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Revija *Urbani izziv* je namenjena razširjanju znanstvenih in strokovnih dognanj ter obravnavi problemov urejanja prostora. Na leto izideta dve številki. Prva številka izide junija, druga decembra. *Urbani izziv* se vsebinsko deli na dva dela. Prvi (daljši) del se imenuje »Članki«. V njem so objavljeni izvirni in pregledni znanstveni članki, kratki znanstveni prispevki in strokovni članki. Članki, ki so objavljeni v tem delu revije, so recenzirani. Drugi (krajši) del se imenuje »Predstavitve in informacije« in je namenjen objavi recenzij, predstavitev (na primer knjig, projektov, dogodkov, predavanj, konferenc in podobno), knjižničnim informacijam in podobno. Prispevki, ki so objavljeni v tem delu revije, niso recenzirani. *Urbani izziv* je dvojezična revija – vsi prispevki so objavljeni v slovenskem in angleškem jeziku. Povzetki in polna besedila člankov so vključeni v slovensko podatkovno zbirko COBISS in slovensko digitalno knjižnico dLib.si ter v mednarodne bibliografske baze SCOPUS Elsevier, ERIH PLUS, EBSCOhost (Art & Architecture Complete, Academic Search Complete), ESCI (Clarivate Analytics), ProQuest (ProQuest Central), CEEOL (Central and Eastern European Online Library), IBSS (International Bibliography of Social Sciences), IBZ (International Bibliography of Periodical Literature in the Humanities and Social Sciences), GEODOK (Geographic Literature Database), EZB (Electronic Journals Library), CGP (Current Geographical Publications), ICONDA (International Construction Database), DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals), OCLC (Online Computer Library Center), Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, Academic Journals Database, Sciencegate, Index Copernicus International, J-Gate in Genamics JournalSeek. Revija je vpisana v razvid medijev, ki ga vodi Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije, pod zaporedno številko 595. Revija izhaja s podporo Javne agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

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Naslov uredništva

Urbanistični inštitut Republike Slovenije

Urbani izziv – uredništvo

Trnovski pristan 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

Telefon: + 386 (0)1 420 13 10

E-naslov: urbani.izziv@uirs.si

Editor's address

Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia

Urbani izziv – The Editor

Trnovski pristan 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

Telephone: +386 (0)1 420 13 10

E-mail: urbani.izziv@uirs.si

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Mesto pripada tebi¹

To je slogan, ki se bohota na dunajskem avtobusu javnega potniškega prometa. V sebi nosi veliko več vsebine kot le povabilo k uporabi javnega potniškega prometa. Pomeni tudi, da mesto pripada vsakomur od nas, nam daje možnost, da ga uporabljamo, oziroma nas zavezuje k odgovornosti in vključenosti. Kaj to pomeni za načrtovanje in upravljanje mest, ki sta zaradi raznovrstnih in včasih nasprotujočih si želja in potreb neskončno zahtevni in odgovorni nalogi? Kolikor je ljudi v mestu, toliko je namreč različnih življenjskih zgodb in poti.

Da mesto deluje kot celota, je treba pri načrtovanju in upravljanju upoštevati vse vidike. Interdisciplinarnost strok je prvi pogoj, da to koherentnost dosežemo. Prepoznavanje potreb prebivalcev in obiskovalcev ter skupno oblikovanje dobrih rešitev za njihovo uresničevanje pa je nujen korak do mest, ki so živa in prijazna za življenje. Vključenost javnosti je že v začetni fazi prostorskega načrtovanja ključna za revitalizacijo mest, da se tudi prostori, ki ne pripadajo nikomur, spremenijo v prostore za vse.²

Spremenjene razmere so v zadnjih letih vplivale tudi na prilagoditev obnašanja v prostoru, v ospredje so postavljeni družbeni vidiki, dostopnost do zelenih površin in kakovostnih javnih storitev, medsebojna pomoč, solidarnost, potreba po družinju in srečevanju. Tudi v decembrski številki *Urbanega izziva* prevladujejo družbeni vidiki mestnih oziroma javnih odprtih prostorov, zagotavljanja njihove dostopnosti, varnosti in kakovostnega oblikovanja, da jih lahko uporabljajo in se na njih dobro počutijo različni uporabniki, ne glede na svojo etnično pripadnost, spol ali starost. S prebiranjem posameznih člankov spoznamo konkretne problematike v Istanbulu, Ljubljani, Edinburgu in Sarajevu. Upam, da vam bodo članki v tej številki v prijetno in poučno branje ter da bodo spodbudili nadaljnje raziskovanje in iskanje dobrih rešitev.

Damjana Gantar, glavna urednica

¹ Die Stadt gehört Dir. Leta 2000 nagrajena oglasna kampanja, ki je trajno izboljšala podobo podjetja Wiener Linien (<https://schuellerheise.at/die-stadt-gehört-dir/>).

² Glej članek Dine Šamič-Musemić in Nermine Zagora, objavljen v tej številki *Urbanega izziva*.

The city belongs to you¹

This is a slogan displayed on Vienna's city buses, and it conveys much more than a simple invitation to use public transport. It also means that the city belongs to all of us, offering us the opportunity to use it, or calling upon us to act responsibly and promote inclusion. What does this mean in terms of city planning and management, which – given the diverse desires and needs that are sometimes at odds with one another – tend to be demanding tasks with enormous responsibility? Namely, there are as many different life stories and paths as there are people in a city.

For a city to function as a coherent whole, its planning and management must consider all the relevant aspects. Interdisciplinarity is the first precondition for achieving this coherence. In turn, recognizing the needs of residents and visitors, and jointly developing good solutions for meeting these needs is a vital collective step toward vibrant and liveable cities. Public participation in the early stages of spatial planning is key to urban revitalization, through which “nobody's spaces” can be replaced by “everybody's spaces”.²

Altered conditions in recent years have also led to adaptations in spatial behaviour, with social aspects, access to green areas and high-quality services, solidarity and helping one another, and the need to socialize and spend time together being placed at the forefront. The December issue of *Urbani izziv* also focuses on the social aspects of urban or public open spaces and their accessibility, safety, and quality design, so that various users, regardless of their ethnicity, sex, or age, can use them and feel good in them. Individual articles present concrete issues in Istanbul, Ljubljana, Edinburgh, and Sarajevo. I hope you find them pleasant and informative reading, and that they stimulate further research and good solutions.

Damjana Gantar, Editor-in-Chief

¹ *Die Stadt gehört Dir*. An award-winning advertising campaign launched in 2000 that enhanced the profile of Wiener Linien as a sustainability-oriented company (<https://schuellerheise.at/die-stadt-gehört-dir/>).

² See the article by Dina Šamič-Musemić and Nermina Zagora in this issue of *Urbani izziv*.

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Tülay ZIVALI TURHAN
Hatice AYATAÇ

Proučevanje povezave med etnično raznolikostjo in javnim prostorom: bibliometrična analiza

Mehanizem javnega – tj. posameznikov v družbi in njihovih medsebojnih odnosov – je najboljše razviden iz bistvene prvine mest: javnega prostora. Do zdaj je bilo o tem opravljenih mnogo obsežnih raziskav na najrazličnejših področjih. V članku avtorici predstavita konstruktivno analizo raziskovalnih pristopov in metodologij, uporabljenih pri proučevanju etnične raznolikosti kot družbenega pojava v povezavi z javnim prostorom. Analizirali sta 1.079 raziskovalnih člankov, objavljenih med letoma 1995 in 2020 ter vključenih v informacijski sistem Web of Science. Bibliometrične podatke sta ročno filtrirali, scientometrično vizualizacijo pa sta izdelali v programu CiteSpace. Proučili sta, kako so uporabljene teoretične

podlage, ter predstavili trenutne trende, vrzeli in pogoste metodološke pristope v analizirani literaturi, ki lahko prinašajo nova spoznanja, uporabna za nadaljnje multidisciplinarnе raziskave. Izsledki njune raziskave razkrivajo dva osnovna načina teoretičnega pojmovanja obravnavane teme: pristop, ki se osredotoča na odnos med človekom in krajem ter temelji na proučevanju urbanistične in socialne politike, ter pristop, ki se osredotoča na odnose med ljudmi ter obravnava javni prostor kot dejavnik, ki te odnose omogoča.

Ključne besede: bibliometrična analiza, CiteSpace, etnična raznolikost, javni prostor, Web of Science

1 Uvod

Ena najizrazitejših posledic globalizacije so čedalje pogostejše migracije in s tem čedalje večja raznolikost urbanih naselij. Mnoga večja mesta se nenehno soočajo s prihodom priseljenec z raznih celin ter se spreminjajo v dinamična, heterogena in večkulturalna mesta z najrazličnejšimi etničnimi skupinami in subkulturami. Etnična raznolikost je tako v družbeni kot prostorski obliki razvidna od (pod)nacionalne ravni do ravni sosesk. Etničnost označuje skupne značilnosti skupin ljudi ter njihove tradicije, ideologije in navade, ki naj bi se neprekinjeno prenašale skozi čas (Hutchinson in Smith, 1996; Peoples in Bailey, 2011). Ljudje se prej ali slej pridružijo drugim, ki imajo enake norme in vrednote, pri čemer nekatere skupine razvijejo posebne lastnosti. Kljub temu so danes bolj kot kdaj koli prej posamezniki in skupine prisiljeni v medsebojne odnose in deljenje prostora. Opisani pojav je že od nekdaj predmet raziskav na najrazličnejših področjih, kot so geografija, urbanizem, sociologija, okoljska psihologija in kulturologija. Odločilno vlogo pri oblikovanju odnosov med etničnimi skupinami ima mestno tkivo. Vsakodnevna interakcija med etničnimi skupnostmi poteka na skupnih prostorih v mestu. Javni prostor je zbirališče različnih identitet ali, kot navaja Sennett (2003), kraj, na katerem se srečujejo in spoznavajo neznanci. Skupen prostor je od nekdaj krhka prostorska prvina, ki jo ljudje oblikujejo z medsebojnimi odnosi. Poleg tega posameznikova kulturna identiteta ustvarja občutek pripadnosti kraju, s čimer postanejo kraji za ljudi pomembni. Doživljanje skupnih prostorov takih, kot so, je mogoče prek njihove skupne rabe, opredelitve, razumevanja in izražanja (Stavrvides, 2016). Uveljavljeni urbanistična teorija in praksa sta izrazito prodružbeno naravnani: spodbuja se druženje na odprtih javnih prostorih (Rishbeth idr., 2018: 37) na najrazličnejših stanovanjskih ravneh v mestu (Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1980; Gehl in Gemzoe, 1996; Carmona idr., 2003). Javni mestni prostor je tako kraj, na katerem vsakdanje prakse izražajo osebno in skupno kulturo družabnosti (Dines idr., 2006) ter je zato ključen za kakovost življenja prebivalcev. Kot navaja Hillier (1996), je etničnost ena najpomembnejših prvin mestnega prostora. Etnična raznolikost je zato družbena struktura, ki se oblikuje na podlagi stikov med skupnostmi v mestni krajini. Vzporedno z opisanim sociološkim vidikom so mesta prostori, ki so najbolj integrirani v prostorski sistem, privabljajo več pretoka ljudi, s svojo gravitacijsko silo pa omogočajo družbeno interakcijo (Hillier idr., 1993). V tem pogledu je pomembno razumeti vlogo etnične raznolikosti na javnih prostorih, glede na to, da so to prostori, ki so najbolj integrirani v mestni prostorski sistem. Etnične skupine so običajno prostorsko ločene druga od druge, hkrati pa stremijo k temu, da so čim bolj povezane v sistem (in z vsemi drugimi v njem). Kljub vsemu večina zaseda najbolj

integrirane, manjšina pa sekundarne javne prostore v mestu (Ferati, 2009). Čeprav imajo hiše pripadnikov posameznih etničnih skupin enako zasnovo, prav njihova razporeditev v prostoru razkriva njihovo etnično pripadnost (Charambous Antoniadou in Peristianis, 2001). Z vidika družabnosti na javnih prostorih raziskave kažejo, da z večanjem etnične raznolikosti na njih potekajo tako procesi odtujevanja kot vzpostavljanja stikov (Blumer in Solomos, 2015). Izrazi javnega ali skupnega prostora (kot skupne lastnine posamezne skupine, ki simbolizira kolektivno identiteto) so način ustvarjanja skupnega prostora. Pravzaprav lahko skupni prostor postane predmet različnih reprezentacij, še preden je določen kot skupni prostor. Skupni prostori niso samo rezultat dejanj, s katerimi so bili ustvarjeni, ali dejanj, s katerimi so bili poimenovani. Zaradi različnih reprezentacij so lahko tudi napačno prepoznani, izolirani ali opuščeni in celo prisvojeni na silo, zato je pomembno proučevati, kako lahko ljudje razvijejo orodja, s katerimi lahko skupne prostore prepoznavajo, si jih zamislijo in o njih sanjajo (Stavrvides, 2016).

Za boljše razumevanje opisane interdisciplinarne problematike je treba pregledati literaturo, iz katere so razvidni cilji, metodologije in kazalniki, ki so jih uporabili drugi raziskovalci, ter morebitne raziskovalne vrzeli na tem področju (Khoo idr., 2010). Ta pregled daje tudi podlago za obsežnejše raziskave izbrane teme. Na podlagi bibliometrične analize so Su idr. (2019) ugotovili, da konstrukcija družbenih modelov in njeno izražanje v javnem prostoru temeljita na konstrukciji nesnovne kulturne dediščine etničnih skupin. Kot navajata Shuangyun in Hongxia (2020: 27), akulturacija ni problem samo priseljenec, ampak tudi etničnih manjšin, ki že več generacij živijo v stiku z večinskimi skupinami. Andrade idr. (2016) so proučevali pravico do mesta in ugotovili, da se v zadnjem desetletju krepi segregacija na javnem mestnem prostoru. Na splošno številni raziskovalci ugotavljajo, da pri oblikovanju (ne)snovnih urbanih struktur in odnosov ne smemo podcenjevati vpliva etničnosti ali rase, hkrati pa je iz pregleda literature razvidno, da je bilo do zdaj opravljenih le malo bibliometričnih raziskav na to temo.

Predmet raziskave, predstavljene v tem članku, je povezava med etnično raznolikostjo in javnim prostorom, ki jo avtorici proučujeta na podlagi konstruktivne analize raziskovalnih pristopov in metodologij, uporabljenih v literaturi s tega področja. Avtorici opredelita konceptualne predpostavke in glavne trende v preteklem in sedanjem razvoju javnih mestnih prostorov v povezavi z etnično raznolikostjo. Obravnavata dinamiko in vzorce etnične raznolikosti na javnih mestnih prostorih, pri čemer predpostavljata, da etnična pripadnost vpliva na rabo javnih prostorov in odnose na njih. Njun cilj je potrditi ali ovreči tezo, da etnična raznolikost sama po sebi povzroča družbeno in prostorsko segregacijo na javnih prostorih.

Preglednica 1: Iskalna merila za vključitev in izključitev ustreznih objav

Merilo	Uporabljeni izrazi
Poizvedba	ethnic* racial* racism
	+
	public space* shared space* urban space* urban public space* open space* open public space* common space*
Prebivalstvo	Etnične skupine
Lokacija	Odprti javni prostori, dostopni vsem
Rezultati	Kvalitativni: mnenja in predpisi, povezani s tem, kako pripadniki etničnih skupin uporabljajo javne prostore Kvantitativni: korelacija med etničnimi skupinami in uporabo javnih prostorov
Vrsta objave	Recenzirani članki, indeksirani v WoS
Leto objave	1995–2020

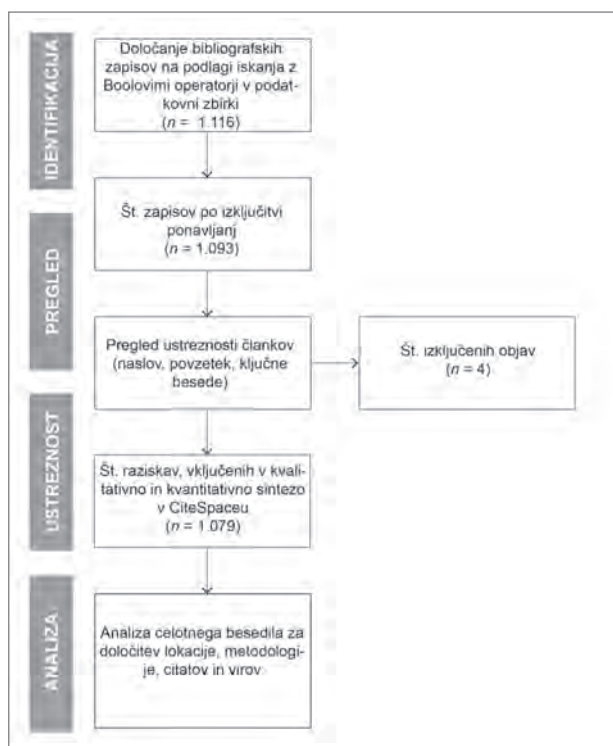
Opomba: Pri iskanju v WoS zvezdica * nadomešča od nič do neskončno poljubnih znakov.

2 Raziskovalne metode in orodja

2.1 Iskanje in izbor

Raziskava temelji na člankih, objavljenih med letoma 1995 in 2020 ter vključenih v bibliografsko podatkovno zbirko Web of Science (v nadaljevanju: WoS). Pri tovrstnih kompleksnih interdisciplinarnih raziskavah so zelo uporabna razna bibliometrična programska orodja, kot so CiteSpace, HistCite in VOSviewer (Shuangyun in Hongxia, 2020). Avtorici sta podatke analizirali ročno in s programom CiteSpace, ki se uporablja za vizualizacijo bibliometričnih podatkov na podlagi socitiranja in algoritmov za oblikovanje grozdov ter omogoča ustrezno proučevanje razvoja posameznega raziskovalnega področja (Chen in Song, 2019). Iskanje člankov na podlagi naslova, povzetka, podatkov o objavi, ključnih besed in obravnavane vsebine je potekalo julija 2021. Za posamezni članek so bili evidentirani naslednji podatki: naslov, podatki o avtorjih, podatki o reviji, povzetek, število citatov in število ogledov/prenosov. Pridobljeni so bili tudi drugi podatki, ki jih zagotavlja WoS, kot so avtorjeve ključne besede, ključne besede, ki jih samodejno ustvari WoS (KeyWords Plus), podatki o avtorjih in založbi, podatki o dokumentu ter citirani viri in literatura. Iskanje je potekalo v angleškem jeziku, pri čemer sta avtorici uporabili iskalni niz »'ethnic*' OR 'racial*' OR 'racism' AND 'public space' OR 'urban open space'« ter druge podobne izraze, s katerimi sta odkrili ustrezne dodatne članke ter tako pridobili natančnejše in obsežnejše podatke (preglednica 1).

Z uporabljenimi izrazi in Boolovimi operatorji sta avtorici pri iskanju dobili 1.116 zadetkov (slika 1). Nato sta jih ročno

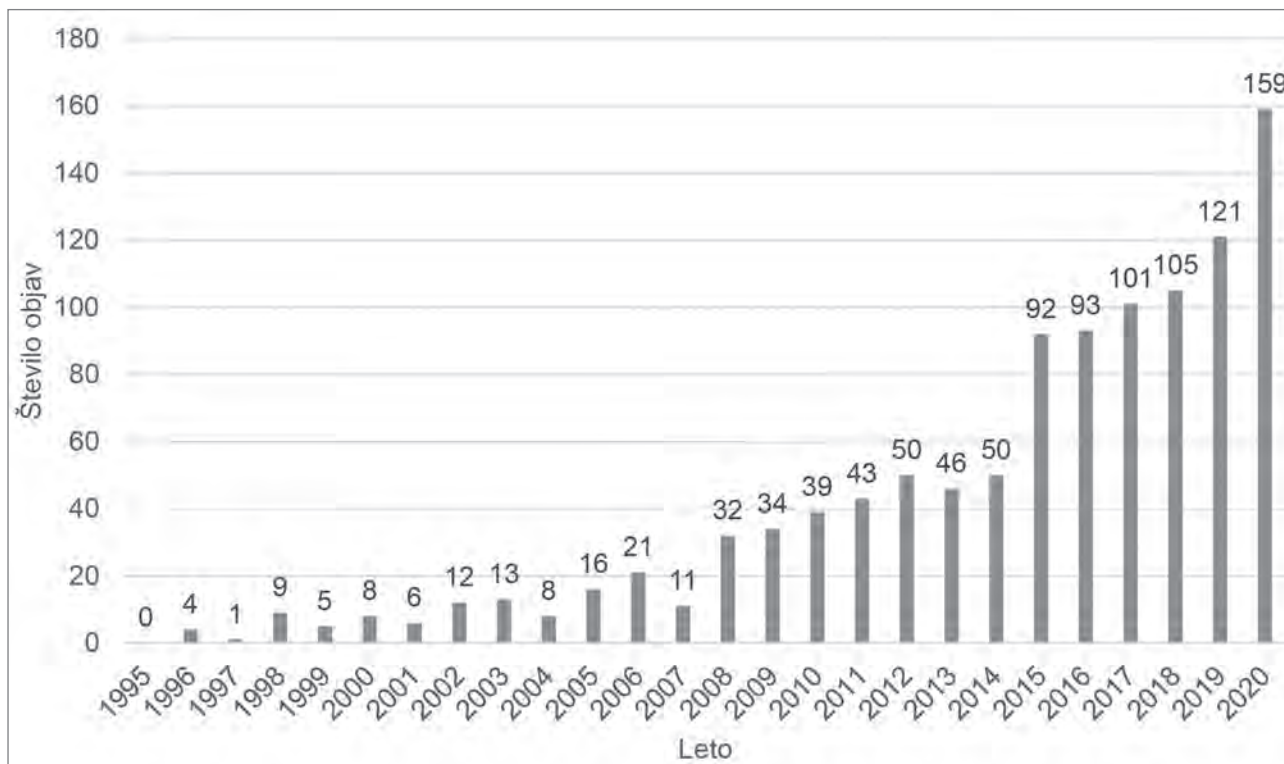


Slika 1: Diagram PRIZMA, ki prikazuje postopek izbora in analize podatkov (ilustracija: avtorici)

filtrirati, kar je pomenilo, da sta prebrali povzetke vseh objav, da bi izboljšali natančnost raziskave ter odkrili morebitna odstopanja in ponovitve. Na koncu sta izbrali 1.079 objav, relevantnih za raziskavo.

2.2 Glavne omejitve

Razlaga rezultatov na podlagi opisane metodologije ima več omejitev. Metode indeksiranja v WoS lahko zmanjšajo zanesl-



Slika 2: Razporejenost objav po letih (ilustracija: avtorici)

Preglednica 2: Raziskovalna področja, na katera spadajo izbrane objave

Raziskovalno področje	Frekvenca
Geografija	194
Urbanizem	169
Sociologija	134
Okoljske vede, ekologija	120
Druga družboslovna področja	112
Etnične študije	102

jivost izsledkov. Seznam izbranih člankov o proučevani temi ni izčrpen in nedvomno je še več gradiva (npr. v revijah, knjigah in/ali poglavjih v knjigah, ki niso indeksirani v WoS, (ne)objavljenih poročilih, disertacijah in (ne)objavljenih zbornikih konferenc). Poleg tega se lahko tudi zadetki iskalnih poizvedb razlikujejo glede na to, katere ključne besede so vnesene v iskalni niz.

