *self-government* stated by De Angelis.

Mission

Hence it is vital to mention RCS’s main mission, which is established on its *Verein Werkstatt Stuttgart e.V.* statute (Werkstadt Stuttgart, 2014), *“The Association achieves its objectives in particular through the execution of events and provision of premises in support of the manufacture, modification and repair of objects and the promotion of a repair culture.”*

Most of the members interviewed were interested in participating because they felt identified with *“the promotion of a repair culture”*. It is also important to mention that although all members share this main goal, many of them have parallel objectives, whether it is community building, improving their learning skills, feeling part of a change, among others. Even though it does not consider itself a political group, the principles and values of this type of urban common stands for a very political idea. In the sense that through knowledge sharing they try to shift the and boldly influence the community’s mind set up. This knowledge sharing is achieved through the active participation and collaboration of citizens while being helped to repair their own good. We will now focus on its development.

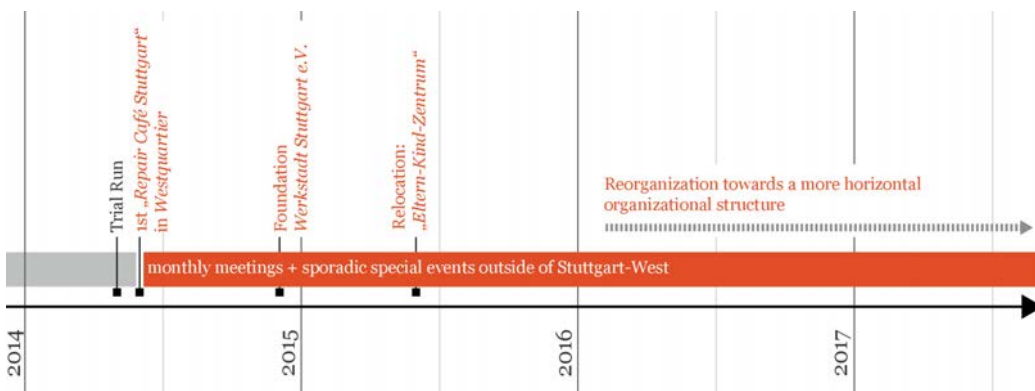


Fig. 06: Chronological development of Repair Café Stuttgart
Source: Mariana Lugo 2017

4.2.4 Development

“The feeling from the beginning was very active and motivating” (Dominik, B., 15.07.17, Interview).

After this first Facebook post the interested participants got together in a first meeting, followed by a trial run on April 27, 2014, as seen on figure 06. A month later, during which around two more coordinating sessions were held, on May 24, 2014, *Repair Café Stuttgart* officially started in *Westquartier* at Bismarckplatz on Elisabethenstraße 26. Since then almost every month a RCS session is held participating 10 to 15 members with a regular flow of approximately 30 citizens participating minimum. Hence it is important to further study vital factors for the successful or unsuccessful development of any urban common, such as its locations, financial and communication aspects, its organizational structure and its altruistic member’s behavior. As a development conclusion we will assessed its community impact.

Locations

The first RCS location, the *Westquartier*, is an initiative from Alexandra Stroessner and Anja Kittler (Kanter, 2013). A space for rent, refurbished by Stroessner, Kittler and friends, where the community can develop its own projects, such as workshops, dance lessons, yoga, business meetings, among other activities.

It is then interesting to know that one of RCS participants helped to renovate this space leading to *Westquartier* involvement. Around a year later the venue had not enough space to hold the amount of visitors, leading to RCS relocation to EKiZ. The latter is a private organization, *Eltern-Kind-Zentrum Stuttgart West e.V.*, located at the generation house from Rudolf Schmid and Hermann Schmid Foundation, which is administered by Stuttgart Municipality. EKiZ is a family support center for the West community, which offers courses, workshops, consultation, children supervision, among other activities related to parenthood and children. EKiZ finances come from donations, membership fees, sponsors and the subletting of its rooms on the weekends for events such as weddings or Repair Café sessions (EKiZ, 28.06.2017, Interview). Nevertheless as mentioned by Daniela Hettich, EKiZ mini Kindergarten coordinator, the rent fee for RC is lower as for other private events, such as weddings, which leads to some loss of a much needed income.

Financial

“An important challenge from the beginning for us, we wanted to do this without money, but we wanted also that it worked economically” (Bohling, M., 03.06.17, Interview).

Repair Café Stuttgart is able to operate based on donations that visitors do on each event, which basically pays the rent and some other supplies like coffee. Nevertheless it is important to recognize some of its sponsors and therefor local private partnerships such as *Westquartier* and EKiZ as location facilitators. PLATIS GmbH supported the website creation through one of RCS members (Merk, N. 03.06.17, Interview), as she recalls:

“I joined during the planning time, but I didn’t know what I could do, I can’t repair. So they need it someone to develop the website and that’s my theme, I work on screen design, and I know a little bit of programing. That way I could help by. I worked at that time in a little agency, which is social and sustainable oriented and I thought that we could join efforts. I asked my boss if I could develop the website during working hours, and in this way the agency would be a sponsor of Repair Café. So I had forty hours, a week to develop the website and logo.”

Other sponsors have been iFixit and DREMEL with tools donation and

Foodsharing, which supports the café with leftover bakery products. As we can see a persistent collaborative network is vital for this successful organization.

Communication

“Initially it was through the traditional newspaper and the local Stuttgarter Zeitung was reporting on us and then people spread the word and then as time pass by there were online magazines which published something and then of course we used Facebook. We also experimented with flyers. Sometimes word by word.” (Keck, S., 03.06.17, Interview)

Matthias Bohling mentioned how important press was for the diffusion of their *Repair Café*. Nevertheless it is important to recognize that many participants find out through contacts, citizens that already had an experience and would spread the word. Another important communicational aspect is the sporadic events realized in spaces outside of the local neighborhood, such as *Gerber*, the shopping center. In that order it is important to highlight that there is an important number of locals but there are also a lot of outsiders, citizens that do not live in West. Therefore the community that this type of intangible urban common attracts is disperse around the city and different districts, it is an expanding ideological community. On another hand the communication among the members of RCS seems to develop without any major obstacle, perhaps enabled by its horizontal structure, altruistic behavior and clear emancipatory goals.

Organizational structure

“At the beginning we didn’t have an organization, and it was good, we didn’t want to have a legal person. The only reason we founded the Verein was because of the insurance” (Bohling, M., 03.06.17, Interview).