3 Raziskovalni izsledki o povezavi med etnično raznolikostjo in javnim prostorom

Avtorici sta na podlagi bibliografskih in geografskih podatkov, tematskih področij in metodoloških pristopov izbranih člankov podrobno proučili glavne teme in vzorce njihovega združevanja v grozde.

3.1 Bibliografski in geografski podatki

Na podlagi pregleda literature sta avtorici v WoS odkrili skupno 1.116 objav na temo etnične raznolikosti v javnem prostoru, po izključitvi podvojenih zadetkov pa je bilo na koncu 1.079 objav (96,7 %). Med njimi so prevladovali članki (93,4 %) in prispevki na konferencah (5,1 %). Čeprav je iskanje obsegalo obdobje 25 let (od leta 1995 do leta 2020), je bila polovica raziskav objavljenih šele po letu 2015 (slika 2). Skupno število citatov izbranih objav vidno narašča med letoma 2013 in 2020, vrh pa doseže leta 2020. Kljub vmesnim nihanjem je število objav v znanstvenih revijah sčasoma naraščalo, pri čemer je bila več kot polovica člankov objavljena v zadnjem desetletju. Navedeno dokazuje, da zanimanje za proučevano temo in število z njo povezanih raziskav čedalje bolj naraščata, pri čemer se tema proučuje na čedalje več raziskovalnih področjih. Večina del (88,6 %) je napisana v angleščini, med drugimi jeziki pa prevladujeta ruščina (3,3 %) in španščina (3,2 %).

V preglednici 2 je prikazana razporeditev izbranih bibliografskih zapisov v raziskovalna področja, kot jo določi WoS. Večina objav je razvrščena v kategorijo »geografija«. Članki so bili objavljeni v več kot 150 revijah, od katerih pa se nobena ne osredotoča izključno na povezavo med etnično raznolikostjo in javnim prostorom. Revije spadajo v različne veje družboslovja, kot so sociologija, psihologija, socialna geografija, antropologija, urbanizem, arhitektura, prostorsko načrtovanje, politologija, jezikoslovje, ekonomija in zgodovina. Manjkajo samo najbolj uveljavljene revije s področja arheologije.

Izjemno veliko raziskav je bilo opravljenih v Severni, Srednji in Južni Ameriki (49,1 %), pri čemer večina obravnava (pred) mestna naselja in večetnične soseske v ZDA (40,2 %). Glavni poudarek je na mešanih soseskah, v katerih živijo belopolti in temnopolti prebivalci (Caliendo, 2011; Rollock idr., 2011; Gibson, 2018; Harwood idr., 2018), zlasti v New Yorku in Los Angelesu. Tovrstne raziskave se ukvarjajo predvsem s kulturno raznoliko rabo javnih in poljavnih prostorov, kot so šole in parki (Kaczynski idr., 2013; Vaughan idr., 2013; Trouille, 2014; Wilson, 2016; Rigolon in Németh, 2018), ter se osredotočajo na otroke in mladino.

Večji teroristični napadi, ki so v zadnjih 15 letih prizadeli Združeno kraljestvo in druge države, so vplivali na vsakodnevno razumevanje javnega prostora kot kraja, ki je lahko nevaren, ta nevarnost pa se pogosto povezuje z raso (Rishbeth idr., 2017: 42). Posledično je ena glavnih tem izbranih člankov globalni pristop k terorizmu po napadih 11. septembra 2001. Delež študij primera s tega področja, opravljenih v evropskih državah, je razmeroma velik (20,1 %). Od tega jih je bilo kar 14,4 % opravljenih v Združenem kraljestvu, osredotočale pa so se na britanski medkulturni diskurz in etnografsko razumevanje etnično raznolikih sosesk. Izstopajo članki, ki obravnavajo večkulturnost ter integracijo muslimanskih manjšin in njihove vsakdanje aktivnosti na javnih prostorih (Schmidt, 2012; Kloek idr., 2013; Mohammad, 2013; Johnson in Miles, 2014; Hopkins idr., 2017; Joly, 2017). Nekatere študije primera proučujejo tudi kraje, na katerih je večkulturnost značilna že več stoletij. Številne raziskave se ukvarjajo z naselji v Palestini in Izraelu ter proučujejo področja konfliktov med Judi in Arabci, analizirajo nepriznana avtonomna območja in trenutno stanje v zatiranih skupnostih ter obravnavajo pojem kraja v večkulturnem kontekstu (Yiftachel in Yacobi, 2003; Shuval idr., 2009; Monterescu, 2011; Aharon-Gutmann, 2014; Jadallah, 2014; Badarin, 2015; Shtern, 2016; Omer idr., 2018; Rokem in Vaughan, 2018).

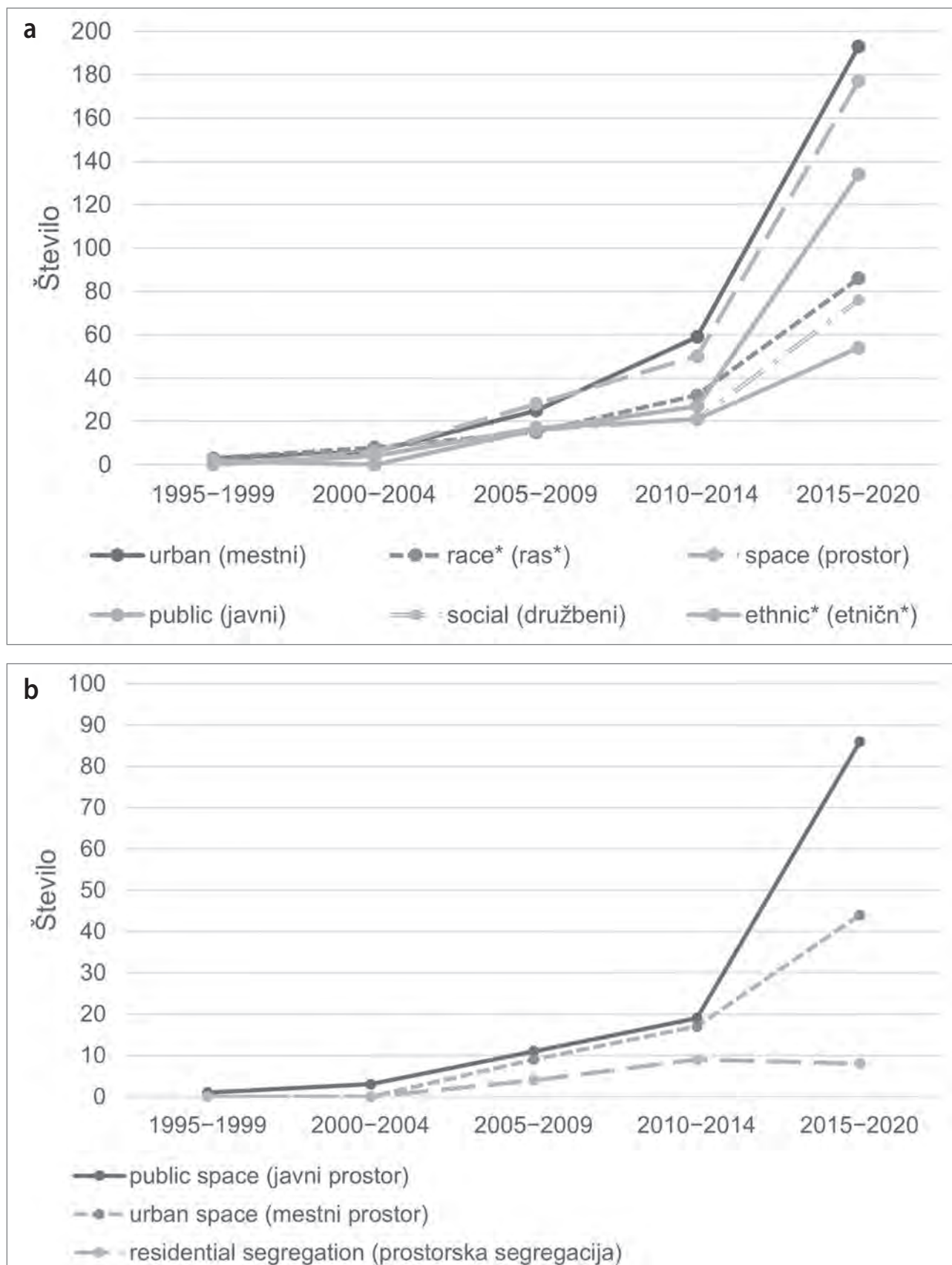
Raziskave obravnavajo tudi migracijske trende, pri čemer se v glavnem osredotočajo na občutek pripadnosti priseljencev v mestu ter na nasprotovanja med lastniki stanovanj in prišle-

ki (Ryan, 2003; Ayata, 2008; Müller, 2011; Ehrkamp, 2013; Triandafyllidou in Kouki, 2013; Hall, 2015; Lobo, 2015; Demintseva, 2017). Opisano kaže, da je navedena tema v središču vsakdanjih političnih razprav. Študije primera iz Azije in Avstralije se večinoma osredotočajo na etnično mešana območja, ki so posledica migracijskih tokov v bližnji ali daljni preteklosti. Williamson (2016) na primer proučuje, ali postajajo oblike pripadnosti kraju čedalje bolj prožne in ali je zanje značilna navezanost na več krajev hkrati. Raziskuje, kako se različne ravni pripadnosti kraju in mobilnosti prepletajo v procesih vključevanja priseljencev na etnično raznolikem in prehodnem predmestnem območju Sydneyja.

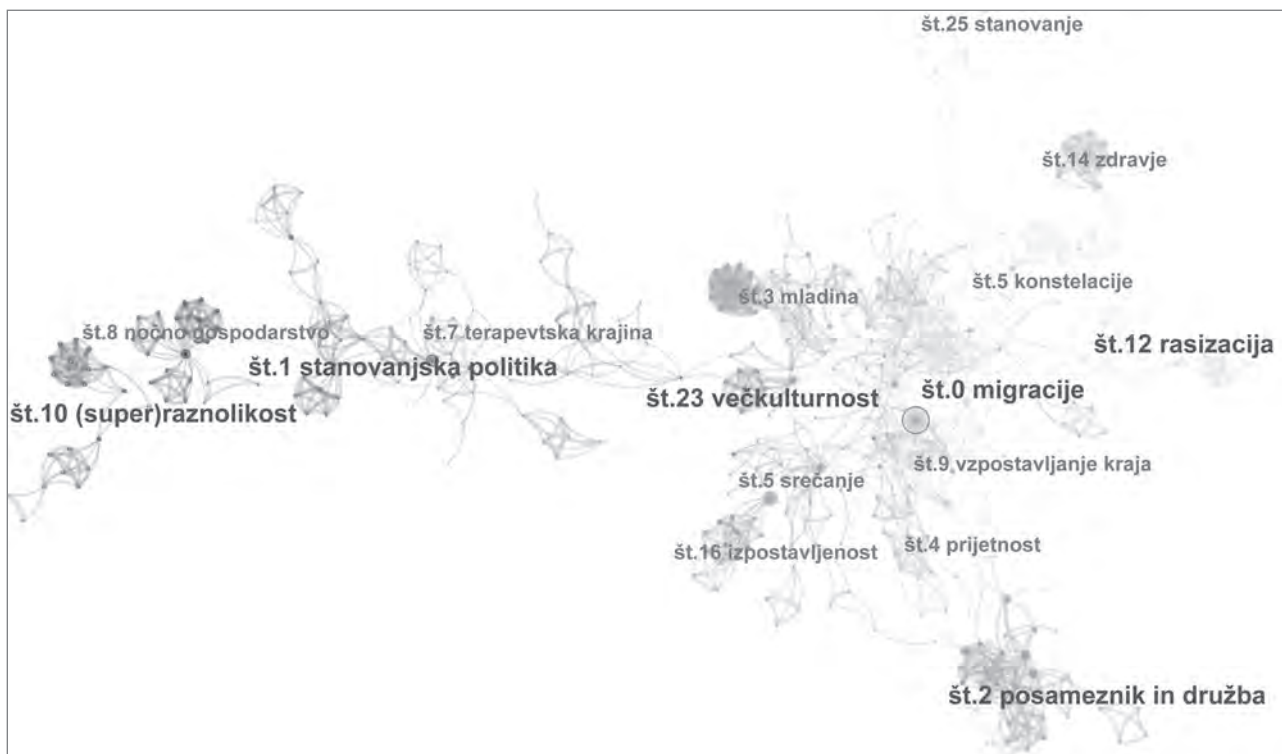
3.2 Tematska področja

Za boljše razumevanje strukture in dinamike znanstvenega področja je treba proučiti glavna raziskovalna področja, katere raziskave vsako področje vsebuje in kako so razna raziskovalna področja prek člankov med seboj povezana (Chen, 2020: 17). Iskanje je potekalo v dveh delih. Prvi del je temeljil na metodi analize pogostosti besed, pri čemer sta avtorici bibliografske zapise pregledali na podlagi ključnih besed. S tem sta določili glavne teme člankov. Drugi del je temeljil na analizi socitiranja, ki ponazarja pogostost, s katero sta dva članka skupaj citirana v tretjem (novejšem) članku. Rezultati analize socitiranja razkrivajo povezave med članki in posledično trenutne trende na posameznem znanstvenem področju.

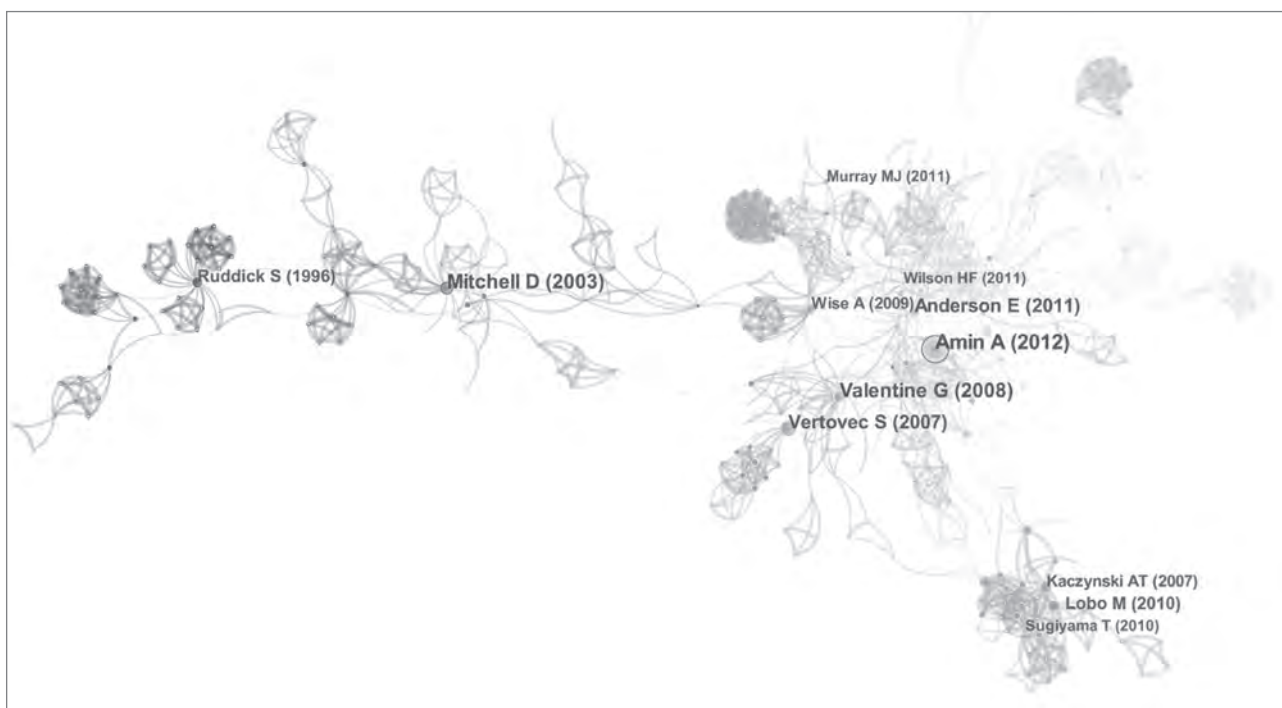
Kot je razvidno iz grafa na sliki 3a, črti, ki ponazarjata pogostost ključnih besed *javni* in *prostor*, potekata vzporedno, kar pomeni, da so raziskave mestnih območij povezane z javnimi odprtimi prostori. Javni prostori pa se ne proučujejo samo na ravni celotnega mesta, ampak tudi na ravni sosesk, kar je razvidno iz precejšnjega števila raziskav, ki se osredotočajo na prostorsko segregacijo prebivalcev mestnih sosesk (slika 3b). Zsolt Farkas idr. (2017) so proučevali vplive in posledice prostorske segregacije Romov na območjih madžarskih mest. Burgers in Zuiderwijk (2016) sta raziskovala etnično segregacijo v Angliji in Walesu. Poleg javnih odprtih mestnih prostorov so se v smislu skupnega dobra proučevali tudi drugi kraji, kot so prostori, namenjeni delu, izobraževanju in preživljanju prostega časa. Kot navaja Eva Swyngedouw (2013: 293), se zaradi obstoječe prostorske segregacije v Čikagu ljudje različnih ras in družbenih razredov na rdeči liniji podzemne železnice L med seboj le redko srečujejo. Lobova (2014) je proučevala večkulturnost, kot jo med vožnjo na istem avtobusu v Darwinu v Avstraliji doživljajo trije posamezniki (aborigin, priseljenka in ona sama). Jacksonova (2019) je analizirala nasprotujoča si mnenja o kegljišču v Londonu, ki ga obiskujejo različne etnične skupine in mu grozi rušitev. Schmidtova (2015) je proučevala neenakost in raznolikost dostopa do šole na podlagi



Slika 3: a) najpogostejše ključne besede v posameznem obdobju, b) najpogostejše besedne zveze v posameznem obdobju (ilustracija: avtorici)



Slika 4: Grozdi, oblikovani v programu CiteSpace, s pripadajočimi temami (ilustracija: avtorici)



Slika 5: Mreža glavnih grozdov s pripadajočimi viri, oblikovana v programu CiteSpace (ilustracija: avtorici)

prostorskosti, pri čemer se je osredotočila na povezavo med družbeno organizacijo in prostorskim tkivom. Po drugi strani Yu idr. (2018) raziskujejo, kako študenti prostorsko dojemajo univerzitetno študentsko naselje v Memphisu. Članki različno razlagajo stopnjo prostorskosti in javnosti na javnem prostoru.

V precejšnjem številu člankov (44,6 %) avtorji proučujejo različne parametre, povezane z etničnostjo, in kako lahko spodbujajo etnično raznolikost, pri čemer je glavni poudarek na neskladjih. Najpogostejši parametri, s katerimi avtorji proučujejo povezavo med etnično raznolikostjo in javnim prostoro-

rom, so segregacija, integracija, vključevanje, izključevanje, stik, družbena interakcija in družbena kohezija. Navedeni parametri imajo večdimenzionalne pomene, saj se navezujejo na mesto kot fizično celoto z vso njeno dinamiko. Najpomembnejši parameter, segregacija, je bil na primer v mnogih raziskavah opredeljen v širšem kontekstu (kot izobraževalna segregacija, prostorska segregacija, družbena segregacija ali ekonomska segregacija), pogosto pa je povezan z mestnim nasiljem, kar odpira vprašanja o tem, kdaj in kako segregacija oblikuje nasilje v smislu trenj ali aktivnih konfliktov (Bhavnani idr., 2013; Trouille, 2014; Kutmanaliev, 2015; Ha, 2017; Zahnov, 2018). Na podlagi ključnih besed lahko raziskave razdelimo v štiri glavne tematske sklope: večkulturnost (družbeni pojavi, povezani z ustvarjanjem etnične raznolikosti), povezave (indeksi/parametri, ki merijo povezave med etničnimi identitetami ali med prostorom in identiteto), prostor (v smislu javnega prostora ali skupnega dobra v prostorski obliki) in mesto (kot sistem omrežij, ki razkriva družbeno-prostorske odnose).

Povezave med članki tvorijo mrežo socitiranih člankov, ki kaže, kako se objave med seboj razlikujejo glede na socitirane vire. Socitiranje se nanaša na to, kako pogosto sta dva članka skupaj citirana v drugih člankih (Chen in Song, 2019). Za vsak grozd je navedena glavna tema, ki so jo obravnavali citirani avtorji. Navedena mreža vsebuje 16 grozdov socitiranih člankov, med katerimi je šest glavnih (slika 4). Citirani avtor ali raziskava sta lahko vključena v več grozdov hkrati. Posamezni grozdi vsebujejo med seboj povezane raziskave in/ali avtorje, kar razkriva najbolj značilne pristope k posamezni temi (slika 5). Pomembna so tudi žarišča citiranosti, ki kažejo, kateri članki v kratkem času pritegnejo veliko pozornost (Chen, 2016) oziroma so v izbranem obdobju najpogosteje citirani.

3.2.1 Pojemni grozd 1: povezava med človekom in krajem

Tema največjega grozda (na sliki 4 označen kot št. 0) so migracije. Najpogosteje citirani avtor v njem je Amin (2012), ki obravnava etnično raznolikost in vlogo javnega prostora v mestu tujcev z vidika sodobne urbanistične politike čiščenja prostorov, na katerih sobivajo neželene skupine. Urbanistične politike upravljanja in spodbujanja družbene kohezije se lahko oblikujejo na podlagi proučevanja, kako se z etničnimi razlikami dnevno spoprijemajo v večkulturnih mestih. Število tovrstnih analiz pa je dokaj omejeno (Amin, 2002; Fincher in Iveson, 2008; Valentine, 2008). Razumevanje družbenih in prostorskih procesov, povezanih z raznolikimi vzorci rabe javnega prostora, je precej zapleteno in zahtevno. Kot razlaga Massey (1994: 168), je razlog lahko ta, da je koncept kraja sestavljen iz niza družbenih odnosov, ki se na neki lokaciji prepletajo. Po njegovem mnenju ni treba, da imajo kraji meje, ki jih ločujejo in zamejujejo (Massey, 1994: 155–156). Pogosto

nimajo svoje identitete in je zanje značilno, da je veliko notranjih konfliktov, kar izhaja iz tega, da se na vsakem kraju zgošča posebna mešanica širših in lokalnih družbenih odnosov. Posledično so kraji progresivni in odprti navzven, sami sebe ne zamejujejo in niso vase zaprti (Massey 1994: 147).

Manjši grozd, katerega glavna tema je ustvarjanje kraja, se večinoma nanaša na delo Dona Mitchlla (2003), v katerem bralec približa kritično trditev, da je treba pravico do mesta braniti z najrazličnejšimi oblikami raznolikosti, s čimer se lahko doseže socialna pravičnost. Njegova knjiga je tudi najpogosteje citirana objava (slika 6). Avtor zagovarja pomen mesta kot kraja raznolikosti in prizadevanj za ustvarjanje javne sfere (Mitchell, 2003: 18). Javni prostor opisuje kot fizično okolje, ki omogoča izraz posameznika ali skupine, s čimer lahko pomembno prispeva k ustvarjanju pravičnosti na ravni upravljanja. Če navedena pravičnost ni zagotovljena, manj opolnomočene skupine pogosto težko dostopajo do javnih prostorov in jih uporabljajo (Mitchell, 1995). Narašča zanimanje za migracije, azilno politiko, begunsko problematiko in podobno, kar je razvidno iz številnih študij primera, v katerih avtorji po vsem svetu proučujejo politične okvire in analizirajo družbenopolitične vplive etnične raznolikosti na mestnih območjih (Lees, 2003; Bryne, 2012; Bhavnani idr., 2013; Festic, 2015; Fredman, 2018). Članki se na splošno nanašajo na to, kako ljudje vsakodnevno doživljajo kulturno raznolikost in se z njo spoprijemajo v konkretnih situacijah (Wise in Velayutham, 2009: 2), avtorji pa predlagajo tudi novo politiko upravljanja raznolikosti, primerno za sedanji čas (Brown, 2006; Amin, 2012). Drugo najpogosteje citirano delo je članek Stevena Vertovca (2007), v katerem proučuje vzhodni London in Birmingham. Zaradi močnih postkolonialnih trendov priseljavanja v Združenem kraljestvu območji obravnava kot heterogeni, pri čemer se osredotoča na izkušnje priseljencev. Vpelje izraz *superraznolikost* (ang. *super-diversity*), ki upošteva različne identifikacije in osi razločevanja, med katerimi se samo nekatere nanašajo na etničnost (Vertovec 2007: 1048). Neenakost med etničnimi skupinami povzročajo še mnogi drugi dejavniki, na primer vera, družbeni razred, starost, spol in pravni status.

3.2.2 Pojemni grozd 2: odnosi med ljudmi

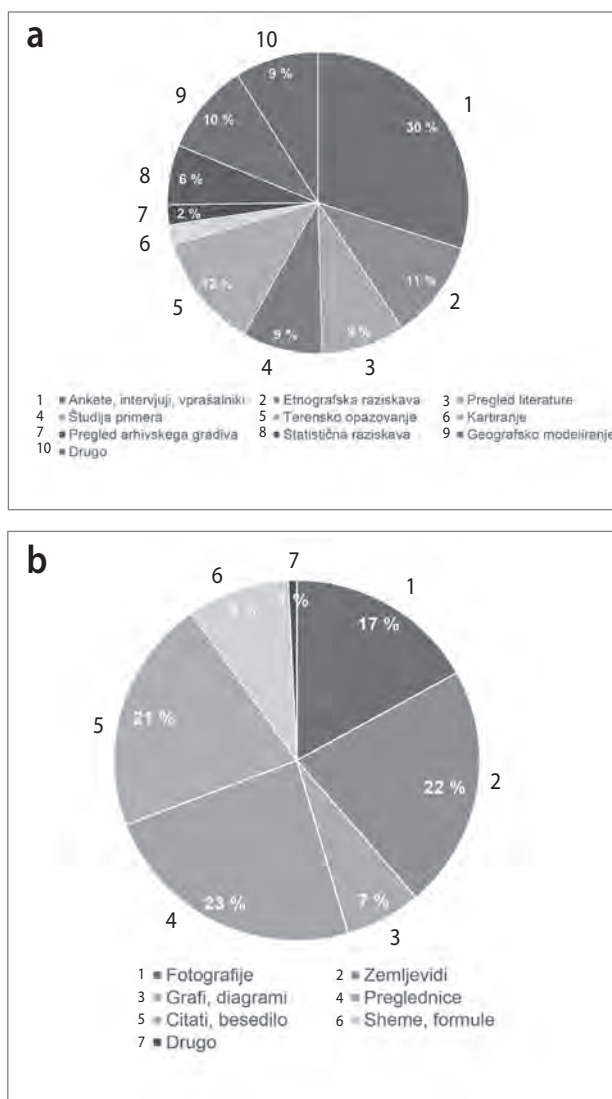
Glavna tema drugega grozda (na sliki 4 označen kot št. 2) je posameznik in družba. Po definiciji so javni prostori univerzalno dostopni in nudijo eno redkih priložnosti za to, da se ljudje neposredno srečujejo z ljudmi, ki imajo drugačne navade in prihajajo iz drugih kultur (Shaftoe, 2008: 13). Lobova (2010) je najbolj citirana avtorica v tem grozdu, njena etnografska raziskava pa razkriva pomen navezanosti na kraj kot družbenopolitičnega dejavnika, ki se oblikuje skozi vsakdanje medkulturne stike na javnih mestih. Navedeno lahko zabriše ustaljene etnične meje ter prispeva k medetničnemu razumevanju in občutku

Objave	Leto	Moč	Začetek	Konec	1995–2020
Ruddick S, 1996, URBAN GEOGR, V17, P132, DOI 10.2747/0272-3636.17.2.132, DOI	1996	5.36	1999	2003	-----
Day K, 1999, ENVIRON PLANN D, V17, P307, DOI 10.1068/d170307, DOI	1999	3.55	2003	2006	-----
Caldeira Teresa, 2000, CITY WALLS CRIME SEG, V0, P0	2000	3.48	2005	2008	-----
Mitchell D, 2003, RIGHT CITY SOCIAL JU, V0, P0	2003	7.79	2006	2011	-----
Valentine G, 2008, PROG HUM GEOG, V32, P323, DOI 10.1177/0309133308089372, DOI	2008	5.16	2011	2016	-----
Kaczynski AT, 2007, LEISURE SCI, V29, P315, DOI 10.1080/01490400701394865, DOI	2007	3.83	2011	2014	-----
Vertovec S, 2007, ETHNIC RACIAL STUD, V30, P1024, DOI 10.1080/01419870701599465, DOI	2007	5.66	2012	2015	-----
Cohen DA, 2007, AM J PUBLIC HEALTH, V97, P509, DOI 10.2105/AJPH.2005.072447, DOI	2007	3.36	2013	2014	-----
Amin A, 2012, LAND STRANGERS, V0, P0	2012	3.85	2014	2018	-----
Anderson E, 2011, COSMOPOLITAN CANOPY, V0, P0	2011	4.78	2015	2020	-----

Slika 6: Prikaz najpogosteje citiranih objav, oblikovan v programu CiteSpace (ilustracija: avtorici)

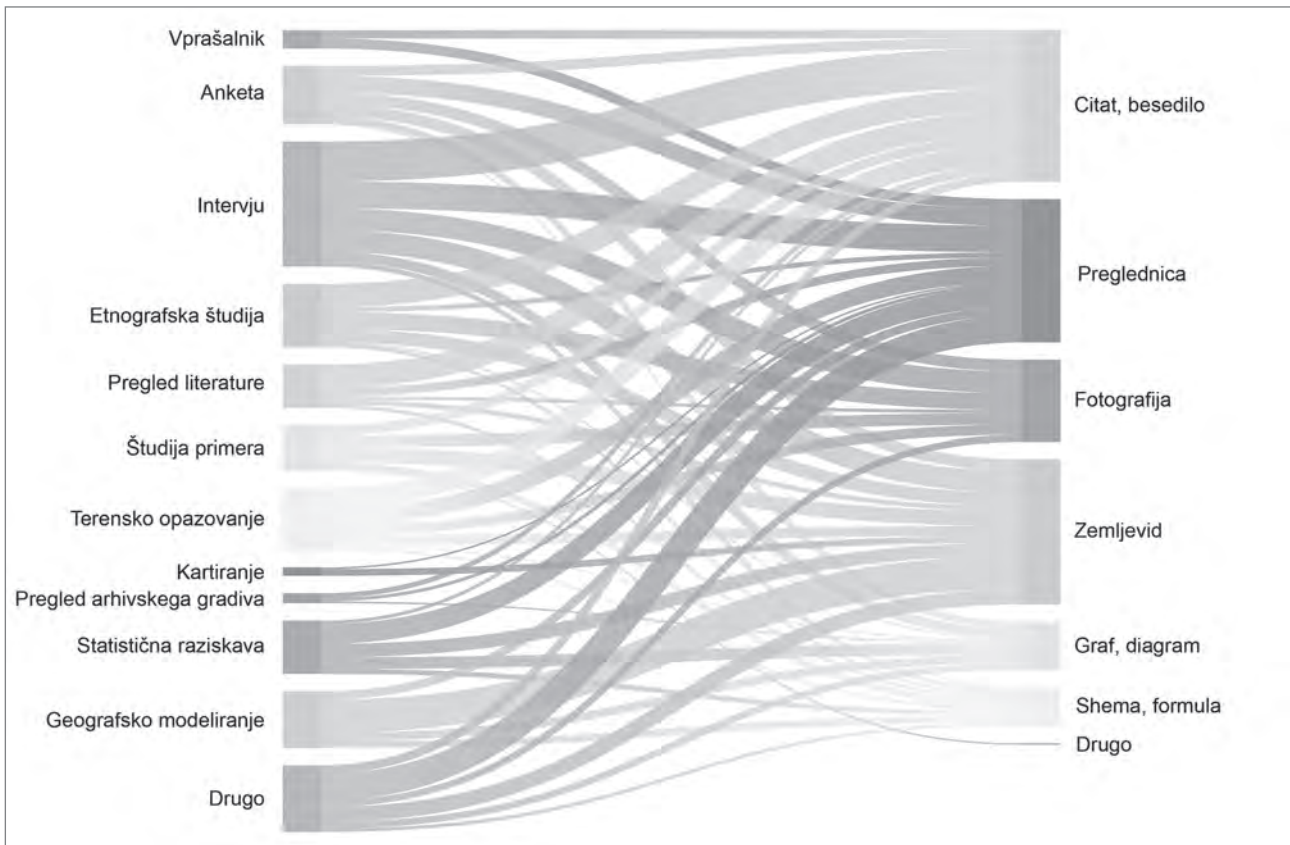
pripadnosti (Lobo, 2010: 85). Številne raziskave obravnavajo podobne teme in pomen srečevanja na mestnem javnem prostoru. Wessel (2009: 7) navaja, da vsakodnevna izpostavljenost raznolikosti zmanjšuje predsodke. Bližina pa še ne pomeni, da imajo ljudje med sabo tudi pomembne stike. Tudi če si na javnem prostoru izmenjajo vljudnostne fraze, imajo lahko še vedno predsodke do pripadnikov etničnih manjšin (Piekut in Valentine, 2017: 177). Avtorica tretjega najpogosteje citiranega članka (Valentine, 2008) ugotavlja, da ni nujno, da pozitivna srečanja s pripadniki etničnih manjšin izboljšajo mnenja o teh skupinah (Valentine, 2008: 332). Podobno so tudi kvantitativne raziskave pokazale, da večja etnična raznolikost v javnem prostoru neposredno ne izboljša odnosov med ljudmi in njihovega vedenja (Piekut in Valentine, 2017: 177). Raziskovalci zato proučujejo, v katerih okoliščinah lahko etnična heterogenost povzroča trenja (Schlueter in Scheepers, 2010; Stolle idr., 2013; Laurence, 2014). Nekateri proučujejo vsakdanje odnose ljudi v javnem prostoru. Cattell idr. (2008: 556) ugotavljajo, da najrazličnejši javni odprti prostori pozitivno vplivajo na počutje posameznikov in celotne skupnosti. Rezultati njihove raziskave poudarjajo zlasti pomen skupne rabe javnih prostorov kot skupnih vrednot, ki lahko pomaga ohranjati zdravje in dobro počutje ljudi. Kaźmierczakova (2013: 31) je proučevala, kako lokalni parki prispevajo k razvoju socialnih vezi v treh soseskah v središču Manchestra, za katere so značilne različne ravni materialnega pomanjkanja in etnične raznolikosti. Avtorica ugotavlja, da se je treba poleg trenutne socialne sestave teh območij osredotočati tudi na kratkoročne spremembe v razporeditvi družbenih skupin v prostoru.

Objave v drugem pojmovnem grozdu torej kažejo, da lahko družbeni odnosi na socialno izoliranih območjih pomagajo premagati ali vsaj zmanjšati razlike (Amin, 2002). Osredotočajo se bodisi na odnose med večinskim prebivalstvom in etničnimi manjšinami bodisi na posamezno prevladujočo etnično skupino. Kot navaja Gehl (2011), intenzivnost stikov ni neposredno povezana z njihovim pomenom. V primerjavi z drugimi oblikami stikov se zdijo manj intenzivni stiki nepomembni, vendar so dragoceni kot samostojne oblike stikov in tudi kot temeljni pogoji za druge, bolj kompleksne interakcije (Gehl,



Slika 7: a) vrste uporabljenih metodologij (v odstotkih), b) način predstavitve podatkov, pridobljenih z uporabljenimi metodami (v odstotkih) (ilustracija: avtorici)

2011: 15). Čeprav raziskovalci uporabljajo različne pristope, se čedalje bolj osredotočajo na teoretiziranje o etničnih stikih na javnih prostorih in na proučevanje teh stikov.



Slika 8: Povezava med uporabljenimi metodologijami in načinom predstavitve z njimi pridobljenih podatkov (ilustracija: avtorici)

3.3 Metodološki pristopi

Izkazalo se je, da kvalitativne raziskave razkrivajo pozitivne ali negativne vplive na javni prostor in preverjajo postavljene hipoteze, kvantitativne raziskave pa predstavljajo številske vrednosti proučevanih razmerij med pojavi na podlagi izbranih indeksov in parametrov. V nekaterih raziskavah avtorji uporabljajo tudi mešano metodo, kar pomeni, da proučujejo tako kvalitativne in kvantitativne podatke. Kvalitativni podatki so zbrani z intervjuji in anketami, raziskave pa se opirajo tudi na pregled literature in arhivskega gradiva. Rezultati kažejo, da v 138 člankih avtorji posebej omenjajo uporabo etnografske raziskovalne metode, dejansko pa je bila ta metoda uporabljena v približno polovici vseh raziskav (slika 7). Cilj etnografskih raziskav je razumeti kulture in norme z osredotočanjem na človekovo vedenje in zbiranjem opazovalnih podatkov (Creswell, 1998, 2003). Glede na to, da je skoraj četrtina vseh raziskav vključevala osebne pripovedi, pridobljene v intervjujih, je treba poudariti pomen participativnih metod. Kvantitativni podatki pa so bili pridobljeni iz statističnih podatkovnih zbirk, s kartiranjem in terenskim opazovanjem. Pri zadnjem navedenem je bil poudarek na ugotavljanju vzorcev vsakdanjih aktivnosti uporabnikov javnih prostorov. Analize so se osredotočale na robne in manjše skupnosti v proučevanem urbanem naselju. Nekatere študije primera so obravnavale sta-

novanjske soseske, predmestja in izobraževalna okolja, kot so gimnazije in univerzitetna študentska naselja (v teh primerih so bile fokusne skupine sestavljene iz dijakov in študentov).

Avtorici sta nato podrobneje proučili še povezavo med uporabljenimi metodo in načinom predstavitve pridobljenih podatkov. Skoraj pri vseh vrstah metodoloških pristopov so bili podatki predstavljeni v obliki besedila, precejšen delež podatkov pa je bil predstavljen tudi vizualno, v obliki fotografij ali zemljevidov (slika 8).

4 Sklep

Razumevanje medetničnih odnosov na javnih prostorih z različnih vidikov je ključni dejavnik, ki preprečuje poslabšanje socialne klime. Raziskava razkriva, da se večina literature s proučevanega področja navezuje na geografijo, urbanizem in sociologijo, pri čemer so izbrane objave povezane z najrazličnejšimi podpodročji. Raziskave obravnavajo štiri glavne teme: večkulturnost, povezave, prostor in mesto. Z bibliometrično analizo sta bila določena dva glavna grozda socitiranosti, ki sta bila analizirana z vidika naštetih tem. Grozdi razkrivajo povezave med človekom in krajem (družbeno-prostorske povezave) in med ljudmi (družbeno-psihološke povezave).

Največji grozd se nanaša na povezave med človekom in krajem ter se osredotoča na etnično raznolikost kot pomemben dejavnik pri oblikovanju urbanistične in socialne politike. Študije primera v tem grozdu obravnavajo družbenopolitične vplive in prizadevanja, zlasti v povezavi z migracijami, azilno politiko in begunsko problematiko. Pojem kraja je obravnavan kot skupno dobro, ki omogoča razvoj kolektivne in individualne javne podobe. V drugem grozdu je javni prostor platforma za uresničevanje družbenih odnosov in s tem kraj srečevanja različnih etničnih skupin. Proučevanje tega, kako se različne etnične skupine obnašajo v javnem prostoru, pa je večinoma še vedno na zelo osnovni ravni. Empirične raziskave so pokazale, da so lokalni vplivi etnične izraženosti pomembni za razumevanje dejavnikov, ki določajo družbene odnose na stanovanjskih območjih. V večini raziskav je pri analizi vedenj v javnem prostoru etničnost preprosto obravnavana kot sospremenljivka, glavni poudarek pa je na razlikah med skupinami, zlasti na razmerju med večinsko etnično skupino in manjšinskimi skupinami v skupnosti. V literaturi je v tem pogledu javni prostor obravnavan kot kraj tekmovalnosti, nasprotovanj ali pogajanj. Povezave med grozdi kažejo, da če pravičnost ni zagotovljena na upravni ravni, socialno ogrožene etnične skupine le težko dostopajo do javnih prostorov in jih uporabljajo. Uporaba interdisciplinarnega pristopa k proučevanju večetničnih naselij lahko zato spodbudi razprave o vprašanih, pomembnih za oblikovanje politike ter zagotavljanje miru na lokalni in globalni ravni.

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Tülay Zivalı Turhan

Univerza Jildirima Bejazita v Ankari, Fakulteta za arhitekturo in likovno umetnost, Oddelek za arhitekturo, Ankara, Turčija
E-naslov: tturhan@ybu.edu.tr

Hatice Ayataç

Tehnična univerza v Istanbulu, Fakulteta za arhitekturo, Oddelek za urbanizem in regionalno načrtovanje, Istanbul, Turčija
E-naslov: ayatac@itu.edu.tr

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Nilgün Çolpan ERKAN
Beril SEVIN TOPÇU

Razlike v občutenju strahu pred kriminalom na javnih prostorih glede na spol: raziskava varne soseske v Istanbulu

V velikih mestih je varnost pomemben dejavnik. Strah pred kriminalom pa je dejavnik, ki ni odvisen od dejanske stopnje kriminala, ampak je neposredno povezan s kakovostjo prostora, ki vpliva na posameznikov občutek varnosti. Razlikuje se tudi glede na spol. V članku avtorici proučujeta strah pred kriminalom na javnih krajih na varnem območju velike metropole, pri čemer se osredotočata na to, kako na ta strah vplivajo prostorske značilnosti in kakšne so razlike med spoloma. Raziskava je bila leta 2017 izvedena v enem najvarnejših predelov Istanbula, ki ga tudi ženske dojemajo kot varnega. Vkl-

jučevala je anketo, v kateri je sodelovalo 387 anketirancev in anketirank različnih starosti. Avtorici sta jih spraševali o strahu pred kriminalom na javnih krajih ter kdaj in zakaj ga občutijo. Izsledki so pokazali, da ženske tudi v varni soseski v mestu občutijo nekaj strahu ter da so med moškimi in ženskami pomembne razlike v tem, kako občutijo strah na javnih prostorih in v kakšnih okoliščinah.

Ključne besede: strah pred kriminalom, ocena tveganja, javni prostor, spol, Istanbul

1 Uvod

V raziskavi avtorici proučujeta razlike med spoloma kot dejavnik, ki vpliva na občutenje strahu pred kriminalom na javnih mestih. Eden izmed pomembnih razlogov, zakaj se ženske izogibajo javnim prostorom, je prav strah pred kriminalom. Navedeno vpliva na ravnotežje med spoloma na javnih prostorih, zato je pomembno, da se ženske na njih počutijo varne in jih uporabljajo. Glavni cilj raziskave je ugotoviti, kako moški in ženske dojemajo varnost in kaj pri enih in drugih vzbuja strah pred kriminalom. Izsledki raziskave bi bili lahko podlaga za oblikovanje novih predpisov ali spremembo veljavne zakonodaje.

Eden glavnih razlogov za raziskavo je skrb vzbujajoče naraščanje nasilja nad ženskami v Turčiji v zadnjem desetletju. Število samomorov med ženskami, ki so med najbolj izstopajočimi posledicami tega nasilja, se je med letoma 2016 in 2018 povečalo za 30,6 %, v zadnjih 15 letih pa kar za 428,9 % (Tiğli, 2019). Uradni podatki o kaznivih dejanjih nad ženskami v Turčiji niso javno dostopni, zato v raziskavo razen dostopnih podatkov o umorih ni bilo mogoče vključiti tovrstnih podatkov. Kot navaja Lordoğlu (2018), je v Turčiji stopnja prijav spolnih napadov in nadlegovanja precej nizka, definicija in meje spolnega nadlegovanja pa so v turški družbi zelo ohlapne, kar je treba upoštevati pri oceni kaznivih dejanj nad ženskami. V poročilu o nasilju nad ženskami v Turčiji (Karal in Aydemir, 2012) je izpostavljeno, da morda na strah žensk pred kriminalom bolj vpliva stopnja nasilja nad ženskami po vsej državi kot pa stopnja kriminala na posameznem območju. Moško nasilje je posledica patriarhalnega prepričanja, da je žensko mesto doma. Posledično je nasilje prezrto in opravičljivo, zlasti tam, kjer je posredovanje uradnih organov nezadostno. Ženske se zato počutijo nemočne in ranljive. Čeprav morda dejansko niso žrtve, se po javnih mestnih prostorih ne morejo svobodno gibati. Zaradi novic o moških, ki na javnih mestih v Istanbulu napadajo ženske zaradi tega, kako so oblečene, in za to sploh niso primerno kaznovani, ženske na javnih prostorih občutijo čedalje večji strah. V članku avtorici proučujeta razlike pri občutenju strahu pred kriminalom na javnih mestih glede na spol, zlasti izbrane vidike navedenega strahu, in kako bi lahko težave rešili z ustrežno prostorsko ureditvijo.

1.1 Pregled literature

Strah pred kriminalom izhaja iz prepričanja, da je lahko nekdo žrtev kaznivega dejanja. Je čustven odziv, ki nastane zaradi občutka ogroženosti in tesnobe v povezavi z možnostjo nasilnega kaznivega dejanja (Covington in Taylor, 1991). Ko se pojavi, ga spremlja občutek ranljivosti zaradi nevarnosti fizične poškodbe (Garofalo, 1981; Ward idr., 1990). Navedeno se pogosto opisuje tudi kot občutek negotovosti, opredeljuje pa se tudi

kot čustven odziv, za katerega je značilen občutek ogroženosti ali tesnobe, ki ga povzroča kriminal ali simboli, povezani s kriminalom (Ferraro in LaGrange, 1987). Posamezniki, ki jih je strah kriminala, se izogibajo nekaterim območjem (Ravenscroft idr., 2002), redkeje hodijo peš (Ross, 1993; Foster idr., 2010, so manj družabni (Ross in Jang, 2000) in spremenijo svoje navade (Garofalo, 1981). Ko posameznik samega sebe doživlja kot ogroženega, čeprav je objektivna verjetnost za to zelo majhna, lahko strah pred kriminalom postane resna težava. Tovrsten strah je osebni in tudi družbeni problem, ki slabša kakovost življenja, saj ljudem omejuje dostop do družabnih in kulturnih aktivnosti. Negativno vpliva na posameznikove odnose v družbi (Sacco, 1993). Zaradi svoje kompleksnosti postaja strah pred kriminalom družbeni in politični problem, ki obsega veliko več kot samo kriminal (Garofalo, 1981; Ferraro in LaGrange, 1992).