As Matthias Bohling mentions RCS emerges as a self-organized group (Blacha, D., 15.07.17, Interview) adds that *“If we had a more rigid structure it would narrow down your motivation, because people just want to help, to be a part.”* In particular Daniel Hampf recalls that around 2016 the organizational structure changed, becoming more horizontal. *“I think is still in the process of opening up... I volunteer to help in the organization, with 2 other people, and now its opening even more and other people are helping and I find that very good, I*

like it very much that now the team is more involved.” (Hampf, D., 15.06.17, Interview) We can observe that in this active community each person has a role, a way to help, either as an event coordinator, receptionist, administrator, web designer, kitchen coordinator and repairing staff, among others. It is important to highlight that most of its organizational members are between 30 to 40 years old, but in general the RCS has a rich mixture of ages.

Although the idea of the *Verein* is in general rejected, Sylvia (03.06.17, Interview) expresses that *“we are still happy to have the Verein, because it reminds us of other things that we will like to tackle. All in this area of sustainable life style, maybe offer a workshop of how to recycle, reuse, upcycle, how to use the 3D printer, things that are related to the idea of repairing or reducing waste.”*

In that order one of the objectives of *Werkstadt Stuttgart e.V.*, constituted by December 2014, is to deepen into sustainable principles through knowledge sharing and therefor emancipation of education and of our economic system. One of the workshops already realized through this *Verein* was about self-made air pollution sensors, a very sensible topic in one of Germany’s most air polluted cities.

Altruistic behavior

“What is really important is the motivation ...this is voluntary work.” (Bohling, M., 03.06.17, Interview).

One of the main characteristic of urban commons is the altruistic behavior of its members. Matthias Bohling recognized that the first two years collaborating in RCS was equivalent as working a part time job. Such self-initiation of engagement without an immediate direct benefit other than willingness and eagerness to collaborate is vital. Yet a carefully maintained balance is also crucial. In the past three years around a hundred individuals have collaborated, from those, around forty are more or less active, out of which 10 to 15 members alternate attending the events. It is then clear that one of the challenges is the accountability and motivation of those members. But it is also relevant to mention that it is through this altruistic participation that trust among its members develops and further strengthens.

When being asked about time dedication, (Detel, W., 16.06.17, Interview)

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Fig. 07: Repair Café Stuttgart
Source: Repair Café Stuttgart, Facebook site



mentioned another important aspect from this RC. “*We have at least one extra meeting in the month besides, the event or we give support other groups ‘start help’, one to two days per month (in general).*” *Repair Café Stuttgart* is not the only *Repair Café* in the city but it is one of the most famous. Part of the altruistic work of this RC is to encourage and help other communities to create their own. Another important characteristic to consider is that many of its members are also involved in other self-organized projects.

4.2.5 Observed community impact

As we have mentioned this *Repair Café* is particularly known, especially because of its press coverage. Its impact is more visible on city scale than in a neighborhood scale. As (Hampf, D., 15.06.17, Interview) expresses, “*In the first location it was a little bit more of it, because is next to a plaza and there is an ice cream place and there is people, but since we moved, I don’t think we are connected to the community.*” There are some regulars citizens from the neighborhood, as some of the members have stated, but the strong neighborhood impact they had at the beginning, has due to its novelty and location diminished. Instead there are a lot of citizens participating from other districts as we have stated before. Another important aspect is that the activity itself develops in a short period of time over a good to repair. Therefore although it is a collaborative and productive activity that enables trust and getting to know people with same values, it does not produce a sense of belonging on the local community. In that order it is relevant to mention that most of the interviewed RCS members feel part of a community with in the RC, an ideological community, some of them creating friendships or acquaintances. It is important to highlight that the founders and other members live in West, but there are many members who do not live in this part of the city. What gives this group a sense of belonging is their common view on how our economic system and society should grow. Consequently as a *socio-cohesive* model it works more effectively within the group, expanding towards the city, than towards the local community.

Fig. 08: The local impact of Casa Schuetzenplatz
Adapted from: Ferdinando Iannone 2017



4.3 Casa Schuetzenplatz

4.3.1 Parklet movement

The idea of a *Parklet* started in San Francisco in 2005 when *Park(ing) day* was born. The simple action of paying a metered parking space for two hours, rolling a grass carpet, sitting down on a bench and inviting people to join was revolutionary (Routh, 2014). In that order an act of urban space reclamation for its citizens the “*Right to the city*”. In 2010 the first official *Parklet* is installed in San Francisco, designed by Suzi Bolognese, an Italian designer. Hence *Parklet*, as a *top-down* approach, is initiated by the city of San Francisco through the program *Pavement to Parks*. The idea behind it is to recover some of the land use by streets in San Francisco, around 25% of urban land, for the use of pedestrians. The program’s



goals are to: “reimagine the potential of city streets, encourage non-motorized transportation, enhance pedestrian safety and activities, foster neighborhood interaction and to support local business” (Pavementtoparks.org, 2017). The agencies involved in such program are *San Francisco Panning Department, The Department of Public Works and the Municipal Transportation Agency*, as well as the involvement of nonprofit partners. Hence NACTO defines Parklets as: “Parklets are public seating platforms that convert curbside parking spaces into vibrant community spaces. Also known as street seats or curbside seating, parklets are the product of a partnership between the city and local businesses, residents, or neighborhood associations” (Routh, 2014).

Hence, the collaborative top-down approach of *Parklet* is clear. Since its emergence this initiative has been replicated in several cities in the USA and worldwide, such as Sao Paulo, Cape Town and Stuttgart, among others. We will

now focus on *Casa Schuetzenplatz*, which is a tangible urban common developing from a *Parklet*.

4.3.2 *Casa Schuetzenplatz background*

Casa Schuetzenplatz e.V. (CS) emergence has a very interesting and complex story behind it. CS can be classified as a tangible urban common, since it rises from the *reappropriation* of a forgotten square, a space currently serving as a parking lot in the dense city of Stuttgart. Hence it is a clear example of an emancipative action. But this reappropriation has had several momentum and main actors in recent years, leading towards the creation of the *Verein Casa Schuetzenplatz*. We will now focus on the main aspects that have led to its formation, its neighborhood and its mission.

Stuttgart Mitte, Kernerviertel

CS is located in Stuttgart Mitte, specifically in Schuetzenplatz, in the neighborhood of Kernerviertel. Mitte is known as the political and economic center of the city. Kernerviertel is a rich mixture of mostly residential area with a relevant cultural, recreational, commercial and business sector. The total population is 5.577, from which 42.8% have a migration background, 4.48% are children under 6 years old and 10.9% are seniors above 65 years old. The average age in Kernerviertel is 37.6 years, which means that it has a young population. Around 51.7% have no religion affiliation or other than the predominant evangelic and catholic ones. Politically, in Mitte, a majority of the voting population, 28.7%, elected Green councils in 2014 (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2015 a). It is important to mention that an important part of Schlossgarten, specifically where the part of the project Stuttgart 21 is been developed is located in Kernerviertel. Hence the ecological and historical preservation issues affected directly this part of the city. It is difficult then to walk around the neighborhood and not see a sign against *Stuttgart 21* (S21). It is at this point where many of Kernerviertel's neighbors started relating to each other, in order to form a counter movement. This self-organized movement is represented by *Netzwerk Kernerviertel* (NK) under the umbrella of *Netzwerke 21*, which is a network formed by different districts affected by Stuttgart 21 construction.

4.3.3 Emergence

When talking about Casa Parklet (CP) “It developed a connection that actually was already there after Stuttgart 21. We actually got to know each other in Stuttgart 21. I almost didn’t know my neighbors for 30 years, and somehow after these protests of Stuttgart 21, where we were all affected, the result was that we knew each other” (Heidrun, E., 31.05.17, Interview).

As we have mentioned before, CS has an interesting and complex story with different momentums, as we can appreciate on figure 09. The initial one develops around S21, the first neighborhood network emerges as a reaction to a common problem. The second momentum happens around 2015 when the city was about to approve the redesign of Schuetzenplatz, the square, a project that began in 2001, without a participative process. By the time the neighbors approach Stuttgart’s municipality with some alternatives for the square’s redesign, the city’s project a rotunda, was about to be approved, therefore eliminating the possibility of quality public space. The neighbors organized themselves through flyers and got together on the square.

“The idea in this meeting was to clarify that the parking lots would go away anyways, there were just two options, to get the rotary as the city was suggesting or to have the possibility of getting a place for the neighborhood. After that meeting the neighborhood decided with a clear majority that they wanted a public space.” (Neugebauer, G., 01, 06,17, Interview)

The third momentum is *Casa Parklet’s* intervention. CP is a university project realized by Jesus Martinez under the program *Parklet fuer Stuttgart* (Parklet for Stuttgart, PS). PS is an initiative of *Reallabor für nachhaltige Mobilitätskultur* (RNM) through its real experiment projects. RNM is a program foster by the Ministry of Science, Research and Arts in association with the University of Stuttgart. The aim of RNM is the development of sustainable mobility culture through the introduction of real experiments in the city. Other partners were *The City of Stuttgart*, as a cooperative one and *Theater Rampe*, as a private partnership. Hence the program has a top-down approach, but in a community that had been already self-organized in recent years.

CP has developed in four different phases. The first one, assigned by the university

program PS, lasted from June 20 to September 16, 2016. The CP was installed occupying two parking lots of Schuetzenplatz southern part. The interaction with the community on this first phase was progressive. At the beginning critical, questioning this blue structure resembling a house, taking away their parking spaces, but also interested in the idea that there could be more than parking lots. At the end people were getting to know each other more, friendships started and the idea of a meeting point was introduced into the surrounding community of Schuetzenplatz. It is important to mention that during this phase different urban commons and initiatives such as *Kulturinsel* and *Lastenrad* supported the CP. The second phase begins on September 16 and ends on October 29, 2016. In accordance to the neighborhood wishes the municipality granted a permission that allowed CP to stay during this period of time. The third phase begins on October 30, 2016 and ends on January 22, 2017. During this phase CP had been uninstalled due to security and weather conditions and the meeting point shifted to a basement next to CP last location on Kernerstrasse 45. Hence the community was more organized and wanted to develop further Schuetzenplatz design and the reactivation of Kernerviertel's neighborhood. It is then when the Verein CS e.V. emerges on January 26, 2017 with a leader Franz Schweizer, who is also one of NK representatives. The fourth phase of CP started on April and will end on September 2017. This fourth phase has a more academic approach. The CP was reinstalled but on the northern part of Schuetzenplatz, where the future square will developed. The activities surrounding the first three phases encouraged community building through brunches, cultural events and community workshops, suggested by its main actor Jesus Martinez but progressively involving community ideas and leaders such as leader Franz Schweizer. The fourth phase of CP runs along the CS development, therefore the community building activities are or should be developed by the CS. In that order the activities developed by CP are oriented towards academics with an important but temporary flow of students which also fosters community building. It is then important to identify that once the CP academic intervention finishes it will generate a void. Hence CS future will depend on the development of strong communicational structures and financial strategies in order to spread its mission.

Mission

“I think there is a necessity of the Verein in the neighborhood, or so social infrastructure, and because there is a need, there is a future.” (Heynold, J.,

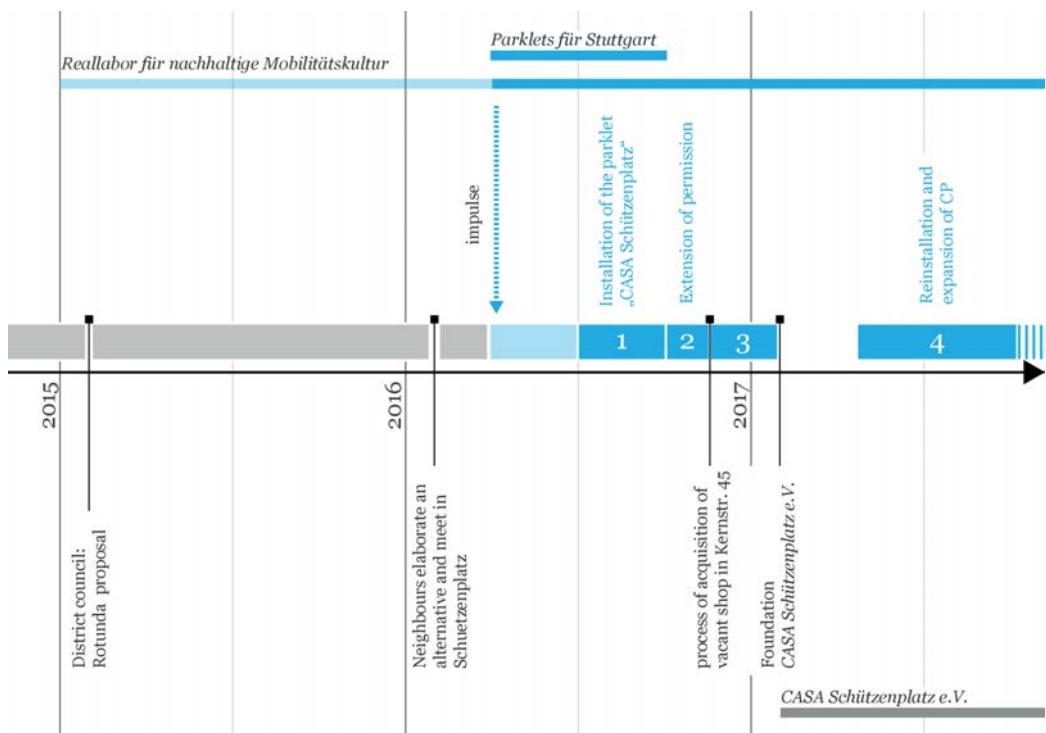


Fig. 09: Chronological development of CASA Schuetzenplatz
Source: Mariana Lugo 2017

31.05.17, Interview)

The mission of CS as stated is *“We all live in Kernerviertel and we want to live a good life here. We have the opportunity to meet openly and to actively use the urban space. Together we realize events, shape the district, offer help to one another and create an exchange opportunity.”*

Although each member has different objectives we can say they all agree on the reactivation of the community, in this case, through the *reappropriation* of a public good. Therefore we can classify it as a tangible urban common. We will now focus on the recent development of the CS.