Strah pred kriminalom je čedalje pogostejša oblika strahu, zlasti med prebivalci večjih mest, močno pa je povezan s tem, kako posamezniki doživljajo svoje okolje in sebe v njem (Ferraro, 1995; Çardak, 2012). Posledično je strah pred kriminalom dejanski in zaznani problem. Kriminal in strah pred njim sta neposredno povezana s stopnjo izobrazbe, dohodkom, starostjo, etnično pripadnostjo, krajem bivanja, občutkom pripadnosti kraju in spolom (Gray idr., 2011). Glavni pristop k razlagi strahu pred kriminalom na podlagi posameznikovih lastnosti je pristop z vidika ranljivosti, v skladu s katerim naj bi skupine, ki z vidika fizičnega, družbenogospodarskega in kulturnega položaja veljajo za šibkejše, bolj nemočne, manj zaščitene in ranjivejše zaradi zunanjih dejavnikov, pogosteje občutile strah pred kriminalom kot pa druge družbene skupine (Ferraro, 1995; Çardak, 2012; Kul, 2013). Ženske, starejši, invalidi in posamezniki brez socialne podpore informacije, ki jih prejema iz okolice, intenzivneje dojemajo kot strah pred kriminalom (Covington in Taylor, 1991; Çardak, 2012).

Družbene skupine, ki so z vidika varnosti ranjivejše ali bolj prikrajšane (tj. ženske, priseljenci, revni, LGBT osebe, invalidi, starejši, otroci in brezdomci), so večinoma predmet raziskav, ki se nanašajo na strah pred kriminalom (Covington in Taylor, 1991; Pain, 2001; Otis, 2007; Jackson, 2009). Nekatere raziskave niso pokazale pomembnih razlik na podlagi starosti, skoraj večina pa kaže, da je strah pred kriminalom pogostejši med ženskami kot moškimi (Valentine, 1989; MacMillan idr., 2000; Pain, 2001; Jackson, 2009; Uludağ, 2010; Kul, 2013; Öztürk idr., 2016). Jackson (2009) ugotavlja, da med kaznivimi dejanji nad osebami prevladujejo kazniva dejanja nad ženskami, pri kaznivih dejanjih zoper lastnino pa ni razlik med spoloma.

Čeprav sta kriminal in strah pred njim konceptualno povezana, je ta povezava šibka (Jackson, 2009; Dolu idr., 2010). Pri prou-

čevanju strahu pred kriminalom je pomembno upoštevati tudi vpliv množičnih medijev in okolja. Ob tem je treba upoštevati tradicionalna prepričanja o ženskah, kar je podrobneje opisano v nadaljevanju. Čeprav je strah pred kriminalom povezan prav s kriminalom, se na neki točki spremeni v neodvisen dejavnik. To pojasni, zakaj se pojavlja tako med prebivalci mestnih predelov z visoko stopnjo kriminala kot med prebivalci varnejših mest ali mestnih predelov, kjer so stopnje kriminala nižje (Furstenberg, 1971; Ferraro, 1995).

1.1.1 Strah pred kriminalom in spol

Z vidika strahu pred kriminalom so ženske zagotovo najranljivejša družbena skupina. Strah med ženskami v zahodnem svetu se proučuje že od konca 20. stoletja (Valentine, 1989; Treske, 1990; Pain, 1991; Koskela, 1997), v Turčiji pa šele zadnjih deset let (Dolu, 2010; Çardak, 2012; Erkan, 2015; Yirmibeşoğlu in Ergun, 2015). Z vidika ranljivosti lahko pojasnimo tudi razlike med spoloma pri občutenju strahu pred kriminalom, saj je osebno dožemanje ranljivosti pomemben dejavnik, ki vpliva na posameznikov strah (Taylor in Hale, 1986; Franklin idr., 2008). Osebe, ki se počutijo fizično, socialno in gospodarsko nemočne, se bolj bojijo kriminala (Covington in Taylor, 1991; Hale, 1993), saj sebe dojemajo kot prešibke in preveč ranljive, da bi se lahko uprle morebitnim napadalcem, hkrati pa se vidijo kot potencialne žrtve raznih kaznivih dejanj. Ženske in starejši so zato ranljivejši kot odrasli moški in mladi ljudje. Raziskave kažejo, da se ženske (Warr, 1984; Hale, 1993; Mirrlees-Black idr., 1996; Sandberg in Rönnblom, 2013) in starejši (Warr, 1984; Ferraro in LaGrange, 1992; Jackson, 2009) bolj bojijo kriminala. Primerjave podatkov o žrtvah kažejo, da ženske (zlasti starejše) pogosteje občutijo strah pred kriminalom, čeprav so same redko žrtve. Mlajši moški pa se manj bojijo kriminala, čeprav je možnost, da tudi sami postanejo žrtve, večja (Hale, 1993). Opisanemu neskladju med strahom in dejansko viktimizacijo rečemo tudi paradoks med spolom in strahom.

Raziskave, ki temeljijo na razlikah med spoloma, vključno z raziskavo, predstavljeno v tem članku, kažejo, da ženske, ki živijo na mestnih območjih, pogosteje in močneje občutijo strah pred kriminalom kot moški, ki živijo na istih območjih (Valentine, 1989, 1992; Hale, 1993; Koskela, 1999; Pain, 1991, 2001; Dolu idr., 2010; Sandberg in Rönnblom, 2013; Uçan idr., 2016). Podatki o navedenem strahu kažejo, da so med stopnjami strahu, o katerih poročajo moški, in tistimi, o katerih poročajo ženske, razmeroma majhne, a statistično značilne razlike (Gilchrist idr., 1998). To pomeni, da je spol pomemben pokazatelj tovrstnega strahu.

Strah pred kriminalom na ženske vpliva na dva načina: izogibajo se nekaterim krajem in aktivnostim ter s tem občutku strahu ali pa ponotranjijo predsodke in ideologije, ki škodu-

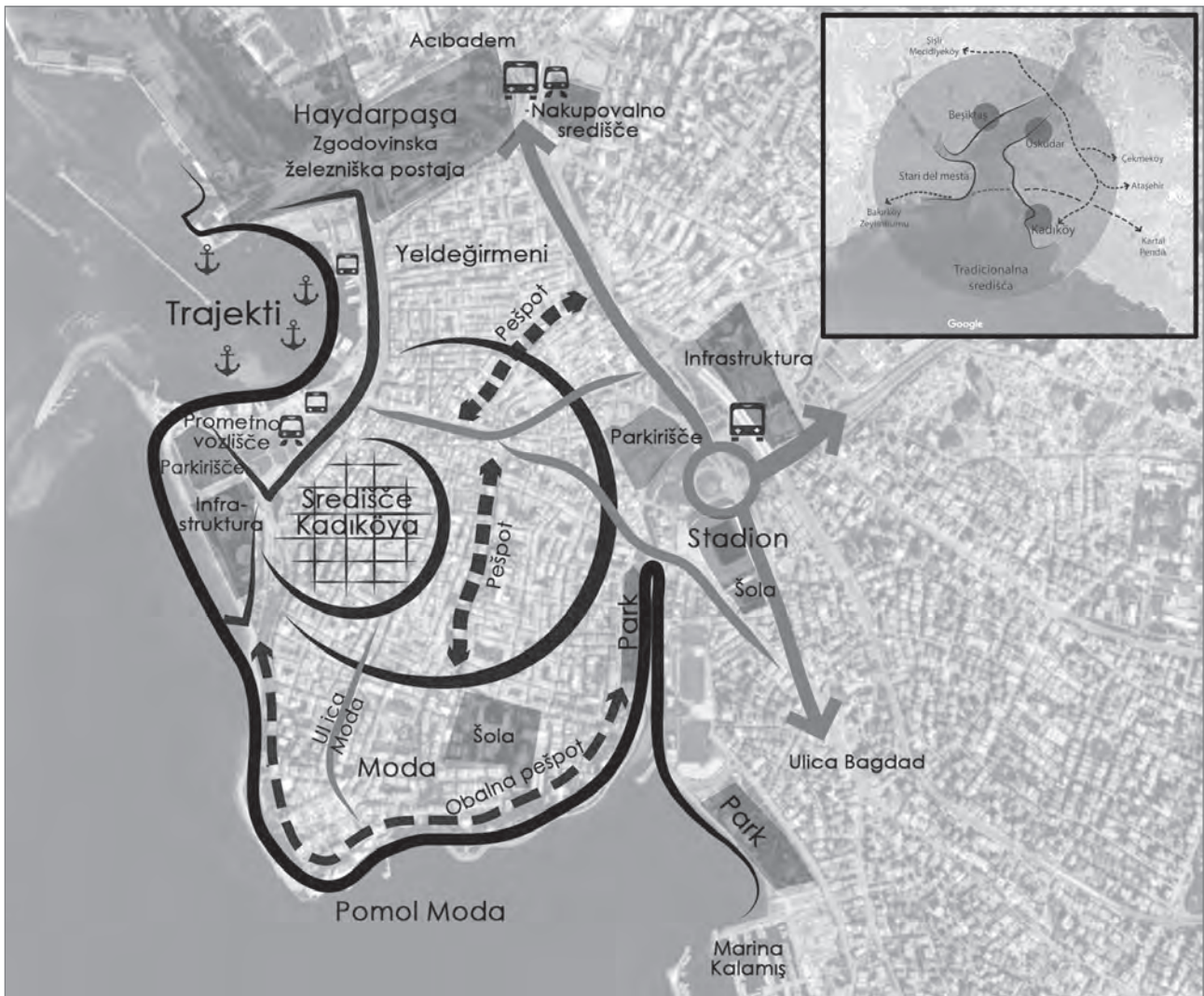
jejo ženskam na splošno (Koskela, 1997; Sutton idr., 2011). V vsakem primeru je strah pred kriminalom mehanizem, ki ženske izžene iz posameznih mestnih prostorov in družbenih odnosov. Posledično se ženske zatečejo k izogibajočemu vedenju in si začnejo same omejevati življenje. Omejitve so lahko povezane s tem, kdaj odhajajo od doma in prihajajo domov, kam gredo, kako se oblačijo ter s kom govorijo in kako. Če je strah premočen, je njihovo življenje popolnoma omejeno (Valentine, 1989; Pain, 1991; Koskela, 1999; Çardak, 2012; Sandberg in Rönnblom, 2013; Tandoğan in Şimşek İlhan, 2016). Strah pred kriminalom ženskam zlasti omeji dostop do javnih prostorov in vpliva na njihovo obnašanje v javnosti. Ker se izogibajo javnim prostorom, se na teh prostorih poslabša tudi ravnovesje med spoloma, kar pri ženskah še dodatno povečuje strah pred temi prostori.

1.1.2 Zunanji dejavniki, ki vplivajo na strah pred kriminalom

Zmotno bi bilo misliti, da strah pred kriminalom izvira samo iz posameznikovega osebnega dožemanja. Številne raziskave se zato osredotočajo na zunanje dejavnike, kot so fizični prostor ali pa množični mediji, ki ustvarjajo občutek strahu. Posameznikov strah pred kriminalom se ne ujema z dejansko stopnjo kriminala, povezan pa je s poročanjem o kriminalu v množičnih medijih (Kohm idr., 2002; Smolej in Janne, 2006; Çardak, 2012; Sandberg in Rönnblom, 2013; Callanan in Rosenberger, 2015; Sallan Gül in Altındal, 2015).

Zaradi strahu začnejo biti ljudje pazljivi. Čeprav ni dejanske nevarnosti za nastanek kaznivega dejanja, novice o napadih, posilstvih in nasilju nad ženskami v množičnih medijih vplivajo na to, kako se ženske obnašajo v javnosti. Turška raziskava o strahu pred kriminalom med ženskami je razkrila, da polovica žensk na javnih prostorih občuti večji strah, če nosijo oblačila, s katerimi telesa ne pokrijejo v celoti, ali če so same (Tandoğan in Şimşek İlhan, 2016). Ker so mediji začeli poročati o napadih na ženske v oblačilih, ki niso telesa pokrivala v celoti, čedalje več turških žensk občuti strah pred kriminalom (Internet 1, Internet 2).

Zunanji dejavniki, ki vplivajo na strah pred kriminalom, niso omejeni samo na množične medije. Tudi nepravilnosti v grajenem okolju so lahko razlog za to, da se ljudje ne počutijo varne in se v njih prebudi strah pred kriminalom. Posameznike je strah tudi na temnih, opuščenih prostorih, s katerih se smeti ne odvažajo, območjih z vandaliziranimi objekti ali prostorih, na katerih razmerje med moškimi in ženskami ni uravnoteženo (Vrij in Winkel, 1991; Nasar in Fisher, 1993; Newman, 1996; Kalpana in Ashish, 2015). Zapuščene ulice, temni prehodi, nezadostna osvetljava, odročni mestni prostori in uporaba javnega prevoza v poznih urah so okoliščine, v katerih ljudje naj-



Slika 1: Lokacija soseske Kadıköy in tamkajšnja infrastruktura (ilustracija: G. E. Albayrak)

2 Metode

2.1 Območje raziskave

pogosteje občutijo strah pred kriminalom (Treske, 1990; Warr, 1990; Greene, 2003; Erkan 2015; Tandoğan in Şimşek İlhan, 2016). Kot navajajo Tandoğan in Şimşek İlhan (2016) ter Treske (1990), ženske pogosteje občutijo strah na neobljudenih območjih in kadar se stemni. Raziskava v Helsinkih pa je pokazala, da ženske dojemajo zimske in poletne večere kot enako nevarne, kljub razlikam v dolžini dneva. Četudi se pozimi prej stemni, je ob poletnih večerih zaradi prijaznejšega vremena na javnih mestih več moških (Koskela, 1998). Na podlagi navedene raziskave strah pri večini žensk ne izvira iz prostorskih značilnosti, ampak iz strahu pred moškimi (Valentine, 1989). Njihovega strahu pred kriminalom torej ne moremo preprosto odpraviti s prostorskimi izboljšavami (Koskela in Pain, 2000). Posledično ženske občutijo več strahu pred kriminalom kot moški, kar omejuje njihovo vključenost v javno življenje.

Kadıköy je soseska na azijski strani Istanbula (slika 1), za raziskavo pa je bil izbrana zato, ker velja za varen predel Istanbula, zlasti med ženskami, čeprav je precej oblegan in njegove javne prostore uporabljajo najrazličnejši ljudje (Bilen idr. 2013; Lordoğlu, 2018). Navedeno je pomemben podatek, saj sta se lahko avtorici osredotočili na strah pred kriminalom neodvisno od dejanske stopnje kriminala. Raziskava, ki jo je Lordoğlujeva opravila med samskimi ženskami (Lordoğlu, 2018), je pokazala še, da Kadıköy velja za ženskam najbolj prijazno stanovanjsko sosesko v Istanbulu.

Medijsko poročanje o napadih na ženske zaradi njihovih oblačil je julija 2017 sprožilo proteste na številnih območjih v Istanbulu, tudi v Kadıköy. Organizirani protesti so bili po-



Slika 2: a) nočno življenje (foto: Internet 3), b) praznovanje ob dnevu žensk (foto: Internet 4), c) protest s sloganom: Pustite naša oblačila pri miru v Kadıköy (foto: Internet 5)

sledica občutenja strahu pred kriminalom na javnih mestih. Eden izmed razlogov za izvedbo raziskave v Kadıköy je bil tudi protest s sloganom: Pustite naša oblačila pri miru. Zaradi zgoščenosti tako formalnih kot neformalnih družbenih organizacij v Kadıköy se soseska z vidika družbenogospodarskih dejavnikov, kulture in nočnega življenja močno razlikuje od drugih območij v Istanbulu (slika 2).

V glavnem prostorskem načrtu mesta je Kadıköy opredeljen kot kulturno in prometno vozlišče, v zadnjih letih pa je postal še bolj obiskan in bolj kozmopolitski. Zaradi gostinskih lokalov ter raznih prostorov in površin za razvedrilo in zabavo so se okrepile tudi kulturne aktivnosti. Ker je območje dobro



Slika 3: Različna prostorska raba nabrežja v Kadıköy, a) pomoli (foto: N. Ç. Erkan), b) parkirišče (foto: B. Sevin), c) rekreacijsko območje (foto: F. Çobanoğlu)

dostopno z različnimi sredstvi javnega prevoza (s trajektom, avtobusom, podzemno železnico itd.), je tam čedalje več turistov, gneča je vse večja, območje pa je živahno še pozno v noč. Po podatkih turškega statističnega inštituta je leta 2017 v Kadıköy živel 451.453 ljudi, dnevno pa ga je obiskalo več kot šestkrat toliko turistov (Kadıköy District Registry Office, 2017). Območje raziskave je obsegalo tradicionalno tržnico (ki ima največ obiskovalcev), nakupovalna območja, površine za zabavo, nabrežje, ki je hkrati prometno vozlišče in rekreacijsko območje, in multimodalno prometno vozlišče na celini (sliki 3 in 4). Avtorici sta območje opazovali ob različnih dnevih in različnih časih, hkrati pa sta na njem izvedli tudi anketo, opisano v nadaljevanju.



Slika 4: a) Ljudje na nakupovalnem območju (foto: B. Sevin), b) cona za pešce s trgovinami (foto: N. Ç. Erkan), c) postaja podzemne železnice (foto: B. Sevin)

2.2 Anketa

Raziskava se osredotoča na strah pred kriminalom, ki ga občutijo uporabniki varnih javnih prostorov, in z njim povezane razlike med ženskami in moškimi. Avtorici sta proučevali, na katerih krajih ljudje občutijo strah in katere okoliščine lahko vzbujajo ta strah. Oblikovali sta ta raziskovalna vprašanja: 1. Ali v varnem mestnem predelu moški in ženske različno občutijo strah pred kriminalom? 2. Ali kakovost javnega prostora in okoliščine na njem vplivajo na strah pred kriminalom? 3. Ali so pri doživljanju strahu pred kriminalom na proučevanem javnem prostoru – ob upoštevanju njegove kakovosti in okoliščin na njem – razlike med spoloma? Na podlagi navedenih vprašanj in izhodišča raziskave sta postavili hipotezo, da ženske občutijo več strahu pred kriminalom na javnih prostorih kot moški, ne glede na to, kako varno je območje.

Na proučevanem območju sta avtorici izvedli poglobljeno anketo, s katero sta zbrali podatke o izkušnjah in razmišljanju uporabnikov tamkajšnjih javnih prostorov. Vprašanja so bila razdeljena v tri sklope: a) vprašanja, pri katerih so uporabniki navedli svoje osebne podatke (spol, starost in stopnjo izobrazbe), razloge za obisk Kadıköya in kako pogosto ga obiščejo, b) vprašanja o tem, ali se v Kadıköyu počutijo varne in na katerih krajih občutijo strah, c) vprašanja o tem, kateri kraji in okoliščine bi lahko v njih vzbudili strah. Pri tretjem sklopu vprašanj so anketiranci izpostavili 15 krajev in 9 okoliščin, ki bi bili lahko problematični. Kraje in okoliščine so morali ovrednotiti na petstopenjski Likertovi lestvici (1 – sploh se ne strinjam, 5 – popolnoma se strinjam), pri čemer so lahko ocenili poljubno število navedenih možnosti.

Avtorici sta omenjene kraje in okoliščine izbrali na podlagi rezultatov pilotne raziskave iz leta 2014, v kateri je sodelovalo 60 žensk, ki so izpostavile več lokacij, ki jim vzbujajo strah. Med njimi so zlasti temni in opuščeni kraji, kjer je vidljivost slaba, in kraji, kjer je gneča in morebitni storilci ostanejo neopazni. V anketo sta avtorici vključili tudi stranske in glavne ulice, vendar so z vidika strahu pred kriminalom manj pomembne. Izbrane lokacije sta opisali z njihovimi funkcijami in nista dejansko navedli imen posameznih sosesk na proučevanem območju. Pričakovali sta, da bosta med njimi ugotovili statistično značilne razlike. V vprašalnik sta v razdelek z naslovom Okoliščine vključili tudi situacije, ki se lahko pojavijo na katerem koli kraju (npr. gneča, neobljudena območja, tema, prisotnost potepuških živali, beračev, narkomanov in podobno, situacije, v katerih se posameznik izgubi na nekem območju, ga besedno nadleguje neznan oseb ali več ljudi strmi vanj, ali ko večja skupina ljudi povzroča hrup itd.). Strah pred kriminalom glede na spol je bila odvisna spremenljivka, javni kraji s svojimi značilnostmi in okoliščinami pa so bili neodvisne spremenljivke.

Anketa se je izvajala v maju in juniju 2017. V njej je sodelovalo 387 oseb, in sicer 170 prek spleta in 217 z osebnimi srečanji. Pred statističnimi analizami, na podlagi katerih sta avtorici ugotavljali, ali so podatki normalno porazdeljeni, sta veljavnost pridobljenih podatkov preverili z analizo koeficientov asimetrije in sploščenosti. Ker so bile vrednosti omenjenih koeficientov med -2 in $+2$, so bili podatki normalno porazdeljeni (George in Mallery, 2010). Glede na to, da so bili podatki pridobljeni prek osebnih in spletnih anket, sta podobnost njune porazdelitve preverili z Wald-Wolfowitzem testom sekvenc, ki je pokazal, da so podatki, pridobljeni od obeh skupin anketirancev, podobno porazdeljeni. Spletno anketo sta avtorici uporabili

Preglednica 1: Spol in izobrazba anketirancev ter razlogi, zakaj so v Kadıköyü

Merilo in vrednost	Ženske: <i>n</i> (v %)	Moški: <i>n</i> (v %)	Skupaj: <i>n</i> (v %)	
Starost (v letih)	15–25	63 (27)	35 (23)	98 (25)
	26–35	91 (38)	62 (41)	153 (40)
	36–45	51 (22)	24 (16)	75 (19)
	46–55	17 (7)	11 (7)	28 (7)
	56–65	9 (6)	13 (9)	22 (6)
	65+	6 (14)	5 (24)	11 (17)
	Skupaj	237 (100)	150 (100)	387 (100)
Raven izobrazbe	Osnovna šola	7 (3)	6 (4)	13 (3)
	Srednja poklicna šola	5 (2)	7 (5)	12 (3)
	Gimnazija	38 (16)	20 (13)	58 (15)
	Univerzitetna diploma	143 (60)	96 (64)	239 (62)
	Magisterij, doktorat	44 (19)	21 (14)	65 (17)
	Skupaj	237 (100)	150 (100)	387 (100)
Razlogi	Tam živijo in delajo	65 (27)	55 (37)	120 (31)
	Drugo	172 (73)	95 (63)	267 (69)
	Skupaj	237 (100)	150 (100)	387 (100)
Skupaj	237 (61,2)	150 (38,8)	387 (100)	

Preglednica 2: Hi-kvadrat analiza odvisnosti med spolom in občutkom varnosti

		Spol		Skupaj	χ^2	SD	<i>p</i>
		Ženski	Moški				
Je v Kadıköyü kakšen kraj, na katerem se ne počutite varni?	Ne	123	101	224	8,976	1	,003
	Da	114	49	163			
Skupaj		237	150	387			

zato, da bi lahko v raziskavo vključili osebe, ki nimajo časa odgovarjati na vprašanja na ulici, mlajše generacije, ki so spretne z uporabo družbenih medijev, in posameznike, ki se zaradi strahu pred kriminalom izogibajo sporazumevanju z neznanci. Spletne vprašalnike sta tako prek družbenih medijev poslali posameznikom, ki so kakor koli povezani s Kadıköyem (tam živijo, delajo ali ga obiskujejo). Osebnе ankete sta izvajali pripravnici. Uporabljena je bila metoda neverjetnostnega priložnostnega vzorčenja, ankete pa so bile opravljene z naključnimi osebami na javnih prostorih v Kadıköyü, in sicer med tednom in tudi ob koncu tedna. V anketi je sodelovalo več žensk ($n = 237$) kot moških ($n = 150$). Razlog je ta, da so ženske bolj pripravljene sodelovati v anketah kot moški in da moški redkeje govorijo o svojih strahovih (Crawford idr., 1990; Jackson, 2009: 371, 381).