4.3.4 Development

“The university helped a lot. ... I think we wouldn’t have come so far without the students. Also when there are young people, than other young people join”

(Heidrun, E., 31.05.17, Interview).

Although this particular community had a recent self-organized history, the top-down approach implemented through the university has led to its evolvement. We will now focus on the factors that are taking part on its development such as locations, financial and communication aspects, its organizational structure and its altruistic member's behavior. It is then important to understand that it is an urban common still in process; it has not consolidated yet. Nevertheless there is a Verein formed and whether sufficient or not there is already a community impact.

Locations

“If we don't have this CASA space (the shop), that would be really bad for our Verein, we need to make an effort to keep this space and we need to pay it, and for that we need an income, and that is an important problem that we need to solve” (Krueger, A., 31.05.17, Interview).

As we have mentioned before the locations of CP have change over time on the square Schuetzenplatz. It was this blue semi-house structure that awoke the neighborhood generating a meeting point on what should be a public square. But an important location for the CS formation has been the basement (the shop) of on Kernerstrasse 45. Without this meeting point during winter time the Verein formation would have been probably jeopardize. This space works as meeting point and events enabler. But the Verein has to pay a monthly fee which is too high for its donation and membership based income, as we will study consequently.

Financial

“We have the founding member, which pay a fee and of course we want more members and of course the donations from the people. But it is uncertain ... it would be a more solid base when if we had more members” (Krueger, A., 31.05.17, Interview).

It is important to mention that CP, as a university project was public founded with a private partnership. Currently the CS main income is its annual membership fee which amounts up to 60 euros per person, a relatively high fee for a non-

profit organization. The donations, although can be significant, but as Angelika explains it, fluctuate and therefor generate uncertainty. Their financial structure is still on development and they are considering private partnerships in order to sustain themselves.

Communication

“I think ultimately the contact with other people gives such a quality of life, that you cannot buy.... So I’m developing cheap ways, like festivals and communication to get in touch with others. The great thing is that I’ve been living in Stuttgart for 2 years now, and since I’m part of this project I actually enjoy Stuttgart, because I see actually how much is going on. I see that there are actually people who formed the city” (Heynold, J., 31.05.17, Interview)

The main communication tool has been Facebook and the events on the square. Some newspapers have given coverage on the first CP phase. The use of flyers which could be a local strategy, proven effective when the neighborhood got together for the square’s redesign in 2015, hasn’t been totally exploited yet. On the other hand the communication among its members seems to face some obstacles, but we can attribute such problems to its recent emergence and developing structure.

Organizational structure

“The initiator was Mr. Schweizer with the idea that we needed more social cohesion.” (Heidrun, E., 31.05.17, Interview).

In any emerging organization, the leaders such as Franz Schweizer and Jesus Martinez, have an important role on its formation. We can attribute the more hierarchical structure of this urban common to its recent emergence, but in order to develop as an emancipatory space it is important its horizontal development. It is therefore relevant to mention that most of its members, formally 8 members, are in the range of 50 to 70 years old. In that order the members have expressed their desire that through the university partnership they will gain more members of a younger generation, such as was the case of one of its current members.

Altruistic behavior

The members involved in CS share an altruistic behavior with clear community activation and building goal. Such behavior is tangible on the work and organization of several events with the ultimate goal of neighborhood reactivation. But it seems to be that the *Verein* figure and its costs are not helping its further development. Nevertheless we can't deny an important community impact which we will further develop.

4.3.5 Observed community impact

"The people that came to the Parklet were always the same 5 -6 people. It was beautiful. These are persons who are interested in urban planning and design, that see the city as a place to live and not only as a place to pass by. But we didn't see or heard anything from the majority" (Neugebauer, G., 01.06.17, Interview).

Although as Gilbert mentions it, there is not a tangible neighborhood scale impact, but he also believes that the CP has led its traces. Some of them can be seen on interactions among Schuetzenplatz surrounding neighbors. For example Gerd Becker and partner and their local neighbor Renate Wolf have started to share cars and flats among each other. In that order Gilbert concludes that: *"Maybe in the next generation we will see completely different. We have to see far into the future. Social changes need a lot of time."* (Neugebauer, G., 01.06.17, Interview).

Ewe Heidrun adds an important perception; she believes that a growing young generation is coming to this neighborhood, which could help the project's growth and evolution.

Meanwhile Gerd Becker describes the accomplishments of CP:

"There are now neighbors who had only seen themselves on the way to their work day over the square, passers-by took a rest, young and old came into conversation, one enjoyed the summer weather with a drink brought from home and when rain came the conversation continued in one of the apartments, which until then had been known only from the outside." He then concludes: *"Tangible results, which point to the future of a city according to human standards!"* (Becker, G., 21.06.17, Interview).

4. STUTTGART URBAN COMMONS



Fig. 10: Casa Schuetzenplatz
Source: Casa Schuetzenplatz, Facebook site

In that order it is important to highlight that although the impact of this tangible urban common hasn't spread so far in a big scale through its local community, there are some important and strong interactions growing among their members. This small but significant impact has high possibilities of growing in such an altruistic and critical growing society.

4.4 Similarities and differences between *Repair Cafe Stuttgart* and *Casa Schuetzenplatz*

It is important to highlight, as already mentioned, that the research's aim is not to establish a comparison study between both cases. Nevertheless it is important to understand the differences and similarities that such initiatives have with the objective of identifying patterns that could support a *socio-cohesive* paradigm. In that order we recognize some fundamental aspects were such cases differ from each other as we will observe consequently:

	<i>Repair Café Stuttgart</i>	<i>Casa Schuetzenplatz</i>
<i>Type of common</i>	Intangible	Tangible
<i>Active time</i>	3 years	½ year
<i>Impact scale</i>	Neighborhood - City	Neighborhood
<i>Emergence approach</i>	Top-down	Bottom-up
<i>Partnerships</i>	Mainly private	Mainly public
<i>Structure</i>	Horizontal	Tendency to hierarchical
<i>Number of active members</i>	Around 40	8
<i>Mission</i>	Change of community mind setup towards sustainable life.	Community reactivation through active public space.
<i>Target group</i>	Critical citizens	Critical neighbors
<i>Main activities</i>	Collaborative activity	Sharing activities

Table 01: Similarities and differences between *Repair Café Stuttgart* and *Casa Schuetzenplatz*
Source: Mariana Lugo 2017

As we can appreciate RCS and CS differ, not only as a type of urban common, but also in their fundamental structure, mission, scale and strategies. Some of such differences can be attributed to their urban common type, such as the impact scale and mission, since RCS arises from a global movement with a clear communicational and knowledge sharing structure. CS in that order rises from a specific misused local public good. Other differences, like structure and number of active members, can be endorsed to their active time difference, RCS is more consolidated compare to the young CS. The differences between their strategic aspects such as partnerships and main activities could become an important example for their improvement or development. Since the public partnership through the university is coming to an end it will be interesting considering a private-partnership or the implementation of a collaborative activity shared by the neighborhood. RCS could develop further their *Werkstadt Stuttgart e.V.* projects with a more local approach in order to have a bigger impact on their local community if desired.

The similarities among these urban commons have to do more with the challenges faced, their community impact, their altruistic behavior and emancipatory mission. Both organizations expressed their concern when talking about location, financial and communicational aspects. RCS has a fixed venue, but has mentioned that other *Repair cafes* haven't been able to emerge due to the lack of a space, in that order some of their members suggest the importance of the municipality's support. In the case of CS, although they also have a fixed space, such location comes with a high cost, which is financially problematic. Both urban commons face communication challenges with their local community, mainly due to their active time and target group. For example RCS active community communication developed at its emergence when their location was more central, but since it has decline. On another hand CS target group so far are critical citizens against the use of cars and pro public space, which of course is not a vision necessarily share by neighborhood's majority. Although both commons have a relative local impact, due either to their active time or target group, their altruistic behavior could become a key multiplier attribute. It is then vital to rescue their emancipatory mission, that although emerging from different resources and develop through different activities generate in both cases trust structures and a sense of belonging, as we will further discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Urban commons as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm

“A potentially liberating city can be conceived not as an agglomerate of liberated spaces but as a network of passages, as a network of spaces belonging to nobody and everybody at the same time, which are not defined by a fixed-power geometry but are open to a constant process of (re)definition” (Angelis & Stravrides, 2010).

The current chapter reviews the findings of our urban commons case studies and the problematic posed by their scarce vertical interactions, as a balanced *socio-cohesive* paradigm. In that order we will analyze two types of emerging urban governance that embrace the urban commons movement, leading us to the possible mediator and collaborative role of the public. Consequently, crystallizing a balanced *socio-cohesive* paradigm based on the urban commons phenomenon. Hence, we will conclude with our learned lessons, recommendations and research reflection.

5.1 An overview of *Repair Cafe Stuttgart* and *Casa Schuetzenplatz* possibilities and challenges as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm

“I think it is much better when you help one another and you are there for the other. I think the society profits strongly from this” (Bohling, M., 03.06.17, Interview).

Most of the members interviewed in RCS and CS believe that social cohesion is vital for society’s welfare, but in that order they don’t appreciate a strong social cohesion within Stuttgart. It is then important to turn into our definition of social cohesion and its defining factors; trust, a sense of belonging and an altruistic behavior in order to established their possibilities and challenges as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm.

Trust

As we have seen in RCS, the altruistic interactions among its members generate trust among each other this value is to some extent transferred to the citizens through its collaborative participation. Therefor the main trust enablers are the collaborative activity, its horizontal structure and their emancipatory mission. In the case of, CS the strategies that have generated trust among its members are sharing activities and a common urban policy vision. Although both urban

commons develop an emancipatory discourse the main difference lies on their approach. RCS's sustainability message is delivered by the collaborative activity of repairing, which attracts a broader public and tackles politically our current productive system. On the other hand CS's anti-automobile and pro-public space discourse attracts a narrower public and tackles not only institutions but also local neighbors. In both cases the local impact scale seems to be small. We can attribute such impact on the case of RCS to its more expanding city target. It is then important to mention that although its local impact seems to be small; its city wise impact can be tangible in the existence of other *Repair Cafes*. Despite CS's small impact, so far we can attribute it to its recent emergence and to its anti-automobile discourse. Therefore, we can agree that both urban commons generate trust structures among their members and a relative impact towards its local community.

A sense of belonging

It is probably one of the most challenging aspects of social cohesion in our contemporary individualistic world. Nevertheless, as we have mentioned before most of the members of both urban commons feel part of a community within these initiatives. Such feeling can be attributed to their common goal, shared vision and principles. In that order we can agree that they become idealistic communities, therefore their sense of belonging is not necessarily attach to a certain locality, but to a vision. The essence of their existence is an idea of how urban life should develop. Hereby, CS case study main mission is the neighborhood's life reactivation through the use of this public good. The public good is then the medium not the end product. But then we have to agree that CS has better possibilities, since it is a local initiative, to develop a stronger neighborhood sense of belonging than RCS. In the case of RCS it is important to highlight the enabler factor of the region and therefore the culture we are in. Although Germany is nowadays one of the developed and rich countries of the world, not so far away it suffered economic depression and two worldwide wars. Austerity is still part of the elderly generation culture and particularly in the south regions of Germany. It is then part of this culture an anti-overconsumption ideology facilitating an identity with the values posed by RCS, therefore becoming part of this idealistic community.

Altruistic behavior

The development of such urban commons couldn't be possible without a strong altruistic behavior from their members. This *willingness to participate and help* without a direct benefit is the essence of such organizations. It enables trust among its members and therefor encourages a sense of belonging to a community with shared values. The challenge of these urban commons, is to keep the motivation of its members. It is important then to be able to appreciate their positive outcomes. In the case of RCS we can see such outcomes through RC replicability and through the immediate satisfaction of citizens when their good has been repair, which encourages members' participation. In the case of CS the positive outcome is the addition of new neighbors' members. But with that regard, CS faces some problems mainly due to its high membership fee, and more formal *Verein* structure. Such structure, which is not that present in RCS, creates an obstacle for the development of altruistic behavior. Participation is seen then more of an obligation or responsibility than an act of willingness.

We could also see the emergence of urban commons as a manifestation of social cohesion in some sectors of society, sectors with an emancipatory vision. But in order to become a balanced *socio-cohesive* paradigm it seems to be important the involvement of all sectors. So far as we have seen the vertical interactions are punctual. In the case of RCS there are practically no vertical interactions, indirectly through the use of EKIZ building. In the case of CS those interactions were stronger on CP phases, they are still important through the continued university collaboration, which will vanish at some point. Hence it is important to focus on the institutional role. Such a relation is starting to develop in other cities, which we will review in the following section and gives us a prospect of a balanced *socio-cohesive* paradigm.