Iz preglednice 1 je razvidno, da je imelo 79 % anketirancev vsaj univerzitetno izobrazbo. To pomeni, da so prebivalci ali obiskovalci soseske visoko izobraženi. Posamezniki z višjo stopnjo izobrazbe so bili tudi bolj pripravljeni sodelovati v anketi. Med anketiranci jih je 31 % živelo ali delalo v Kadıköyü, 69 % pa jih je sosesko obiskalo zaradi različnih razlogov (preglednica 1).

Preglednica 3: Povezava med kraji, ki ljudem vzbujajo strah, in spolom

Kraji	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
Sredstva javnega prevoza	–,209**	,000
Avtobusne postaje	–,181**	,000
Postaje podzemne železnice	–,188**	,000
Podhodi	–,232**	,000
Stanovanjska območja	–,278**	,000
Tržnica ponoči	–,175**	,001
Nabrežje ponoči	–,280**	,000
Park	–,215**	,000
Parkirišče	–,288**	,000
Notranje parkirišče	–,395**	,000
Območja, porisana z grafiti	–,115*	,023
Stranske ulice	–,177**	,000
Glavne ulice	–,200**	,000
Blizu lokalov, kjer strežejo alkoholne pijače	–,273**	,000
Blizu opuščanih in praznih območij	–,175**	,001

Opomba: * $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$.

Preglednica 4: Regresijska analiza krajev, ki ljudem vzbujajo strah, glede na spol

Odvisna spremenljivka	Pril. R^2	F (znač.)	β	t (znač.)	Velikost vpliva
Sredstva javnega prevoza	,041	17,551 (,000)	-,209	-4,189 (,000)	Majhen
Avtobusne postaje	,030	12,977 (,000)	-,181	-3,602 (,000)	Majhen
Postaje podzemne železnice	,033	20,499 (,000)	-,188	-3,755 (,000)	Majhen
Podhodi	,072	31,039 (,000)	-,273	-5,571 (,000)	Majhen
Stanovanjska območja	,028	12,134 (,001)	-,175	-3,483 (,001)	Majhen
Tržnica ponoči	,037	15,984 (,000)	-,200	-3,998 (,000)	Majhen
Nabrežje ponoči	,051	21,807 (,000)	-,232	-4,670 (,000)	Majhen
Stranske ulice	,075	32,264 (,000)	-,278	-5,680 (,000)	Majhen
Glavne ulice	,028	12,097 (,001)	-,175	-3,478 (,001)	Majhen
Park	,076	32,859 (,000)	-,280	-5,732 (,000)	Majhen
Blizu lokalov, ki strežejo alkoholne pijače	,044	18,610 (,000)	-,215	-4,314 (,000)	Majhen
Parkirišče	,081	34,862 (,000)	-,288	-5,904 (,000)	Majhen
Notranje parkirišče	,154	71,313 (,000)	-,395	-8,445 (,000)	Srednji
Kraji, porisani z grafiti	,011	5,197 (,023)	-,115	-2,280 (,023)	Majhen
Blizu opuščenih in praznih območij	,029	12,404 (,000)	-,177	-3,522 (,000)	Majhen

Preglednica 5: Korelacija med okoliščinami, ki vzbujajo strah, in spolom

Okoliščine	r	p
Izgubiš se	-,206**	,000
Gneča	-,070	,167
Opuščena območja	-,348**	,000
Tema	-,416**	,000
Berači, narkomani itd.	-,253**	,000
Besedno nadlegovanje	-,427**	,000
Prisotnost potepuških živali	-,094	,064
Večja skupina strmi vate	-,279**	,000
Skupina povzroča hrup	-,091	,073

Opomba: * $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$.

3 Rezultati

V raziskavi sta avtorici proučevali, ali se ženske in moški v Kadıköyü počutijo varne. S hi-kvadrat testom sta ugotavljali, ali je občutek varnosti odvisen od spola, odvisnost med spremenljivkama pa se je izkazala za statistično značilno ($\chi^2 = 8,97$; $p < ,05$; preglednica 2).

Pri izračunu povezave med kraji, ki vzbujajo strah, in spolom so bili vsi rezultati negativni in statistično značilni ($p < 0,05$; preglednica 3).

Pri regresijski analizi spremenljivke »spol« sta avtorici uporabili enostavno kodiranje, in sicer sta ženskemu spolu pripisali vrednost 0, moškemu pa 1. To pomeni, da ima moški spol negativen vpliv in da moški dosegajo nižje vrednosti pri vprašanjih o krajih, ki vzbujajo strah. Regresijska analiza je pokazala,

da neodvisna spremenljivka »spol« pomembno pojasnjuje vse spremenljivke, povezane s kraji. Med njimi je bil največji vpliv ugotovljen pri spremenljivki »notranje parkirišče« ($R^2 = ,154$, $F(1, 385) = 71,31$, $p < ,001$), ki jo spremenljivka »spol« tudi najbolj pojasnjuje ($\beta = -,395$, $t(385) = -8,445$, $p < ,001$; preglednica 4).

Pri korelacijski analizi povezava med spolom in gnečo, prisotnostjo potepuških živali in skupino, ki povzroča hrup, ni bila statistično značilna ($p > 0,05$), zato navedene spremenljivke niso bile vključene v regresijsko analizo (preglednica 5).

Pri regresijski analizi sta avtorici za ugotavljanje vpliva moškega spola uporabili enostavno kodiranje (ženski spol = 0, moški spol = 1). Rezultati regresijske analize so pokazali, da ima moški spol negativen vpliv (preglednica 6), kar pomeni, da ženske dosegajo višje vrednosti pri vprašanjih glede okoliščin, ki vzbujajo strah. Neodvisna spremenljivka »spol« je pomembno pojasnila vse druge spremenljivke. Velikost vpliva pri spremenljivkah »opuščena območja« ($R^2 = ,040$, $F(1, 385) = 17,07$, $p < ,001$), »tema« ($R^2 = ,171$, $F(1, 385) = 80,73$, $p < ,001$) in »besedno nadlegovanje« ($R^2 = ,181$, $F(1, 385) = 86,08$, $p < ,001$) pa je večja kot pri drugih spremenljivkah. Regresijska analiza ni bila opravljena, saj med prisotnostjo potepuških živali, skupino, ki povzroča hrup, in gnečo ni statistično značilne povezave.

Analize so pokazale, da je spremenljivka »spol« negativno in statistično značilno povezana z vsakim krajem in okoliščino. Moški spol ima pri teh okoliščinah negativen vpliv, zaradi česar so pri moških tudi vrednosti, povezane z občutenjem strahu, nižje. Spremenljivka »spol« najboljše pojasni besedno nadle-

Preglednica 6: Regresijska analiza okoliščin, ki vzbujajo strah, glede na spol

Odvisna spremenljivka	Pril. R^2	F (znač.)	β	t (znač.)	Velikost vpliva
Izgubiš se	,040	17,071 (,000)	-,206	-4,132 (,000)	Majhen
Opuščena območja	,119	52,919 (,000)	-,348	-7,275 (,000)	Majhen do srednji
Tema	,171	80,736 (,000)	-,416	-8,985 (,000)	Srednji
Berači, narkomani itd.	,061	26,258 (,000)	-,253	-5,124 (,000)	Majhen
Besedno nadlegovanje	,181	86,084 (,000)	-,427	-9,278 (,000)	Srednji
Večja skupina strmi vate	,076	32,566 (,000)	-,279	-5,707 (,000)	Majhen

govanje, kar pomeni, da se ženske tega bojijo bolj kot katere koli druge okoliščine.

4 Razprava

V raziskavi sta avtorici proučevali povezavo med spolom ter kraji in okoliščinami, ki vzbujajo strah pred kriminalom na javnih mestih. Rezultati kažejo, da čeprav javni prostor velja za varnega, ženske nad njem občutijo več strahu kot moški, ne glede na okoliščine. V neki drugi raziskavi, opravljeni v Istanbulu, je 79 % anketirancev navedlo, da se na javnih prostorih ne morejo svobodno in varno gibati, ker se bojijo, da bodo napadeni (Kul, 2013: 86; Karasu, 2017: 63). Rezultati raziskave, predstavljene v tem članku, pa kažejo, da se 42,1 % anketirancev ne počuti varne na nekaterih krajih v Kadıköyü. Na podlagi navedenih podatkov je Kadıköy varnejši od preostalega metropolitanskega območja Istanbula. Po drugi strani je 70 % anketirancev, ki se tam ne počutijo varne, žensk, kar pomeni, da se ženske počutijo bolj ogrožene kot moški. Na podlagi poročila turškega statističnega inštituta o zadovoljstvu z življenjem (TÜİK, 2016) je bil delež ljudi, ki se ne počutijo varne, ko se v svoji soseski ponoči sprehajajo sami, 26,2 % (med moškimi je bil ta delež 15,2 %, med ženskami pa 37 %). Varne se je na območju, na katerem živijo, počutilo 71 % moških in 47,5 % žensk. Iz navedenih podatkov je razvidno, da se ženske počutijo manj varne kot moški. Izsledki raziskave torej kažejo, da je med spolom in občutkom varnosti statistično značilna povezava in da se ženske pogosteje počutijo ogrožene.

Avtorici sta proučevali tudi vpliv značilnosti javnih prostorov in okoliščin na teh prostorih na občutek strahu pred kriminalom. Ugotovili sta, da na strah na primer vplivata opustelost in tema. Izsledki so pokazali tudi protislovje v zvezi z opuščeni kraji. Glede strahu na opuščeni območjih ni bilo razlik med moškimi in ženskami, je pa regresijska analiza pri spremenljivki »opuščena območja« pokazala majhen do srednje velik vpliv. Izračunana p -vrednost za spremenljivko »opuščena območja« je znašala 0,073, kar pomeni, da je povezava delno statistično značilna. Če bi v anketi sodelovalo več ljudi, bi morda navedena vrednost dosegla statistično značilno raven (Pritschet idr., 2016). Izsledki torej kažejo, da kraji, kot so notranja parkirišča in opuščena območja, vzbujajo strah in

da se ženske bolj kot moški bojijo teme in besednega nadlegovanja. Raziskava, opravljena med ženskami v Istanbulu, je pokazala, da se ženske najbolj bojijo fizičnega nadlegovanja (42 %) in temnih ulic (11,4 %), strah pa jih je tudi napadov (9,24 %) na javnih prostorih (Erkan, 2015). Tandoğanova in Şimşek İlhanova (2016) sta proučevali strah pred kriminalom med prebivalkami mest, pri čemer sta ugotovili, da se 88,0 % žensk, vključenih v raziskavo, na opuščeni ali tihih ulicah in cestah ponoči ni počutilo varno. Navedeno se ujema z rezultati raziskave, predstavljene v tem članku.

Raziskave kažejo, da nekateri strahovi (npr. strah pred besednim nadlegovanjem) bolj vplivajo na obnašanje žensk na javnih prostorih kot drugi. Tandoğanova in Şimşek İlhanova (2016) ugotavljata, da ženske v Istanbulu pogosto besedno nadlegujejo neznanci (63,4 %). V intervjujih, opravljenih v okviru raziskave, predstavljene v tem članku, so nekatere študentke navedle, da nosijo slušalke, ko so same, da ne slišijo zmerljivk ali se vsaj pretvarjajo, da jih ne slišijo. Včasih je lahko tudi strmenje na javnih mestih ravno tako žaljivo kot besedno nadlegovanje, saj vpliva na obnašanje žensk. Ker je v družbi, kjer imajo glavno besedo moški, zelo težko jasno določiti meje med tem, kaj je nadlegovanje in kaj ne (čeprav sta strmenje in besedno nadlegovanje za ženske v nekaterih primerih nekaj samoumevnega), tovrstni dejavniki pri ženskah še naprej vzbujajo strah.

5 Sklep

Čeprav se ženske v Kadıköyü počutijo varnejše in svobodnejše kot v drugih predelih Istanbula, še vedno občutijo strah pred kriminalom. Kot je razvidno iz podobnih raziskav, spol pomembno vpliva na občutek strahu pred kriminalom na javnih prostorih. Urbanistične ureditve lahko pomagajo pregnati strah pred kriminalom na javnih prostorih, vendar raziskave kažejo, da to ni dovolj. Rezultati raziskave potrjujejo, da bi bilo treba uvesti nekatere družbene varnostne ukrepe, zlasti za preprečevanje strahu pred kriminalom med ženskami.

Omeniti je treba, da ima raziskava, predstavljena v tem članku, nekatere omejitve. Posamezniki, ki so prostovoljno sodelovali v anketi, imajo višjo stopnjo izobrazbe kot povprečen prebivalec Istanbula, zato njenih izsledkov ni mogoče posplošiti na ce-

lotno mesto. V naslednji fazi raziskave bi bilo treba primerjati strah pred kriminalom v varnem in nevarnem mestnem predelu ter proučiti razlike v občutenju strahu na obeh območjih glede na spol.

Nilgün Çolpan Erkan

Tehnična univerza Yıldız, Fakulteta za arhitekturo, Oddelek za urbanizem in regionalno načrtovanje, Istanbul, Turčija
E-naslov: nilgunerkan@gmail.com

Beril Sevin Topçu

Občina Kadıköy, Istanbul, Turčija
E-naslov: berilsevin@gmail.com

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Vita ŽLENDER

Razvoj prostorske metode določanja obmestnih krajin

Za prostor med mestnimi in podeželskimi območji, ki pogosto ni jasno določen, se običajno uporablja izraz »obmestna krajina«. Eden ključnih razlogov za navedeno nejasnost je konceptualno preširoka in geografsko nejasna opredelitev tega prostora. Avtorica se v članku osredotoča na prostorsko določanje obmestne krajine na subregionalni ravni, pri čemer predstavi metodo, ki temelji na prostorskih in demografskih merilih. Prostorsko jasno opredeljena obmestna krajina na subregionalni ravni je lahko v pomoč pri izbiri ustreznih lokalnih in

regionalnih pristopov k njenemu razvoju. Avtorica metodo, ki temelji na analizi prekrivanja podatkovnih slojev, preverja z uporabo podatkov, pridobljenih od regionalnih in občinskih uradov v Ljubljani in Edinburgu. Rezultati kažejo, da opisana manj dvoumna prostorska določitev obmestnih krajin zagotavlja boljšo podlago za prostorsko načrtovanje in oblikovanje prostorske politike.

Ključne besede: obmestna krajina, metoda prekrivanja, Ljubljana, Edinburg, krajinsko načrtovanje, GIS

1 Uvod

Čeprav širjenje obmestnih območij (periurbanizacija) ni nov pojav, v zadnjih letih vzbuja čedalje večjo pozornost krajinskih načrtovalcev, urbanistov, geografov in drugih strokovnjakov. Rezultat tovrstnega širjenja je posebna vrsta prostora, ki so jo zgodnji raziskovalci večinoma povezovali s suburbanizacijo, najnovejše ugotovitve pa kažejo, da je tovrstnim prostorom skupno to, da delujejo kot nekakšen vmesnik za interakcije med podeželskimi in mestnimi območji (Meeus in Gulinck, 2008; La Rosa idr., 2018; Shaw idr., 2020). Zanje se uporabljajo različna poimenovanja, kot so obmestna območja, ožje mestno obrobje (ang. *urban fringe*), predmestno območje in širše mestno obrobje (ang. *urban periphery*), kljub čedalje več raziskavam pa njihova opredelitev ostaja konceptualno in prostorsko nejasna (Gonçalves idr., 2017). O teh konceptualnih vprašanjih je bilo opravljenih že več raziskav (glej npr. Žlender in Gemin, 2020; Žlender, 2021). V tem članku je uporabljen izraz »obmestna krajina«, obmestna območja pa so opredeljena kot območja mešane rabe prostora znotraj te krajine (Žlender, 2021).

Namen raziskave, predstavljene v tem članku, je bil določiti prostorsko naravo obmestne krajine. Z geografskega vidika je za obmestne krajine značilna večja gostota prebivalstva kot za podeželska območja, obmestne krajine so pogosto izpostavljene tudi suburbanizaciji (Couch idr., 2008; Jacquin idr., 2008; Maleas, 2018; Piorr idr., 2011). Običajno so v teh krajinah industrijska središča in objekti, značilni za terciarni sektor, kot so nakupovalna središča, tehnološki parki in logistična središča (Couch idr., 2008; Gant idr., 2011; Gonçalves idr., 2017; Martyniuk-Pęczek idr., 2017), hkrati pa je zanje značilen upad kmetijske ali gozdarske rabe. Na obmestnih območjih so pogosto tudi prazna zemljišča in varovani naravni habitati. Dosedanje raziskave obmestnih krajin so obsegale vse od analiz vzorcev prostorske rabe (Jacquin idr., 2008; van Vliet idr., 2019) do celovitih analiz, ki so združevale več vidikov, na primer gibanje števila prebivalstva, gospodarske tokove in vzorce mobilnosti (za pregled glej Mortoja idr., 2020).

Celoviti pristopi zagotavljajo celosten pogled na prostorsko ureditev, rabo prostora in druge vidike (Gonçalves idr., 2017), vendar so lahko prostorske značilnosti obmestnih krajin zelo različne, kakršne koli analize njihove dinamike pa morajo te razlike upoštevati (Piorr idr., 2011). Standardne načrtovalske opredelitve morajo temeljiti zlasti na analizi vzorcev rabe prostora, ustrezni izbiri merila prostorskih kazalnikov in jasni razmejitvi, da so lahko v podporo prostorskemu načrtovanju in izvajanju prostorske politike, zlasti pri predvidevanju mej urbane rasti, da se omejijo morebitne neželene posledice širjenja mesta (Inostroza idr., 2013; Wandl idr., 2014; Mortoja idr., 2020).

V članku avtorica predstavi prostorsko določljivo metodo analize za določanje prostorskega obsega obmestnih krajin in klasifikacijo obmestnih območij. Ker se je določanje obmestnih krajin na regionalni ravni izkazalo za premalo natančno, se predlagani pristop osredotoča na subregionalno raven. Obravnavani sta dve glavni raziskovalni vprašanji: 1. Kaj in kje so meje obmestne krajine? ter 2. Ali je glede na raznolikost rabe prostora, morfoloških značilnosti ter gospodarskih in kulturnih procesov v obmestnih krajinah natančnejša določitev sploh mogoča ali potrebna?

Opisana je prostorsko določljiva metoda določanja obmestnih krajin, s katero se lahko oblikujejo ustreznejši načrtovalski pristopi. Cilji raziskave so bili: 1. predlagati operativno metodologijo za določitev obmestnih krajin, 2. izbrati in oceniti podatke za analizo, 3. ovrednotiti rezultate na podlagi pregledane literature ter 4. predlagati usmeritve za prihodnje prostorsko načrtovanje in oblikovanje prostorske politike. Zdi se, da je določitev mogoča, problematični pa sta lahko količina in kakovost razpoložljivih podatkov, zlasti z vidika granularnosti, prostorskega obsega, natančnosti in razlik v pristopih h klasifikaciji rabe prostora. Avtorica proučuje, ali bi manj dvoumna prostorska določitev obmestnih krajin izboljšala prostorsko načrtovanje in oblikovanje politike, ter predlaga, kako bi izsledki njene raziskave lahko izboljšali trenutno načrtovalsko prakso.

Predlagani pristop je bil najprej razvit in uporabljen v okviru širše raziskave (Žlender, 2014), nato pa je bil posodobljen z najnovejšimi podatki za testna območja v Ljubljani in Edinburgu. Navedeni mesti sta bili izbrani kot značilni predstavnici srednje velikih mest, v katerih živi največ Evropejcev (Giffinger idr., 2007), in zaradi pragmatičnih razlogov (npr. dostopnosti podatkovnih zbirk in ker ni jezikovnih ovir za raziskovalko). V drugem poglavju je opredeljen kontekst raziskave in pregledane tipologije, na podlagi česar je avtorica določila klasifikacijske spremenljivke in prostorske enote analize ter izbrala najprimernejšo tipologijo za določanje obmestnih krajin. V tretjem poglavju avtorica opiše, kako je proučevala prostorsko rabo in druge geografske vidike obmestnih krajin v obeh mestih, ter predstavi značilnosti podatkov in metodologije, uporabljenih za določitev teh krajin. Izsledki analiz so navedeni v četrtem poglavju. V sklepnem, petem, poglavju je na podlagi rezultatov študij primera predlagana metoda ovrednotena kot možno podporno orodje za prostorsko načrtovanje in oblikovanje prostorske politike na obmestnih območjih.

2 Opis in klasifikacija obmestnih krajin: pregled literature

Zaradi sprememb, ki jih povzročata urbanizacija, nekaterih obmestnih območij ne moremo več jasno ali preprosto oprede-

liti kot mestna ali podeželska, saj se zaradi hitre urbane rasti kmetijska zemljišča še naprej krčijo, in to za stanovanjske in gospodarske namene (Cattivelli, 2021a). V poznih 80. letih 20. stoletja so bila neopredeljena območja, ki so v tem prispevku obravnavana kot obmestne krajine, prepoznana kot posebna prostorska vrsta – če že ne v načrtovalski praksi, pa vsaj v raziskovalne namene. Tovrstna območja so bila bolj kot ločnica prepoznana kot vezni člen med podeželjem in mestom (Unwin, 1989; Adell, 1999) in nekakšen prehodni prostor, ki se hitro spreminja, je kompleksen, raznovrsten (zlasti z vidika organiziranosti prostora in koncentracije rabe prostora), ima nejasne meje (Gant idr., 2011; Piorr idr., 2011; Gonçalves idr., 2017; Mortoja idr., 2020) in pogosto sega čez upravne meje (Iaquinta in Drescher, 2000; Rauws in de Roo, 2011). Ker lahko opisana nejasna geografska opredelitev povzroči tudi spore, povezane z lastništvom (Dadashpoor in Ahani, 2019), bi bila za boljše upravljanje potrebna jasnejša določitev tovrstnih območij (Cattivelli, 2021b).

Iz obsežne znanstvene literature, v kateri avtorji proučujejo razmerje med podeželjem in mesti ter naravo obmestnih območij, je razvidno, da se je večina raziskovalcev pri določanju obmestne krajine in njenih mej zanašala na prostorske vidike, kot je na primer raba prostora (Gonçalves idr., 2017), nekatere analize so vključevale tudi druge vidike, na primer družbeno-demografske dejavnike. V okviru projekta PLUREL so bila obmestna območja razdeljena na ožje mestno območje (tj. pas ob robu pozidanega mestnega območja z razpršeno poselitvijo nizke gostote, prometnimi vozlišči in obsežnimi odprtimi zelenimi površinami) in širše mestno obrobje (tj. manjša naselja z nizko gostoto prebivalstva, industrijskimi površinami in drugo urbano prostorsko rabo, ki obdajajo glavna pozidana območja; Piorr idr., 2011).