5.2 The institutional role

“We are asking that our selves. I think we are still searching for our role. I think in our department we have this function to search for the dialogue, to capture these ideas, in some way to integrate them into our policies, which of course is decided by the municipal council, but what is very important is the dialogue to get this approach (with the civic society) and see the new ideas. The big question is: ‘How do we integrate them into our projects, in our processes?’

And that's a challenge" (Daude, P., 14.06.17 Interview). Strategic Planning and Sustainable Mobility, Mobility Department, City of Stuttgart, commenting on Stuttgart Municipality role.

When talking about the terms of *Public and Common(s)* Prof. Martin explores them through Arendt, Habermas, Hardt and Negri works on philosophical level. Consequently, Reinhold tries to unravel how we consider the collective space nowadays. Arendt considers the modern state characterized by a '*managerial behavior*' compared to the classical concept of public. But in a 'real' democratic city Arendt poses that "*the reality of the public realm relies on the simultaneous presence of innumerable perspectives and aspects in which the common world presents itself*" (Martin, 2013). Habermas associates the '*common world*' with what he calls the '*bourgeois public sphere*' where individuals communicate, a space where *public opinion* is conceived. In that sense Hardt and Negri posed, as we have already mentioned, that public and private work together towards the establishment of capital order. Instead they recognize in the *multitude* a productive movement. "*The new phenomenology of the labor of the multitude reveals labor as the fundamental creative activity that through cooperation goes beyond any obstacle imposed on it and constantly re-creates the world.*" (Hardt & Negri, 2000) This multitude works towards the production of commons goods and knowledge achieved through communication. Hence the meaning of the public loses its relevance. This new phenomenon is participative by being productive through cooperation as we have seen in our case studies. Nevertheless, Reinhold away from the philosophical discourse describes the state as a '*medium*'; a complex institutional arrangement that allows advancement. Reinhold questions the identity of the communicator or mediator in Hardt and Negri's work, suggesting that the public, with its infrastructure, could become the media system (Martin, 2013). The relevance of Reinhold's philosophical analysis on the Public and Common(s) is that by questioning the role of the public in our collective space gives us a possible answer through its future role as mediator. Foster & Iaione rescue the public's regulator role when questioning the effects of sharing and commoning, negotiations between the collective realm and possible privatization of public goods are essential. "*The issue is not consumption of an open-access resource which results in either negative or positive spillovers. Rather, it is a question of distribution and, specifically, of how best to "share" the finite resources of the city among a variety of users and uses*" (2016). In that order Foster & Iaione recognize two types of cities governance that are working

with urban commons, creating the sharing city and the collaborative city.

The Sharing City

Seoul is an interesting example of new forms of governance. The capital of South Korea has a population of 9.914.381 and a metropolitan population of 25.600.000. It is the largest city of South Korea and one of the 20 largest cities in the world with a density five times than of New York City. Its main economic activities are technology and electronic industries, as well as an important finance and commerce hub for its regions. Seoul has relevant traffic, pollution, and infrastructure as well as housing problems. With such a scenario Park Won-soon, Seoul's mayor known politically as a human rights activist, implemented since 2012 "*The Sharing City Seoul*" project (Guerrini, 2014). The project's aim is to promote and encourage sharing activities among citizens. Accordingly, the government has invested in digital and physical infrastructure with sharing purposes. It encourages the emergence of sharing startups and offers public goods for sharing activities. An important factor for the development of this sharing paradigm is the country's broadband penetration of 97.5 percent of its population. Some of the outcomes are startups such as Kozaza, home sharing platform, SOCAR, a car sharing platform and Zipbob, a meal sharing platform. Also around 779 public buildings have been used by the citizens for events or meetings purposes (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). It is then important to highlight that sharing is not a new concept for South Koreans; in fact an important characteristic of their culture is expressed in the concept of *jeong*.

"Jeong is especially used to describe the action of giving [a] small, gratuitous gift__ such action is full of jeong. A particularly close neighborhood is described as full of jeong, in which the neighbors act in a way that displays jeong__ i.e., helping out and being nice to each other" (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

This culture of helping one another is then being rescued by the government in difficult times. Another important strategy used by the government has a participative approach adding to the sharing paradigm a co-governance model through the implementation of a participatory budget.

"The city is directing some of its budget in line with citizen input: its Residents' Participatory Budgeting System provided Seoul citizens with the opportunity to direct spending of 50 billion won (approximately \$47 million) in 2013 to fund projects that were democratically decided upon" (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

It is therefore important to summarize “*The Sharing City Seoul*” project’s crucial aspects and strategies. The project has an important IT infrastructure which enables the emergence of startups, based on share economy, citizen participation and management of public goods by the citizens. We could classify as we previously discussed in Chapter II, some of these startups as collaborative economy. Nevertheless it is important to highlight that the development of the project, which is of course a *top-down* approach, is enabled by a strong public-private partnership. The most recent and important aspect of Seoul’s governance development is the use of a participatory budget, in that order a further step towards the democratization of public goods and services. But such model has a more managerial approach. Therefore it is not the manifestation of an emancipatory collective space but of a policy. We have then to turn to our *bottom-up* approach collaborative city.

The Collaborative City

Bologna the capital of the Emilia-Romagna a region on northern Italy has an urban population of 388.257 and a metropolitan population of 1.007.644 (Comune di Bologna, 2016). Its main economic activity is its railway and motorway industry. The urban commons phenomenon started in 2011 when a group of women were unable to donate benches to their local park due to legal issues. It was prohibit citizen collaboration on urban improvements. In 2014 the city of Bologna started implementing the “*Bologna Regulation on public collaboration between citizens and the city for the care and regeneration of urban commons.*” A legal framework for the encouragement of urban commons and proper use of public goods and services, drafted with the help of Laboratory for the Governance of Commons (Labgov.it, 2017). The importance of such legal framework is that not only answers questions posed on property and governance rights, but it also rescues the regulator role of the public. A regulator role that is not seen as an authority but as a mediator and coordinator, such as the one Reinhold envisions. Bollier explains this ‘*collaborative social ecosystem*’:

“It starts by regarding the city as a collaborative social ecosystem. Instead of seeing the city simply as an inventory of resources to be administered by politicians and bureaucratic experts, the Bologna Regulation sees the city’s residents as resourceful, imaginative agents in their own right” (Bollier, 2015).

In that order Foster & Iaione recognize in such system, networks, actions and initiatives independent but in communication with local government resembling a polycentric system. A system already suggested by Ostrom, Harvey and Bollier, among others. Hence an important aspect is its co-creation attribute, where vertical and horizontal interactions work together for the common good through knowledge and resource sharing. By doing so it supports the emergence of pioneering policies that could tackle the social and economic inequality characteristic of our current urban development (Foster & Iaione, 2016).

The methodology developed in this collaborative city is divided in three phases, mapping, experimenting and prototyping. The first phase aims to understand the context's situation and problematics. The second phase aims to create the vertical interactions among the emerging urban commons, the government and other stakeholders. The third phase aims to transform the experimentation phase outcomes into a new governance prototype, in the form of guidelines or legal frameworks. *“This process of democratic experimentalism re-conceptualizes urban governance along the same lines as the right to the city, creating a juridical framework for city rights”* (Foster & Iaione, 2016). The *“Bologna Regulation on public collaboration between citizens and the city for the care and regeneration of urban commons”* is the result of such collaborative paradigm. It is important to clarify that the definition of urban commons in this legal framework focuses as urban resource, differing from our proposed definition as we already mentioned. Nevertheless it is important to appreciate the governing body's involvement through such legal framework, which establishes regulations on urban resources, communication and procedures.

Since its implementation 260 projects have been created. Some of those projects besides urban gardens, temporary use of abandoned buildings and interventions focus on the refurbishment of public goods, such as the non-profit painting crew *Lawyers at Work* (Gorenflo, 2015). The aim of the latter initiative is to rescue buildings from graffiti interventions. A movement that started from a group of women with an altruistic behavior has developed a collaborative governance paradigm through urban commons.

All in all some of the collaborative paradigm defining aspects are important to note. It differs first of all, from the sharing paradigm as implemented in Seoul, on its *bottom-up* approach emergence. Hence it encourages the development of initiatives that manage and preserve urban resources by working along with the

government in order to develop a legal framework. Therefore generating a more democratic and open governance. Some other differences may be attributed on urban scale or cultural characteristics. The sharing paradigm with its digital, share and collaborative economy foundations apply perfectly to a metropolis where individualization processes are stronger than in cities such as Bologna. In such cities a face to face interaction is still part of their culture. Hence, the regulatory and legal frameworks are developed with citizen's collaboration. Both paradigms though make use of public-private partnerships. Perhaps it is more evident in Seoul's case due to the project's scale and sharing economy startups foundation, but in a smaller scale there is local and regional private stakeholders' participation. It is also important to rescue that both paradigm encourage inclusive social and economic systems through co-production and a more open, horizontal and participative mechanisms of government.

Stuttgart's Municipality is still finding its way around the topic of urban commons, as Daude mentioned. Hence as he believes, it is a phenomenon that does not seem to be temporary, instead it is growing. Therefore, it is important to learn from the strategies that such new kinds of governances implement. In that order we have to agree that the emergence of the collaborative city from urban commons with its *bottom-up* approach correlates more to Stuttgart's context and emancipatory movement.

5.3 Lessons learned and recommendations

“To think of space in the form of the commons means not to focus on its quantity, but to see it as a form of social relationality providing the ground for social encounters. I tend to see this kind of experiencing-with and creation of space as the prospect of the “city of thresholds.”” (Angelis & Stravrides 2010, p. 16)

In conclusion our attempt to establish urban commons relationship as a possible *socio-cohesive* paradigm is in a way an attempt to understand or envision a better city. Hence a city that emerges from an active citizenship through a more sustainable and inclusive socio-economic system. The spatial implications of such a paradigm would require further study. Nevertheless it is important to highlight our findings.

In that order we have established the imbalance of our society's social cohesion.

This imbalance between the horizontal and vertical interactions of society's members is encouraged on one hand by our predominant socio-economic system and on the other hand by our digital attributes. Hence urban commons are the manifestation of an emancipatory movement that strengthens the horizontal interactions among members of society but not the vertical ones unless its emergence has a *top-down* approach. CS is a good example of such public intervention.

The *socio-cohesive* attributes of urban commons are appreciated in the case of RCS as a self-organized collective with its horizontal and inclusive structure, emancipatory discourse, altruistic behavior and communication based emergence. Hence, as we have been able to observe both cases generate trust structures and a sense of belonging among their members with relative impact on their local community. We can attribute such impact in the CS case to its recent emergence, and in the case of RCS its expanding strategies seem to be important than a local community impact.

The government's involvement on urban commons' development, in the sense of improving its vertical interactions, has created a new kind of governance. The collaborative city crystallizes the *socio-cohesive* paradigm of urban commons counteracting the predominant city's paradigm of fragmentation.

"The study of commons institutions represents a fundamental transformation in the way we think about urban law and governance, and perhaps sheds new light on burgeoning forms of democratic experimentalism" (Foster & Iaione, 2016).

In that sense we believe that the current phenomenon of urban commons in Stuttgart will endure and develop. Hence the public institutions active involvement is important, not only to develop a more cohesive society but also a healthier and collaborative one, where citizens feel entitled and emancipated.

5.4 Further research and reflection

The research focuses on the complex study of urban commons and their attributes as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm. Hence there are several topics to be thoroughly studied such as an urban commons and urban resources type's classification. In that order it would be interesting to measure the social cohesion such types generate and also their specific spatial urban implications. The current research is a descriptive a theoretical introduction. Therefore in order to establish if urban

commons could become a *socio-cohesive* paradigm it would be important to develop a quantitative research. Such research should be also developed based on the urban commons classification study in cities with developed collaborative governance. Hence it will be important to study carefully these types of new governance with developed collaborative governance. Hence it will be important to study carefully these types of new governance.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

As we have seen our predominant socio-economic system with its deregulation and privatization has led to the emergence of an anti-capitalist movement, which relies on the communicational attributes of our digital era. The characteristics being raised by our digital era, such as micro, bottom-up, decentralized, flowing and personal are represented in our emerging sharing and collaborative economic systems. (Botsman, 2015) The conjunction between these digital era's features and the capital order, as explained by Hardt & Negri, have led to the collapse of institutional trust, as posed by Botsman. This shift in the conception of trust is creating a significant change on our chosen definition of social cohesion, by strengthening the horizontal interactions among members of society over the vertical interactions, therefore enabling the emergence of urban commons as an emancipatory movement. The urban commons then posed several questions, not only on our socio-economic systems, urban resources legal framework, but also on the role of the public.