Različne regionalne tipologije, razvite na panevropski ravni, običajno uporabljajo spremenljivke, kot so gostota prebivalstva na pozidanih območjih, število prebivalcev, morfologija mešanih (grajenih in odprtih) prostorov, infrastrukturne značilnosti (npr. dostopnost), mešanica funkcij na regionalni ravni, razvejanost gospodarskih dejavnosti, stopnja urbanizacije, upravne meje in oddaljenost od mestnih središč (Iaquinta in Drescher, 2000; ESPON, 2005; Korcelli, 2008; Perpar, 2009; Dijkstra in Poelman, 2010; OECD, 2010; Piorr idr., 2011; Internet 1). Cattivellijeva (2021b) je proučila osemdeset metod klasifikacije, ki so jih v zadnjih dveh desetletjih razvili statistični uradi, nacionalne vlade in znanstveniki v Evropi, in jih razvrstila v naslednjih pet kategorij glede na spremenljivke, na podlagi katerih so bile oblikovane: demografska dinamika, gospodarski in družbeni kazalniki, sistem poselitve, oddaljenost in kombinacija več spremenljivk. Vseh navedenih spremenljivk ni lahko (ali jih sploh ni mogoče) kartirati. Pri pregledu literature se

je izkazalo, da so najuporabnejše spremenljivke za kartiranje obmestnih krajin podatki popisov prebivalstva, podatki o pokrovnosti tal in upravne meje (Iaquinta in Drescher, 2000; Piorr idr., 2011; Wandl idr., 2014), na katerih temelji tudi analiza, predstavljena v tem članku. Čeprav se večina navedenih pristopov nanaša na regionalno raven, se ta včasih zoži na metropolitansko ali subregionalno raven, ki so jo nekateri raziskovalci prepoznali kot najprimernejšo za obravnavo dinamike med podeželjem in mestom (Piorr idr., 2011).

3 Metodologija in analiza

3.1 Raziskovalni pristop

Na podlagi klasičnih spremenljivk in prostorskih enot, ugotovljenih pri pregledu literature, je bila izbrana najustreznejša tipologija za določanje obmestnih krajin. Na tej podlagi je bila oblikovana nova metodologija, ki sloni na razumevanju, da navedene krajine niso samo prehodni prostor med mestom in podeželjem, ampak medsebojno povezana območja, neodvisna od upravnih meja. Analiza obmestnih krajin v različnih kulturnih in topografskih okoljih temelji na določanju splošnih vrst rabe prostora na teh območjih in analizi prekrivanja podatkovnih slojev, opisani v nadaljevanju.

3.2 Določanje vrst rabe prostora na obmestnih območjih

Iz literature je razvidno, da mej obmestnih območij ni mogoče določiti na podlagi specifičnih značilnosti rabe prostora, kot je na primer neskladnost rabe tal, ampak je treba pri tem upoštevati številne dejavnike, kot je bilo navedeno že zgoraj (Gonçalves idr., 2017). Ker je nekatere izmed dejavnikov težko ali celo nemogoče kartirati, je bilo opredeljenih pet splošnih vrst obmestne rabe prostora, in sicer na podlagi že obstoječih, ne novih podatkov, da bo metoda preprosta tudi za prihodnje uporabnike. Navedena tipologija je pri opisu narave in mej obmestnih območij (glej drugo poglavje) izhajala iz že obstoječih konceptov. Vsaki vrsti rabe so bile dodeljene različne kategorije rabe prostora v skladu s splošnim pristopom k prostorskemu razvoju, uveljavljenim v Evropski uniji. Ta poudarja pomen ohranjanja krajin za preprečevanje izgube biotske raznovrstnosti, kulturne identitete in ekosistemskih storitev, povezanih s prihodnjo pozidavo zemljišč, s čimer bi se izboljšale funkcije prsti in obdržala kakovost krajin (Committee on Spatial Development, 1999; Svet Evrope, 2000; Evropska komisija, 2011; EU, 2011). Na podlagi ugotovitev prejšnjih raziskav, da lokalni prebivalci nekatere grajene površine (npr. poslovna in logistična središča, prometna vozlišča, odlagališča odpadkov in stanovanjska območja) zaznavajo kot neprivač-

ne, polnaravne zelene prostore, odprte rekreacijske površine, parke in podobno pa kot privlačne (Žlender, 2021), so bili vključeni tudi zaznavni dejavniki. Ob vsem navedenem je treba poudariti, da se upoštevane značilnosti podatkov (npr. njihovo število, vrsta, kakovost) od primera do primera razlikujejo. Čeprav se podatki, uporabljeni v tej raziskavi, nanašajo samo na proučevani mesti, je bilo opredeljenih teh pet splošnih vrst obmestne rabe prostora:

- območja urbanega kmetijstva in prostočasnih rab (OUKPR): rabe prostora, ki se upravljajo formalno, polformalno ali sploh ne ter podpirajo med drugim proizvodnjo hrane za prebivalce in prostočasne dejavnosti. Vključujejo mestne kmetije, vrtičke, zasebne vrtove, zelene površine v naseljih in pokopališča;
- območja intenzivnega kmetovanja in drugih izključnih rab (OIKDIR): večja območja intenzivne ali netrajnostne kmetijske ali druge rabe. Vključujejo zlasti kmetijska zemljišča prve in druge kategorije, vinograde, sadovnjake in drevesnice. V to kategorijo spadajo tudi golfišča, ker so povezana z intenzivno rabo, ki pogosto povzroča okoljske težave, kot so onesnaženost s herbicidi, erozija tal in upad biotske raznovrstnosti. Težave so lahko bolj pereče v celinski Evropi, saj je zaradi sezonskih podnebnih nihanj vzdrževanje zahtevnejše;
- pozidana, opuščena, industrijska in degradirana območja s pripadajočo infrastrukturo (POIDO): pozidana območja slabe kakovosti, vključno z degradiranimi krajinami, območji z malo ali brez rastlinja, opuščenimi peskokopi, kamnolomi, industrijskimi in poslovnimi površinami, posebnimi gospodarskimi območji, območji razpršene pozidave, nerodovitnimi, propadajočimi in praznimi zemljišči, okoljsko infrastrukturo, odlagališči, degradiranimi mestnimi površinami, jezovi, ladjedelnici, odtočnimi kanali, pristanišči, vodnimi zapornicami, jarki in območji načrtovane stanovanjske gradnje;
- kulturne krajine in krajine s posebno vrednostjo (KKKPV): večji polnaravni odprti prostori, parki in druge upravljane zelene površine, vključno s podeželskimi, regionalnimi, lokalnimi in krajinskimi parki, zgodovinskimi parki in trgi, neformalnimi rekreacijskimi površinami, turističnimi območji in zelenimi površinami, športnimi in rekreacijskimi območji, igrišči, linearnimi zelenimi prostori, drevesnimi nasadi in gozdovi, rečnimi bregovi, polnaravnimi odprtimi prostori, gozdovi posebnega pomena, gozdnimi rezervati, naravnimi rezervati, ekološko pomembnimi območji, območji Nature 2000, travišči, pašniki in močvirji;
- varovana naravna območja za aktivno individualno rekreacijo (VO): narodni parki in druga naravna območja (ta vrsta ni bila najdena v nobenem od dveh proučevanih mest).

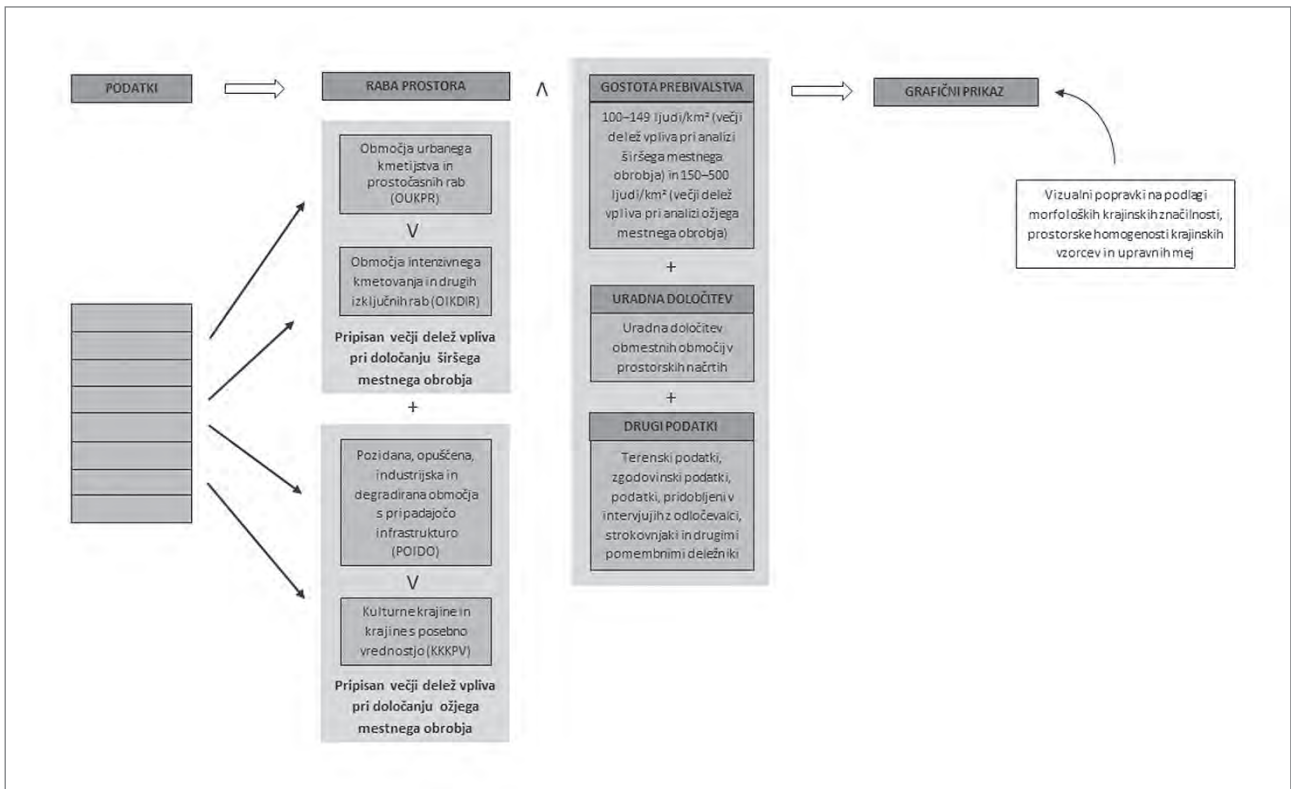
3.3 Ocenjevanje prostorskih podatkov

Po opredelitvi splošnih vrst rabe prostora, navedenih v prejšnjem poglavju, so bili od mestne uprave in drugih upravnih organov pridobljeni ustrezni podatki, ki so bili nato dodeljeni opredeljenim vrstam rabe prostora. Podatki so bili ustrezno preoblikovani za uporabo v okolju GIS, v katerem so bili posamezni podatkovni sloji med seboj prekriti in združeni v skupine, ki so ustrezale zgoraj opredeljenim vrstam rabe prostora. Na tej podlagi je bil nato izdelan kartografski prikaz splošnih vrst rabe prostora.

Podatki o gostoti prebivalstva iz popisov prebivalstva (Internet 2; SURS, 2019) in podatki za obmestna območja, pridobljeni iz lokalnih prostorskih načrtov ali drugih uradnih dokumentov, so bili prekriti tudi s podatki, izluščenimi iz prej oblikovanih skupin splošnih vrst rabe prostora. Podatki o gostoti prebivalstva za Ljubljano so se nanašali na naselja v Mestni občini Ljubljana in vseh sosednjih občinah, v primeru Edinburga pa na območja poštnih števil v občini Edinburg in sosednjih občinah. Obmestna območja Ljubljane so bila določena na podlagi Občinskega prostorskega načrta (Odlok o občinskem, 2010), v skladu s katerim obmestje Ljubljane obsega Šentvid, Polje z Novim Poljem, Črnuče, Pržan, Kamno Gorico, Podutik, Guncelje, Stanežiče, Medno, Brod, Tomačevo, Ježo in Podgorico, Vevče, Kašelj, Zalog, naselja zahodno od avtocestne obvoznice ob vznožju Polhograjskega hribovja, Šmartno, Gameljne, Bizovik, Spodnjo Hrušico, Sostro, naselja ob Ižanski cesti in Črno vas. Obmestna območja Edinburga pa so bila določena na podlagi edinburškega lokalnega prostorskega načrta (CEC, 2016), pri čemer so bila kot obmestje določena vsa tista območja, ki v načrtu niso bila opredeljena kot mestna (tj. območja zelene pasu in območja, ki spadajo v okvir podeželske politike).

3.4 Metoda prekrivanja podatkovnih slojev

Z metodo prekrivanja se združujejo podatki ali informacije več podatkovnih slojev, na podlagi česar se pridobijo nove informacije, pri katerih so prostorski podatki združeni z atributnimi podatki (ki se lahko obtežijo). Vhodna merila lahko preoblikujemo na več načinov, vključno z obteženim prekrivanjem, prostorskim spajanjem, navzkrižnimi tabeliranjem in spreminjanjem slojev na podlagi presekov in združevanja obrezanih slojev (ESRI, 2021). Analiza prekrivanja podatkovnih slojev se običajno uporablja za modeliranje primernosti, uporabljena pa je bila tudi za določanje prostorskih enot, na primer pri krajinski regionalizaciji (Dang idr., 2000; Stahlshmidt idr., 2017), ali za določanje vrst krajin pri ocenjevanju krajinskih značilnosti (Swanwick, 2002).



Slika 1: Grafični prikaz postopka določanja obmestne krajine (ilustracija: avtorica)

Metoda obteženega prekrivanja je bila v raziskavi uporabljena za določanje obmestnih krajin obeh proučevanih mest; da bi lahko razlikovali med ožjim in širšim mestnim obrobjem (glej drugo poglavje), so bila merila različno obtežena. Celotno kartiranje se je izvajalo v okolju GIS z uporabo kombinacije dveh računalniških programov: vektorski podatki so bili pripravljene, popravljene in očiščene v programu ArcMap 9.2, nato pa uvoženi v program ProVal 2000 (ONIX, 2000), kjer so bili pretvorjeni v rastrske podatke (homogene prostorske enote velikosti 10×10 m) in obteženi za končni kartografski prikaz. S prekrivanjem podatkovnih slojev so bili ugotovljeni posebni prostorski vzorci, ki jih je avtorica nato primerjala z zračnimi posnetki, pridobljenimi iz aplikacije Google Earth, da bi ocenila, ali imata širše in ožje mestno obrobje prostorske značilnosti, opisane v literaturi. Na tej podlagi je obmestne krajine ročno določila s seštevanjem grafične opredelitve širšega in ožjega mestnega obrobja.

Postopek prekrivanja podatkov je vključeval korake, opisane v nadaljevanju. Najprej so bile opredeljene značilnosti širšega in ožjega mestnega obrobja, na podlagi česar je bila izdelana ocenjevalna lestvica za njuno razmejitev. Obmestne krajine so v literaturi opisane kot mešanica zemljišč nižje vrednosti, ki vključujejo odlagališča in degradirana območja, opuščeni zemljišča in polnaravnih zelenih odprtih prostorov, ki jih ljudje cenijo in uporabljajo (Neuvonen idr., 2007; Qviström in Saltzman, 2008; Žlender, 2021). Za ožje mestno obrobje je v primerjavi s širšim značilna večja urbanost prostora (npr. pro-

metna vozlišča in gosto pozidana naselja) in prvine, kot so velike zelene površine. Na širše mestno obrobje pa bolj vpliva podeželsko okolje z redkeje pozidanimi naselji in kmetijsko rabo (Piorr idr., 2011). V skladu z navedenim je bil vrstama prostorske rabe s kmetijskimi značilnostmi (OUKPR in OIKDIR) pripisan večji delež vpliva pri analizi širšega mestnega obrobja, območjem prevladujočih naravnih in pozidanih površin (POIDO in KKKPV) pa je bil pripisan večji delež vpliva pri analizi ožjega mestnega obrobja. Pri odločanju o tem, kako ovrednotiti podatkovne sloje, so bili upoštevani tudi dopolnilni terenski podatki, zgodovinski podatki o razvoju obeh mest ter intervjuji s predstavniki lokalnih organov in strokovnjaki s področja urbanizma, arhitekture, krajske arhitekture, infrastrukture in drugih področij, kar naj bi izboljšalo točnost dobljenih rezultatov (za več podrobnosti glej izsledke drugih raziskav, npr. Žlender, 2014, 2021; Žlender in Ward Thompson, 2017; Žlender in Gemin, 2020). Navedene dodatne informacije so bile zlasti koristne pri izbiri ustreznega merila za določanje obmestnih krajin ter pri končni ročni razmejitvi mestnega središča, ožjega in širšega mestnega obrobja.

V naslednjem koraku sta bila z ukazom logični »ali« osnovna podatkovna sloja prekrita s podatkovnim slojem, ki označuje gostoto prebivalstva, in s podatki o obmestnih območjih iz lokalnih prostorskih načrtov in drugih uradnih dokumentov. Na podlagi pregleda literature sta bila določena dva razreda najbolj značilnih gostot prebivalstva: 100–149 ljudi/km², ki je imel večji delež vpliva pri analizi širšega mestnega obrobja,

in 150–500 ljudi/km², ki je imel večji delež vpliva pri analizi ožjega mestnega obrobja (Perpar, 2009; Piorr idr., 2011). Nato so bile z ukazom logični »in« spreminljivke o rabi prostora povezane z izhodno spreminljivko, ki je nastala z združevanjem podatkov o gostoti prebivalstva in podatkov o obmestnih območjih iz uradnih prostorskih aktov.

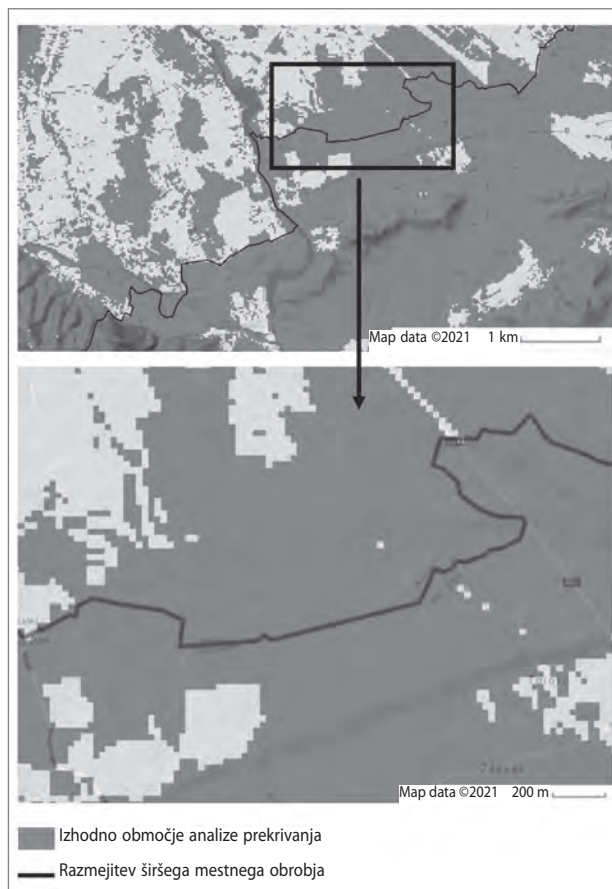
Pri končnem določanju obmestnih krajin so bile upoštevane tudi morfološke krajske značilnosti in prostorska homogenost krajskih vzorcev, kot so jih opredelili Marušič idr. (1998). Diagram na sliki 1 prikazuje postopek kombiniranja podatkov pri določanju obmestne krajine. Končni rezultat navedenega postopka so razmejena območja ožjega in širšega mestnega obrobja, kot je prikazano na slikah 3 in 6. V četrtem poglavju so podrobneje predstavljeni vsi koraki postopka in končni rezultati za obe mesti.

4 Rezultati

4.1 Ljubljana

Območja OIKDIR so bila zelo razpršena in razdrobljena, kar odraža prostorske značilnosti slovenske agrarne strukture (Cunder, 2002). Redka območja OUKPR so bila večinoma v mestu, pri čemer je bilo največ vrtičkov. Območja POIDO so bila razpršena, velikost parcel pa kaže, da so tovrstna večinoma degradirana območja posamezne zemljiške parcele, ki so verjetno namenjene zasebni rabi. Večja območja so bila na robovih mesta in so vključevala značilne opuščene površine, ki so se prej uporabljale v industrijske namene. Območja KKKPV so bila po površini največja, saj so bila v analizo vključena vsa zemljišča, poraščena z gozdom; morda bi bilo zato treba uporabiti strožja merila, na podlagi katerih bi nekatera območja, opredeljena kot gozd, imela prednost, druga pa bi bila izključena. Glede na to, da mestni prebivalci za rekreacijo in druge priložnostne dejavnosti najraje uporabljajo bližnje gozdove (Neuvonen idr., 2007), so bila v analizo vključena vsa območja, opredeljena kot gozd.

Za naselja na območju Ljubljane so bile za določanje območij z gostoto prebivalstva 100–149 ljudi/km² in 150–500 ljudi/km² uporabljene rastrske celice velikosti 1 km² (SURs, 2019). Območja so bila precej razpršena in na različnih lokacijah. Razen zgoščenih območij satelitskih spalnih naselij, ki so v zadnjih desetletjih zrastle v okolici Ljubljane, rezultati ne kažejo nekega vzorca, ki bi ga lahko zlahka prepoznali. Več območij z gostoto poselitve, značilno za obmestna območja, bi pričakovali v vzhodnem delu občine, kjer je urbanizacija bolj razpršena, vendar je analiza pokazala, da je po gostoti prebivalcev to območje še vedno bližje podeželskemu.