On our proposed definition of urban commons as a collective space where through commoning the collectivity emancipates the resources and itself, we identify two types of urban commons. These types of urban commons are the intangibles and tangible. The latter emerges from a tangible urban resource such as a public good and can have intangible outcomes, such as community building or a tangible outcome such as the preservation of the public good. The intangible urban common emerges from the communicational attributes of our era and carries its emancipatory mission through knowledge sharing, for example. Both types of urban commons can differ also on scale impact. In that order it is important to highlight the attributes of urban commons for a *socio-cohesive* paradigm. Urban commons create trust structures through its horizontal and communicative organization and altruistic behavior of its members. Hence they generate a sense of belonging through their emancipatory mission, creating idealistic communities. As we have mentioned some of their challenges emerge as they develop into multi-scalar organizations and when becoming more hierarchical. Furthermore such changes will result in developing communication problems and resources misuse or privatization. Therefore some of the important questions on the success of urban commons rely on methods of governance and its vertical interactions.

We were able to perceive urban commons possibilities as a *socio-cohesive* paradigm on our case studies. Although they differ in type of common, time

of being active, targeted scale of impact, emergence, approach, partnerships, structure, mission and strategies, we can affirm based on our observation that both commons have similar community influence. Adding up we can also sustain that both commons generate trust structures among its members, through an active altruistic behavior and both generate a sense of belonging through its emancipatory mission. Nevertheless most of these interactions take place on the horizontal level as we have seen. Hence it was important to focus on the institutional role and vertical interactions that are developing in other cities. Hereby creating new types of governance founded in the *socio-cohesive* paradigm of urban commons and share economy. We were able to appreciate such models in the sharing city of Seoul and the collaborative one of Bologna. In that order it was important to appreciate their different approaches as cooperative governance.

In conclusion, we believe that it is difficult to encourage the City of Stuttgart's governance to undertake one of those paradigms due to cultural, political and economic issues. But it will be relevant to learn from such cities some of their strategies. In that order we can appreciate that Stuttgart has been implementing Seoul's participatory budget. But as we have already specified in the difference between both models, the movement of urban commons has a bottom-up approach. Consequently, the crystallization of the *socio-cohesive* paradigm of urban commons in all levels of interaction is the collaborative city, which counteracts our city's current paradigm of fragmentation. Therefore it will be important to revise thoroughly Bologna's collaborative paradigm which enhances vertical interactions in a more similar scale and form as the one needed in Stuttgart.

All in all it is important to conclude that, taking on account the research's limitation as already mentioned, this research aims an approximation to the complex topic of urban commons phenomenon. Therefore the relevance of it relies on the questions which open other thoroughly studies, such as urban commons different types and urban resources type's classification, their different spatial urban implications or the spectrum of new kinds of governance.

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التماسك الاجتماعي والمساحات الجماعية

المساحات الجماعية كنموذج للتماسك الاجتماعي: دراسة حالة المساحات الجماعية في شتوتغارت، مقهى تصليح الأجهزة في شتوتغارت وكازا شوتزينبلاتز

في عالم تشترك فيه الثقافات وتزيد فيه التباينات، أصبح التماسك الاجتماعي أمر حيوي لرفاهة العيش. فأصبح أداء المدينة الجيد مرتبطاً بإحساس مواطنيها بالانتماء على أساس شبكة إجتماعية معقدة مبنية على الثقة: مع ذلك، تتغير نظاراتنا وممارستنا للثقة مع تأثير العصر الرقمي على أنظمتنا. فمع تطور مفهوم الثقة تبدلت معه مفاهيم التماسك الاجتماعي. في هذا السياق، أصبح من الممكن أن تتطور أنظمة التماسك الاجتماعي إلى نظام مبني على المشاريع المجتمعية ومشاركة الأهداف كالمساحات الجماعية على سبيل المثال. من هنا، يصبح أسس مدينة المستقبل المبنية على التماسك الاجتماعي، موزعاً على عدّة شبكات قادرة على توليد تفاعلات أفقية متينة وعلى خلق احتمالات عمودية، بالتالي إلى نظام يقوض النمط التشتتي.

في هذا السياق، يدرس هذا البحث ظاهرة المساحات الجماعية المعقدة، ودورها في مدن المستقبل. إنّ هدف هذا البحث يكمن في إستيعاب وفهم احتمالات وجود المساحات الاجتماعية كنموذج للتماسك الاجتماعي والآثار المترتبة على نظام التطور المدني الحالي.

بناء على ذلك، سوف يدرس هذا البحث، مساحتين جماعيتين في مدينة شتوتغارت ذات المجتمع الديناميكي وهما مقهى تصليح الأجهزة وكازا شوتزينبلاتز. سوف تقدم النتائج الملموسة والغير الملموسة لدراسات هاتين الحاليتين نقاط الاختلاف والتشابه التي سوف تسمح لنا بفهم احتمالات وجود المساحات الاجتماعية كنظام تماسك إجتماعي. بالتالي، سيتم التركيز على التفاعلات العمودية الهشّة، التي سنقودنا لدراسة أنواع ناشئة من الحوكمة التعاونية، المبنية على نموذج المساحات المجتمعية التحرري.

كلمات المفتاح: المدينة التعاونية، الاقتصاد التعاوني، المساحات المجتمعية، العام، الاقتصاد المشترك، المدينة المشتركة، التماسك الاجتماعي

إقرار

هذه الرسالة مقدمة في جامعة عين شمس وجامعة شوتجارت للحصول على درجة العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام. إن العمل الذي تحويه هذه الرسالة قد تم إنجازه بمعرفة الباحث سنة ...

هذا ويقر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الأسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخوذه من المراجع العلمية كل في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة..

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،

التوقيع:

الباحث:

التاريخ: /

التماسك الاجتماعي والمساحات الجماعية

المساحات الجماعية كنموذج للتماسك الاجتماعي: دراسة حالة المساحات

الجماعية في شتوتغارت، مقهى تصليح الأجهزة وكازا شوتزينبلاتز
مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

إعداد: مريانا ديل روزاريو لوغو غونزالس

لجنة أشرف

أ.د/ محمد عبد الكريم صالحين

أستاذ التخطيط والتصميم المتكامل

جامعة عين شمس

أ.د/ أستريد لاي

أستاذة التصميم والتخطيط العمراني

جامعة شتوتغارت

لجنة الحكم

أ.د.الممتحن الخارجي

أستاذ

جامعة

أ.د.

أستاذ

جامعة

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أستاذ

جامعة

التوقيع

تاريخ المناقشة:

الدراسات العليا

ختم الإجازة

موافقة مجلس الكلية .../.../...

أجيزت الرسالة بتاريخ:

موافقة مجلس الجامعة .../.../...

جامعة عين شمس



جامعة شتوتغارت



08/16/2017



التماسك الاجتماعي والمساحات الجماعية

المساحات الجماعية كنموذج للتماسك الاجتماعي: دراسة حالة المساحات الجماعية في شتوتغارت، مقهى تصليح الأجهزة وكازا شوتزينبلاتز

رسالة مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

إعداد

ماريانا ديل روزاريو لوغو غونزالس

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