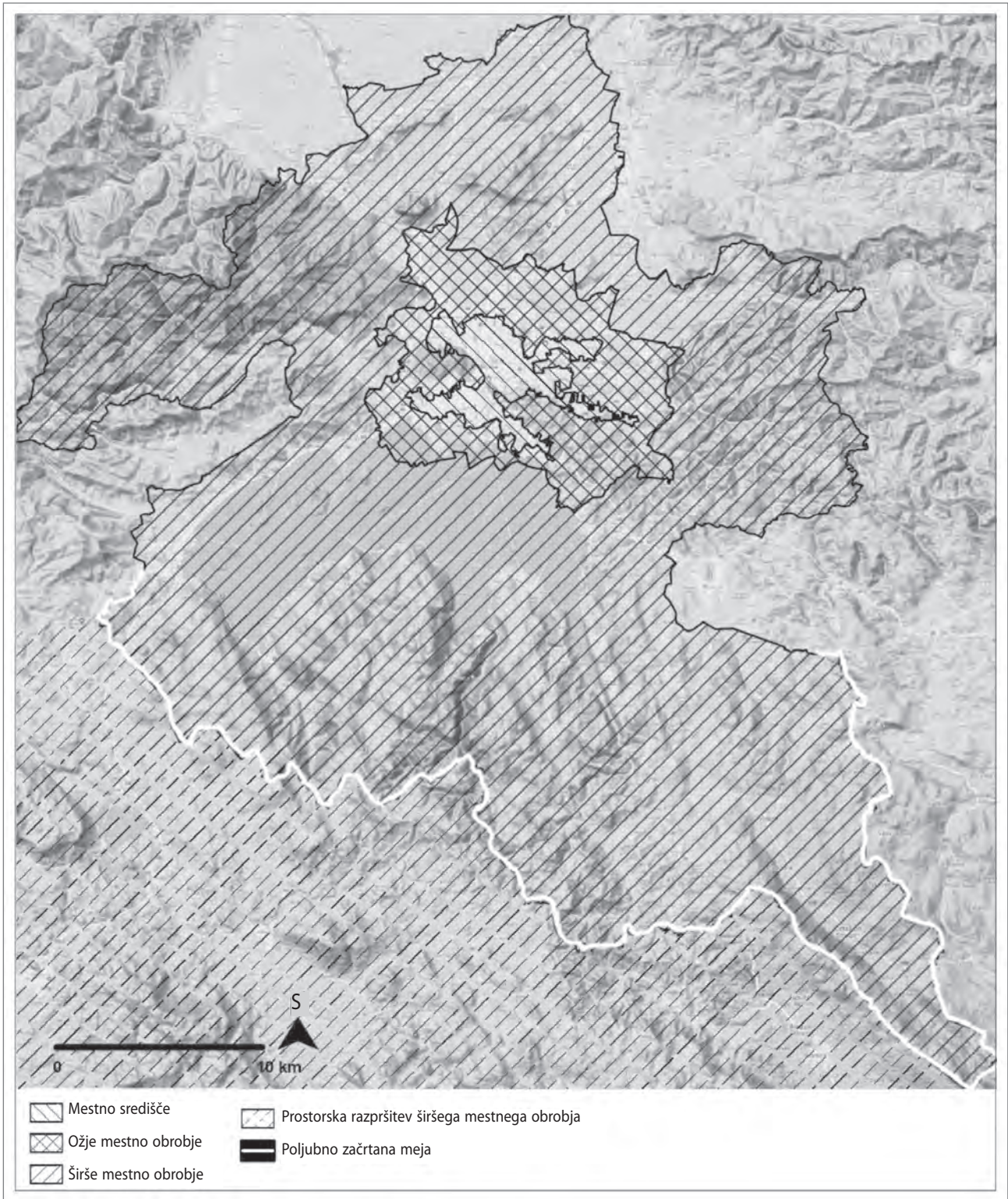


Slika 2: Bližnji prikaz meje širšega mestnega obrobja v Ljubljani (kartografska podlaga: ©2021 Google).

Opomba: Za lažjo nadaljnjo analizo so bili deli meje ročno poravnani z upravnimi mejami.

V končnem prekritem prikazu (slika 3) je mestno središče jasno ločeno, meja med mestnim območjem in ožjim mestnim obrobjem pa je jasno določljiva. Na severu zunanji del ožjega mestnega obrobja določajo posamezna naselja na večjih odprtih površinah. Na jugu je zaradi barja težje določiti rob. Območje KKKPV se iz Ljubljane razteza v širšo regijo. Na podlagi opisane analize obmestne krajine na jugu Ljubljane ni mogoče določiti. Za lažjo nadaljnjo analizo so bile meje obmestne krajine umetno poravnane z upravnimi mejami (glej sliko 2). Navedena razmejitev je lahko primerna za regionalno raven, na lokalni ravni pa bi jo bilo treba znova proučiti, da bi se zagotovila večja natančnost.

Ožje mestno obrobje, določeno z opisano metodo, je vzorčni rezultat, ki je bil popravljen in izpopolnjen tako, da je poravnano z morfološkimi ovirami (rekami in mejami med različnimi vrstami rabe prostora) in grajenimi objekti (cestami in robovi naselij). Zato se lahko prekriva z upravnimi mejami, ki pogosto potekajo po naravnih mejah. Kjer je bil rob obmestne krajine blizu obstoječim upravnim mejam, so bile te načrtno poravnane za lažjo nadaljnje analize.

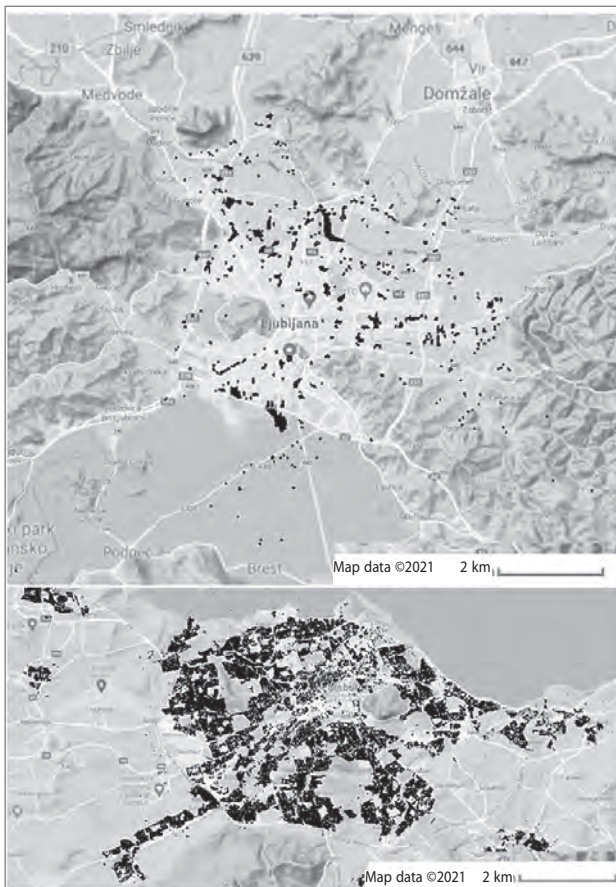


Slika 3: Obmestna krajina Ljubljane: rezultat postopka njene določitve (kartografska podlaga: ©2021 Google)

4.2 Edinburg

Območja OIKDIR so bila zunaj mesta in v primerjavi z Ljubljano precej večja. Območja OUKPR so najpogosteje vključevala vrtove in vrtičke v mestu, kar kaže, da je vrtnarjenje v

Edinburgu priljubljena dejavnost. V skladu z mestno strategijo o najemnih vrtičkih (CEC, 2017) edinburški mestni svet (ang. *City of Edinburgh Council* ali CEC) upravlja 1.488 vrtičkov na 44 lokacijah po mestu. Mestni svet povpraševanje obvladuje s strateškim pristopom in zagotavlja, da so koristi urbanega

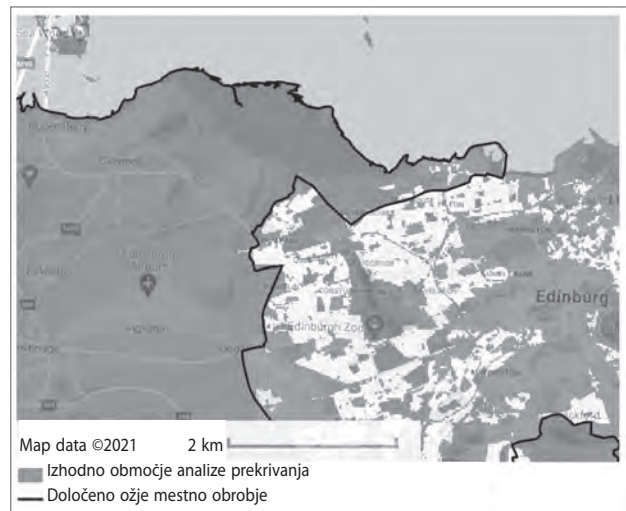


Slika 4: Izseka, ki kažeta vhodne podatke za OUKPR v Ljubljani (zgoraj) in Edinburgu (spodaj) (Viri: Občine Ljubljana, Medvode, Dobrova–Polhov Gradec, Brezovica, Ig, Škofljica, Grosuplje, Šmartno pri Litiji, Litija, Dol pri Ljubljani, Domžale, Trzin, Mengeš in Vodice, CEC, Greenspace Scotland; kartografska podlaga: ©2021 Google)

vrtnarjenja ustrezno prepoznane in vsem dostopne (CEC, 2017). Vrtnički so zato čim bližje domu njihovih uporabnikov, ne na robovih mesta. V nasprotju z opisanim ima Ljubljana razmeroma veliko vrtničkov (1.023), a na samo devetih lokacijah (MOL, 2021; slika 4). Treba je opozoriti, da se atrijske dvorišča stanovanjskih stavb v Edinburgu, ki so bila prav tako vključena v to kategorijo, običajno upravljajo kot travnate površine, ne kot vrtnički.

Tako kot v Ljubljani so bila območja POIDO raztresena po vsem Edinburgu, pri čemer so bila večja območja tovrstne rabe zgoščena v zahodnem delu mesta proti letališču. Največji delež prostorske rabe KKKPV je bil značilen za regijski park Pentland Hills. V južnem delu mesta je območje KKKPV segalo v notranjost mesta, pri čemer je hribovje Braid Hills ter mestne parke in polnaravna območja povezovalo v zeleni klin, s katerim je mestno središče povezano s svojim obrobjem.

V Edinburgu je bila gostota prebivalstva izračunana na podlagi poštne številke na območju, ki ga upravlja edinburški mestni

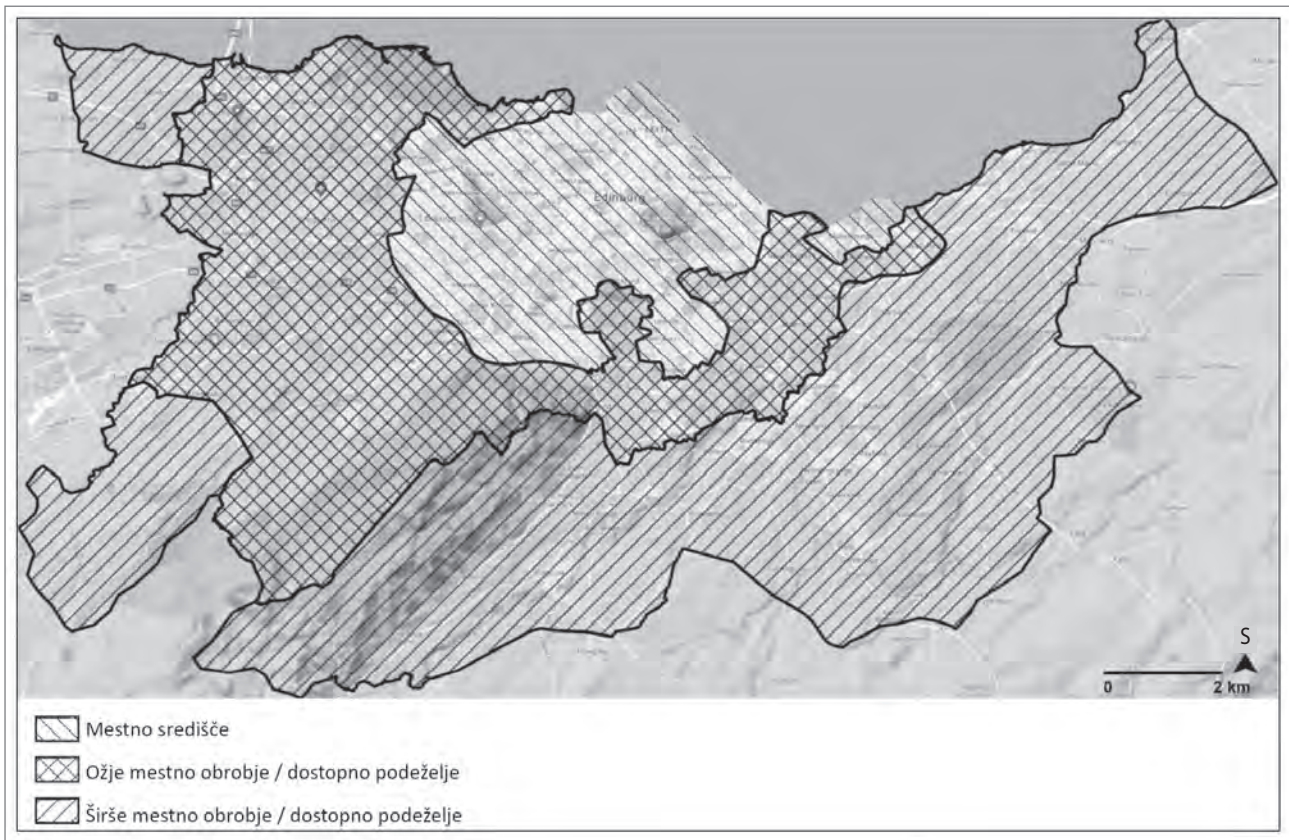


Slika 5: Bližnji prikaz meje edinburškega ožjega mestnega obrobja (kartografska podlaga: ©2021 Google).

Opomba: Nekateri deli meje so bili ročno poravnani z mestno obvoznico.

svet, in okoliških naselij (Internet 2). Ker se lahko območja, ki jih pokriva posamezna poštna številka, po površini močno razlikujejo, je bil podatkovni sklop dopolnjen s podatki, pridobljenimi s tehnologijo Global Human Settlement Layer, ki temelji na celicah velikosti 250 m² (Evropska komisija, 2015). Dobljene gostote prebivalstva na obmestnih območjih so se prekrivale z območjem zelenega pasu in območjem podeželske politike, na podlagi česar je bil pri določanju obmestnih krajin dodan nov podatkovni sloj. Na podlagi analize prekrivanja podatkovnih slojev se notranji del edinburškega ožjega mestnega obrobja ujema z edinburško mestno obvoznico (slika 5). Na jugovzhodni strani pa rob ne sledi več obvoznici, ampak sega v notranjost mesta ter vključuje hribovje Braid Hills in območje na notranji strani obvoznice med naseljema Gilmerton in Musselburgh.

Edinburško ožje mestno obrobje se na splošno ujema z območjem, ki ga je pokrival nekdanji prostorski načrt zahodnega podeželskega dela Edinburga (CEC, 2006), ter območjema zelenega pasu in podeželske politike v novem edinburškem lokalnem prostorskem načrtu (CEC, 2016). Kot že dva načrta pred njim novi prostorski načrt vključuje politike in predloge, povezane z razvojem in rabo prostora v Edinburgu. Poleg stereotipnih industrijskih območij, odlagališč, trgovskih središč in zelenih površin edinburško ožje mestno obrobje vključuje tudi obsežne, večinoma kmetijske površine, ki se urejajo v okvirju krajinske politike. Čeprav robovi mest običajno veljajo za območja s prostorsko rabo nizke vrednosti, lahko obrobje Edinburga opišemo kot dostopno podeželje na robu mesta. Kljub temu so na njem nekatere značilne vrste prostorske rabe, kot so edinburško letališče, nakupovalno središče Gyle in študentsko naselje univerze Heriot-Watt. Na mestnem obrobju proti jugu



Slika 6: Določitev edinburške obmestne krajine (kartografska podlaga: ©2021 Google)

in jugovzhodu prevladujejo kmetijske, gozdne in rekreacijske površine (npr. regijski park Pentland Hills in golfišča). Širše mestno obrobje na jugozahodu in severozahodu ni sklenjeno, tamkajšnja prostorska raba pa ostaja podobna tisti v sklenjenem delu (slika 6).

Na končnem prikazu edinburške obmestne krajine je mestno središče dobro razvidno. Bolj kot območje s stereotipno prostorsko rabo lahko edinburško obmestno krajino opišemo z izrazom »dostopno podeželje«. Vključuje tudi naselja, ki pa so bolj podeželska in samooskrbna kot obmestna spalna naselja, ki so bila v Ljubljani skoraj pravilo.

5 Razprava

5.1 Pomen prepoznavanja obmestnih krajin

Na splošno se rezultati analize ujemajo z obstoječimi opisi obmestne krajine v literaturi. V Ljubljani obmestna krajina vključuje razmeroma ozek pas ožjega mestnega obrobja in obsežno širše mestno obrobje, za katero so značilna polnaravna in naravna območja, ki jih ljudje v nasprotju z industrijskimi in drugimi območji značilne obmestne prostorske rabe cenijo in uporabljajo za rekreacijo (Žlender in Ward Thompson,

2017; Žlender, 2021). Širše mestno obrobje pa je od mesta bolj oddaljeno in težje dostopno za izvajanje navedenih aktivnosti kot ožje mestno obrobje. Zanimivo je, da podatki o gostoti prebivalstva niso razkrili pomembnega upadanja gostote med mestnimi in podeželskimi območji v Ljubljani, v nasprotju z nekaterimi drugimi raziskavami, v katerih je bila navedena spremenljivka uporabljena kot izhodišče (ali edina pomembna) za analizo (glej npr. van Vliet idr., 2012; White idr., 2012; Wandl idr., 2014). Trenutni izsledki tako kažejo, da se razlaganje periurbanizacije zgolj na podlagi demografskih podatkov ne more posplošiti na druga geografska območja.

V primeru Edinburga je analiza prekrivanja bolj kot obmestno krajino razkrila delitev med mestom in podeželjem, ki je na splošno značilna za mesta v Združenem kraljestvu (Bryant idr., 1982; Ambrose, 1992; Gallent idr., 2006). V tem smislu bi bilo ta območja v Edinburgu bolj primerno opisati kot dostopno podeželje. Razlikovanje med ožjim in širšim mestnim obrobjem v Edinburgu večinoma nima pomena, saj je prostorska raba na obeh zelo podobna. V tem se Edinburg razlikuje od Ljubljane, ki je obdana z več satelitskimi naselji, za katera je značilna tudi visoka stopnja dnevne migracije v mesto in iz njega. Čeprav so vrste prostorske rabe v Ljubljani težje prostorsko določljive kot v Edinburgu, so dovolj različne, da lahko med ožjim in širšim mestnim obrobjem potegnemo jasno ločnico.

5.2 Usmeritve za nadaljnje prostorsko načrtovanje in oblikovanje prostorske politike

Čeprav sta obe proučevani mesti podobni po velikosti in številu prebivalcev, je analiza prekrivanja razkrila, da se razlikujeta po uporabljenem pristopu k prostorskemu načrtovanju ter pojavljanju in obsegu obmestne krajine. Čeprav se navedene razlike lahko nanašajo na biofizikalne značilnosti in povsem operativne odločitve (npr. izbiro podatkov), so razlike v urbani rasti najverjetneje posledica odločitev s področja prostorskega načrtovanja in politike (Hersperger idr., 2018; van Vliet idr., 2019). To še zlasti velja za Edinburg, kjer stroga strategija ohranjanja zelenega pasu mestu preprečuje, da bi se širilo proti zahodu, in je vzrok za večjo gostoto prebivalcev v mestu. Kljub vsemu glavni namen edinburškega zelenega pasu ni preprečiti spajanja naselij, ampak usmerjati načrtovano rast mesta, zaščititi naravno krajino in zagotoviti dostop do odprtega prostora (CEC, 2016). Opisani pristop je vse od uvedbe leta 1957 ostal večinoma nespremenjen, čeprav so bila v novem lokalnem prostorskem načrtu nekatera območja vzeta iz zelenega pasu, da bi se tako zadovoljile strateške zahteve po stanovanjski gradnji. Navedeno lahko nakazuje tudi, da se dozdajšnji strategiji ni uspelo zoperstaviti pritiskom urbanizacije (Bunker in Houston, 2003). Lokalni prostorski načrt določa vrsto gradnje, ki je dovoljena v zelenem pasu, in spodbuja priložnosti za izboljšanje podobe podeželja in dostopa do njega (CEC, 2016). Da bi se ohranili kakovost krajine in njena podeželska narava, politika zelenega pasu skupaj s podeželsko politiko podrobno določa, kakšna gradnja (če sploh kakšna) bo dovoljena. Kljub izsledkom o neuspešnosti načrtovalskih politik pri omejevanju širjenja mest na podeželska območja (glej npr. Silva, 2019) lokalni prostorski načrt jasno ločuje med mestnimi in podeželskimi območji, poleg tega v njem niso omenjeni obmestna krajina, mestno obrobje ali drugi izrazi, ki se nanašajo na območje med podeželjem in mestom. Analiza je potrdila še, da so nemestni predeli Edinburga bolj podeželske kot pa obmestne narave.

Ljubljanski občinski prostorski načrt (OPN) prepozna obmestna območja ter določa osnovna merila in smernice za njihovo načrtovanje. Njegove določbe se večinoma nanašajo na preudarno rabo prostora, pri čemer spodbujajo zgoščanje poselitve na obstoječih grajenih površinah (dopolnilno gradnjo in obnovo) in mešano rabo prostora ter preprečujejo nenadzorovano novogradnjo. OPN predvideva tudi zelene površine različnih velikosti in vrst ter prihodnje ohranjanje ekoloških in rekreacijskih dobrin. Obstoječi regionalni dokumenti, tako uradno zavezujoči kot nezavezujoči, se na obmestne krajine nanašajo samo na splošno ali se sploh ne nanašajo nanje (npr. RRA LUR, 2020). Še slabše je s cilji in prednostnimi nalogami,

opredeljenimi v nacionalni zakonodaji (npr. Odlok o strategiji, 2004), ki so preširoki in nezadostno kvantificirani (MOP, 2016). Treba je omeniti, da so obmestna območja omenjena v najnovejši revidirani različici predloga nacionalne strategije prostorskega razvoja (MOP, 2020), vendar v njej obmestne krajine še vedno niso dovolj podrobno obravnavane.

Kot je pokazala analiza, se lahko obmestne krajine raztezajo prek občinskih meja, zato bi jih bilo treba strateško obravnavati na subregionalni ali regionalni ravni. Jasno je, da jih je treba vključiti v prihodnje regionalne prostorske načrte, kot to določa Zakon o urejanju prostora (ZUreP-2; 2017). S tega vidika se subregionalna in lokalna raven zdita najprimernejši za pravilno prepoznavanje in obravnavo obmestnih krajin v ustreznih izvedbenih aktih. Za določitev trenutnega in prihodnjega stanja posameznih obmestnih krajin so nujno potrebni akcijski načrti, ki temeljijo na manjših prostorskih enotah (na primer na enotah urejanja prostora). Čeprav bi bilo treba metodo, predstavljeno v tem članku, še izpopolniti, lahko zakonodajalcu pomaga pri opredeljevanju obmestnih krajin ter urejanju njihovega razvoja in upravljanja.

Nekatere razlike v obsegu in vzorcu razvoja obmestnih območij lahko očitno pojasnimo z institucionalnimi razlikami v pristopu k upravljanju razmerij med podeželjem in mestom (Servillo in Van Den Broeck, 2012). Trenutno prevladuje mnenje, da načrtovalska orodja in politika ne obravnavajo trenutnega stanja in gonil obmestnega prostorskega razvoja ter da lahko načrti, ki temeljijo na dihotomiji med mestom in podeželjem, urejajo samo mestna in podeželska območja (Wandl idr., 2014; Bajracharya in Hastings, 2018; Cattivelli, 2021a). Poleg tega je analiza pokazala, da ni dovolj, da se obmestne krajine obravnavajo samo v občinskih načrtih. Pomembno je spodbujati skupno urejanje sosednjih območij, z močnim medsektorskim sodelovanjem, pri čemer bi se med seboj povezali tudi področji urejanja prostora in institucionalnega upravljanja (Nared idr., 2019; Cattivelli, 2021a; Žlender, 2021). Predlagani pristop lahko pomaga pravilneje določiti obmestne krajine in s tem izboljšati povezave med prostorskim načrtovanjem in prostorsko politiko na eni strani ter dejanskim razvojem na teh območjih na drugi.

5.3 Nekaj kritičnih misli o predlagani metodi

Predlagana metoda vključuje podroben opis in analizo prostorskih podatkov na regionalni ali subregionalni ravni. Izbrani študiji primera sta omogočili primerjavo rezultatov, izbrane spremenljivke pa se nanašajo na rabo prostora in nekatere družbeno-demografske vidike obmestnih krajin. Kot pri vsaki drugi metodi je njena uporabnost odvisna od okoliščin in ciljev, zaradi česar je po naravi subjektivna. Navedeno velja tudi

za izbiro meril za kartiranje podatkov (npr. enote gostote prebivalstva ali upoštevana območja varstva narave). Če bi se za zbiranje in združevanje podatkov uporabili drugačni merila in klasifikacije, bi bile tudi obmestne krajine v obeh mestih drugače določene.

Poleg tega podatki o rabi prostora ne odražajo vedno funkcionalnih in družbenoekonomskih vprašanj, velika slabost te metode pa je tudi, da ni drugih pomembnih podatkov, ki se težje kartirajo in so zato redkeje na razpolago v obliki prostorskih podatkovnih zbirk. Drugi ustrezní podatki bi vključevali povezovalne in ločevalne učinke infrastrukture in prvin, ki določajo povezljivost krajev z različnimi funkcijami in intenzivnostjo. S tovrstnimi podatki bi se obmestne krajine in morda tudi posamezne značilnosti njihovih podobmočij natančneje določile. Kot način proučevanja območij, ki niso niti mestna niti podeželska, je opisana metoda dovolj prožna, da se lahko vanjo vključijo dodatni podatki in da se lahko uporablja v različnih geografskih okoljih. Po drugi strani pa se je treba zavedati, da se z dodajanjem spremenljivk neizogibno poveča tudi njena kompleksnost, zaradi česar je lahko manj privlačna za morebitne uporabnike.

6 Sklep

V članku je predstavljena prostorska metoda določanja obmestnih krajin, ki se lahko uporablja v različnih geografskih okoljih in na različnih prostorskih ravneh. Opisani prostorsko določljiv pristop lahko olajša določanje obmestnih krajin in ocenjevanje njihove kakovosti, na podlagi česar lahko oblikovalci politik optimizirajo vire ter s tem pospešijo prostorsko uravnoteženo in enakomerno urbano rast, hkrati pa poskrbijo za ohranjanje obmestnih zelenih površin, ki jih načrtovalci in odločevalci trenutno zanemarjajo (Gant idr., 2011; Žlender in Ward Thompson, 2017; Mortoja idr., 2020). Prostorsko določanje z uporabo predstavljene metode bi moralo temeljiti na spremenljivkah, ki odražajo obmestno rabo prostora, in drugih spremenljivkah, kot je na primer gostota prebivalstva. V raziskavi so bili uporabljeni že razpoložljivi podatkovni nizi. Da bi olajšala prihodnje prostorsko načrtovanje in oblikovanje prostorske politike na obmestnih območjih, predlagana metoda omogoča čim natančnejši opis prostorskih značilnosti, hkrati pa se lahko uporablja tudi v drugih okoljih. Rezultati bi se lahko še izboljšali in morda spremenili z uporabo več drugačnih in natančnejših podatkov ter s spremembo pragov posameznih razredov. Kljub vsemu je predstavljeni, bolj določljivi prostorski okvir uporabno izhodišče za analize in oblikovanje politike razvoja obmestnih območij.

Vita Žlender
Urbanistični inštitut Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana, Slovenija
E-naslov: vita.zlender@uir.si

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Dina ŠAMIĆ-MUSEMIĆ
Nermina ZAGORA

Pravica do javnih mestnih prostorov v Sarajevu: prostori, ki pripadajo vsem, nekaterim, komur koli ali nikomur?

Razni družbenopolitični in gospodarski dejavniki so postopno povzročili obsežno zanemarjanje, propadanje, zlorabo in izgubo javnih prostorov v Sarajevu. Navzkrižje zasebnih in javnih interesov je na mestu pustilo dejanske sledi in v takih okoliščinah se zdi Lefebvrov koncept pravice do mesta še toliko pomembnejši. Z vidika sodobnega urbanega razvoja Sarajeva se navedena pravica nanaša na pravico do oblikovanja, uporabe, ponovne uporabe in ponovne aktivacije zanemarnjenih skupnih prostorov v mestu. Kot je razvidno že iz naslova članka, je ključno vprašanje, s katerim se avtorici ukvarjata, komu javni prostor sploh pripada. V raziskavi najprej določita ključne težave, povezane s propadanjem javnih prostorov,

nato pa ovrednotita prevladujoče načrtovalske pristope in občasne pobude od spodaj navzgor. Predpostavljata, da so razpršenost in pomanjkanje ustreznih geoprostorskih podatkov o javnih prostorih ter nesoglasja med glavnimi deležniki med ključnimi vzroki proučevanega problema. Predstavili sta tudi metodologijo za uvedbo obsežne, prosto dostopne interaktivne geoprostorske podatkovne zbirke kot platforme za strateško načrtovanje, oblikovanje, razvoj in vzdrževanje javnih mestnih prostorov.

Ključne besede: javni mestni prostori, Sarajevo, strateško načrtovanje, geoprostorska podatkovna zbirka, digitalno vzpostavljanje kraja

1 Uvod

Topografija Sarajeva, mesta v ozki dolini, obdani z gorami na severu in jugu, je omejevala njegovo širjenje in vplivala na njegovo morfologijo. Poleg tega zaradi zgodovinskih in kulturnih dejavnikov strateški razvoj večjih trgov, parkov in drugih javnih prostorov v preteklosti ni bil deležen ustrezne pozornosti v diskurzu, praksi in aktivizmu javnosti. Današnje mesto je upravna enota kantona Sarajevo in se razteza na površini 142 km². Ima približno 413.593 prebivalcev in je razdeljeno na štiri občine: Stari Grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo in Novi Grad.

Arhitekturna podoba današnjega Sarajeva je posledica njegove bogate in zapletene zgodovine (slika 1), pri čemer tipologija javnih prostorov in arhitekture kaže pretekle politične in ideološke sisteme (slika 2). Na verskih stavbah so opazne sledi turškega obdobja, mestne palače in stavbni bloki izhajajo iz obdobja Avstro-Ogrske, kulturni in športni objekti simbolizirajo ideologijo komunistične Jugoslavije, nakupovalna središča pa so postala templji sodobne družbe (Zagora in Šamić, 2014).

Zaradi temeljnih političnih in družbenoekonomskih sprememb v 90. letih 20. stoletja so bile pri zasebnih gradbenih projektih in preobrazbah v mestu njegove skupne vrednote večinoma prezrte. Identiteta današnjega Sarajeva je povezana zlasti z gradnjo po vojni v 90. letih, ki je večinoma brezbrizna do različnih zgodovinskih plasti mesta, nima splošne strategije in ne upošteva krajevnih posebnosti, kar povzroča vrzeli v urbani obliki (Husukić in Zejnilović, 2017). Podobno je značilno za vse države na Zahodnem Balkanu. Predstavniki neoliberalnih gospodarskih in političnih sil v postsocialističnih državah so si javne dobrine prilastili izključno v zasebno korist. Kot navaja Seferagićeva, so pobudniki opisanih družbenih sprememb, ki se kažejo v javnem prostoru, neoliberalni gospodarski akterji, za katere se včasih uporablja tujka *nouveau-riche* (novodobni bogataši) ali izraz tajkuni. V nasprotju s tajkuni 19. stoletja, ki so s financiranjem parkov, muzejev, gledališč



Slika 1: Zračni posnetek Sarajeva, ki prikazuje njegovo topografijo, urbano morfologijo in kulturno zgodovino (vir: Internet 2)



Slika 2: a) verske stavbe (vir: Internet 2), b) javne stavbe in mestna infrastruktura (vir: Internet 2), c) kulturna in športna središča (vir: Internet 3), d) nakupovalna središča (vir: Internet 2)

itd. spodbujali razvoj civilne družbe in kulturnega dogajanja, nove gospodarske elite zanima samo privatizacija in pogosto tudi uničevanje skupnih javnih prostorov (Seferagić, 2007). Vzporedni ukrepi in procesi so povzročili podobne rezultate v urbanem okolju mnogih postsocialističnih mest, kot so Beograd, Zagreb in Budimpešta. Prehod od načrtovanja od zgoraj navzdol, značilnega za socialistično obdobje, h kapitalizmu je potekal nekritično in nenadzorovano, kar je povzročilo gostejšo pozidavo na središčnih območjih, negativne posledice gentrifikacije, komercializacije in homogenizacije mestnega okolja ter zanemarljivo vključenost prebivalcev. Vsem postsocialističnim mestom je skupno tudi neujemanje načrtov in zazidave v urbanem okolju, pri čemer načrti pogosto samo formalno upoštevajo javni interes, dejanske gradnje pa sploh ni (Zlatar Gamberozić, 2019). Opisani prehod ni vplival samo na povojno, postsocialistično in postmoderno družbo, ampak je pustil tudi prostorske sledi ter prispeval h krizi javnih prostorov v Sarajevu. Navedena kriza se nanaša na današnje propadanje mnogih javnih prostorov, njihovo nejasno programsko vsebino in lastništvo, slabo dostopnost, nepovezanost z okolico in odtujenost od lokalne skupnosti. Ker ni strateškega pristopa ali vizije, so sarajevski javni prostori v nekakšnem negotovem prehodnem položaju, v katerem so pasivno ujeti med preteklostjo, sedanjostjo in prihodnostjo ter nepovezani z okolico. Da bi javni prostori v Sarajevu spet postali pomembna tema za lokalne oblasti, raziskovalce, strokovnjake in javnost, sta avtorici v članku predstavili metodologijo in orodja, s katerimi bi lahko pospešili sistematično urejanje in vzdrževanje skupnih prostorov v mestu.

2 Osredotočenost na javne prostore

Avtorici sta analizirali javne prostore v Sarajevu, določili ključne težave in predlagali inovativne možnosti izboljšanja navedenih javnih prostorov. Zaradi globalizacije in tehnoloških sprememb se je klasična idealistična predstava o teh prostorih kot demokratičnih odprtih prostorih, dostopnih vsem, v zadnjih desetletjih spremenila. Nekateri teoretiki trdijo, da komercializacija krni samo javnost javnih prostorov in da spremljamo njihovo izgubljanje (Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1995; Koolhaas, 1997; Putnam, 2001; Sennett, 2002), drugi pa opisano preobrazbo obravnavajo samo kot fazo v njihovem razvoju (Loukaitou-Sideris in Banerjee, 1998; Carr idr., 1992). Avtorici ne predlagata nove definicije, ampak se na podlagi teoretičnega vpogleda v različne tipologije (Carr idr., 1992; Carmona, 2010) osredotočata na naslednje ključne značilnosti javnih prostorov: funkcijo/tipologijo, velikost, stopnjo odprtosti, dostopnost in urbano vzdušje.

Članek je razdeljen na štiri dele. Uvodu ter predstavitvi raziskovalnih ciljev, metodologije in hipoteze v poglavju Osre-



Slika 3: Primeri zasebnega prilaščanja in zanemarjanja javnih prostorov: ovire na sarajevskih ulicah in trgih (foto: avtorici)

dotočenost na javne prostore sledi podpoglavje z naslovom Trenutno stanje, v katerem so opisani ključni gospodarski, politični, ideološki, tehnični in organizacijski dejavniki, zaradi katerih javni prostori v Sarajevu propadajo. V tretjem poglavju avtorici analizirata najrazličnejše referenčne primere geoprostorskih podatkovnih zbirk javnih prostorov in pozitivne mednarodne prakse s področja združevanja urbanističnega načrtovanja in informacijskih tehnologij. V četrtem poglavju predstavita metodologijo oblikovanja digitalne platforme, pojasnita vloge potencialnih deležnikov in opišeta analitične zmogljivosti tovrstnega digitalnega orodja na primeru izbranih

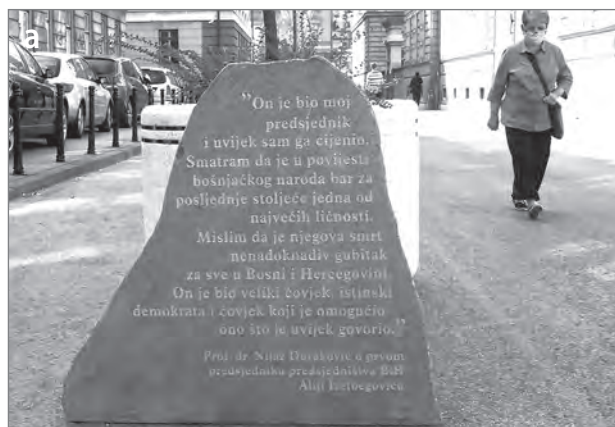
javnih prostorov v Sarajevu. Njuna raziskava temelji na predpostavki, da sta razpoložljivost in prost dostop do informacij med ključnimi temeljnimi pogoji za razvoj odprtih javnih prostorov. Večina ugotovljenih urbanističnih težav v Sarajevu je posredna ali neposredna posledica razpršenosti informacij in ustreznih podatkov o zgodovini, lastništvu, dostopnosti, funkciji, upravljanju, fizičnem stanju in okolici javnih prostorov. Avtorici sta postavili hipotezo, da lahko tehnološki napredek in razvoj digitalnih medijev okrepi sodelovanje med strokovnjaki, javnim in zasebnim sektorjem ter lokalno skupnostjo, in sicer z vzpostavitev odprte, demokratične in celovite platforme, ki se osredotoča na vizijo, razvoj in upravljanje javnih mestnih prostorov. Z uporabo tovrstne metodologije in drugih orodij digitalnega vzpostavljanja kraja se lahko izboljša kakovost obstoječih javnih prostorov in se prenovijo urbane praznine (ang. *urban voids*) v Sarajevu.

2.1 Trenutno stanje

Zaradi družbenih, političnih in gospodarskih sprememb na prelomu tisočletja so bile javna sfera in skupne vrednote postavljene pred preizkušnjo, javne pobude pa potisnjene v ozadje (Ibelings, 2010). Javni mestni prostori so posledično ostali na robu teorije, kritike, prakse in civilne angažiranosti. Med težavami, ki se vztrajno ponavljajo, so zasebno prilščanje javnih prostorov, nejasno lastništvo, slaba dostopnost, neustrezno vzdrževanje in zanemarjenost, nedelovanje in razdrobljenost ter nepovezanost z urbano okolico ali skupnostjo (slika 3). V skladu z zgodovinskim in družbenopolitičnim ozadjem sarajevskih javnih prostorov lahko njihov trenutni položaj opišemo kot nestabilen in prehodni (Zagora in Samić, 2021). Podobno so tudi mestni prebivalci in ustanove potisnjeni v nekakšen vmesni položaj, v katerem so ujeti med spomini na daljno in bližnjo preteklost, med sedanostjo in pričakovano prihodnostjo (Harrington idr., 2017).

V zadnjih letih so se nekateri lokalni upravni organi začeli zavedati pomena zagotavljanja javnih in skupnostnih prostorov, zaradi česar je opazen pojav ad hoc posegov v javni prostor, pri čemer se nekateri izvajajo brez posvetovanja s strokovnjaki in javnostjo, razpisov ali razprav (slika 4). Številni posegi so bili tako narejeni brez predhodne strategije ali povezave z lokalnim okoljem ter zato večinoma ostajajo nekakšni spomeniki političnim osebnostim ali sistemom in so brez pravega namena. Po drugi strani si lokalne skupnosti želijo manjše uporabne posege v javni prostor, kot so igrišča za različne starostne skupine in infrastruktura za starejše. Zdi pa se, da ni učinkovitih komunikacijskih kanalov, po katerih bi se njihova mnenja sporočala načrtovalcem, občinam, mestni upravi in upravi kantona.

V zadnjem desetletju sarajevske občine objavljajo razpise za ureditev izbranih javnih prostorov, kot so manjši trgi in par-



Slika 4: a) monoliti, raztreseni po ulici brez kakršnega koli logičnega zaporedja in povezave z okolico (vir: Općina Centar Sarajevo, 2021), b) turistični kiosk, ki ni bil nikoli odprt, prebivalci pa so se pritoževali nad predragimi stroški njegove postavitve (vir: Klix, 2021), c) sprehajališče brez jasne programske vsebine, prepoznavne estetike ali urbanega vzdušja (vir: Općina Stari Grad Sarajevo, 2021)

ki, a večinoma samo za oblikovanje spomenikov žrtvam vojne v Bosni in Hercegovini v 90. letih prejšnjega stoletja. Zaradi razpisnih postopkov se večina oblikovalskih projektov, ki na razpisih zmagajo, sploh ne dokonča ali je izvedena samo delno, brez posvetovanja z avtorji projekta. Večina razpisov se osredotoča na oblikovanje spomenikov in obeležij, iskanje rešitev za urejanje javnega prostora pa je drugotnega pomena. Leta 2020 je bil na primer objavljen razpis za oblikovanje spomenika na

eni najpomembnejših lokacij v Sarajevu – Trgu Alije Izetbegovića. Zmagovalni oblikovalski projekti nikoli niso bili javno predstavljeni, ko pa je občina pred kratkim napovedala gradnjo podzemnega parkirišča, je to spodbudilo javno razpravo. Opisano kaže na pomanjkanje strateškega pristopa in usklajenosti procesov in ukrepov, predvidenih na izbrani lokaciji. Na področju urejanja javnih mestnih prostorov v državi se je v Sarajevu in Banjaluki v zadnjem desetletju začelo kar nekaj odmevnih neinstitucionalnih pobud. Leta 2013 sta kulturno društvo Crvena in prostorska pobuda LIFT začela izvajati projekt *Gradology project*, ki je pravzaprav spletna aktivistična platforma, s katero lahko Sarajevčani odkrivajo javne prostore, kot so parki, trgi, zapuščene stavbe in neuporabljeni prostori, in jih označijo na zemljevidu (LIFT, 2015). Druga skupina aktivistov, znana pod imenom *Dobre Kote* (Dobri koticiki), je od leta 2015 izvedla več neformalnih projektov urbanih posegov v prostor, s katerimi so bili zapuščeni mestni koticiki spremenjeni v kraje, ki jih lokalna skupnost uporablja za druženje. Nekaj primerov uporabe izrazitega pristopa od spodaj navzgor pri ponovni aktivaciji javnih prostorov lahko zunaj Sarajeva najdemo v Banjaluki, kjer skupina strokovnjakov in aktivistov v projektni skupini *Small SCALE* pri Centru za prostorske raziskave organizira delavnice ter oblikuje in izvaja manjše prostorske posege v mestu (Karan idr., 2017).

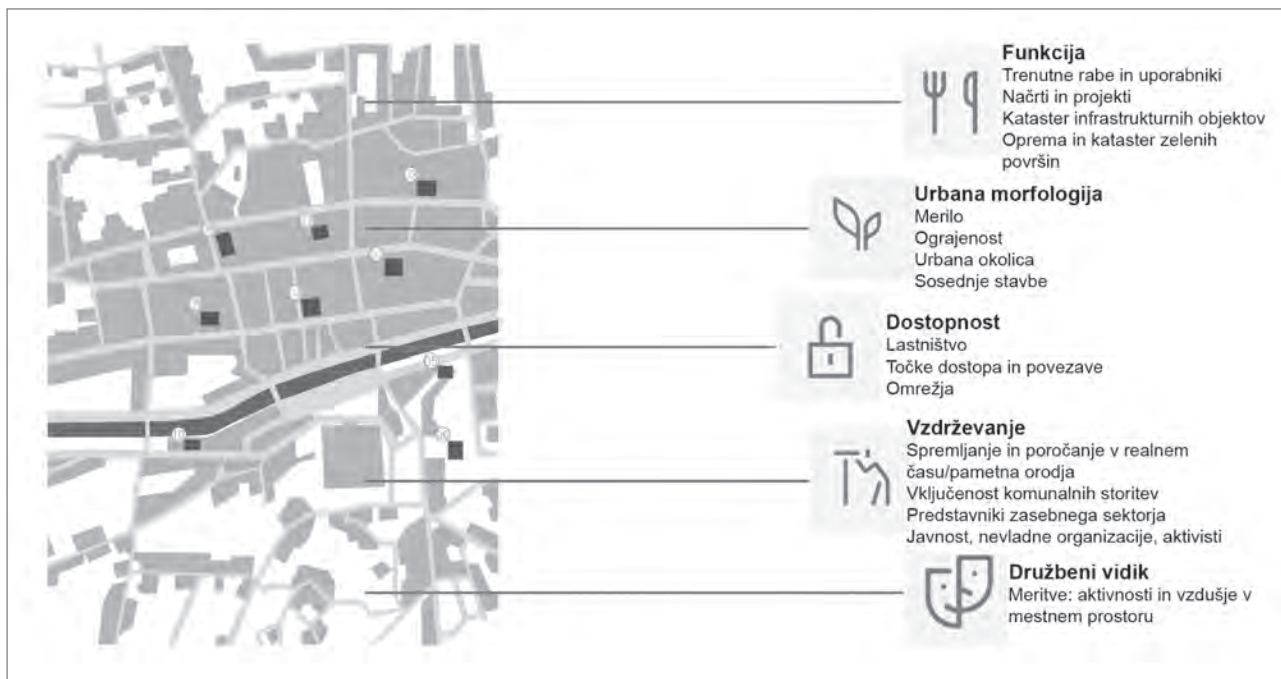
Avtorici sta navdih za naslov članka dobili pri Lefebvrovemu konceptu pravice do mesta iz leta 1968 (Lefebvre, 1968). Osredotočili sta se na problematiko javnih prostorov z vidika pravic in dolžnosti ter določili ključne deležnike: kdo je lastnik javnih prostorov v Sarajevu, kdo ima dostop do njih ter kdo jih oblikuje, vzdržuje, uporablja, aktivira in spreminja. Zaradi prevlade zasebnih interesov nad javnimi v novejši zgodovini mesta imajo njegovi prebivalci popačeno predstavo o njegovi dediščini in čutijo odpor do zapuščine socialističnega obdobja, opazno pa je tudi razhajanje med individualnim in kolektivnim (Zagora in Samić, 2021). Ker spominjajo na socialistično ideologijo kolektivnih vrednot, so se nekateri javni prostori celo spremenili v siva območja mesta ali urbane praznine (de Sola Morales, 2003), njihova ureditev pa v uradnih prostorskih aktih ne spada med prednostne naloge. Na podlagi ugotovljenih problemov zanemarjenosti, razdrobljenosti in zasebnega prilasčanja javnih prostorov avtorici proučujeta temeljne pogoje za oblikovanje strateškega pristopa k načrtovanju, oblikovanju, razvoju in vzdrževanju skupnih prostorov, ki bi temeljil na sodelovanju vseh deležnikov, določanju odgovornosti in ozaveščanju splošne javnosti.

3 Metodologija in analiza

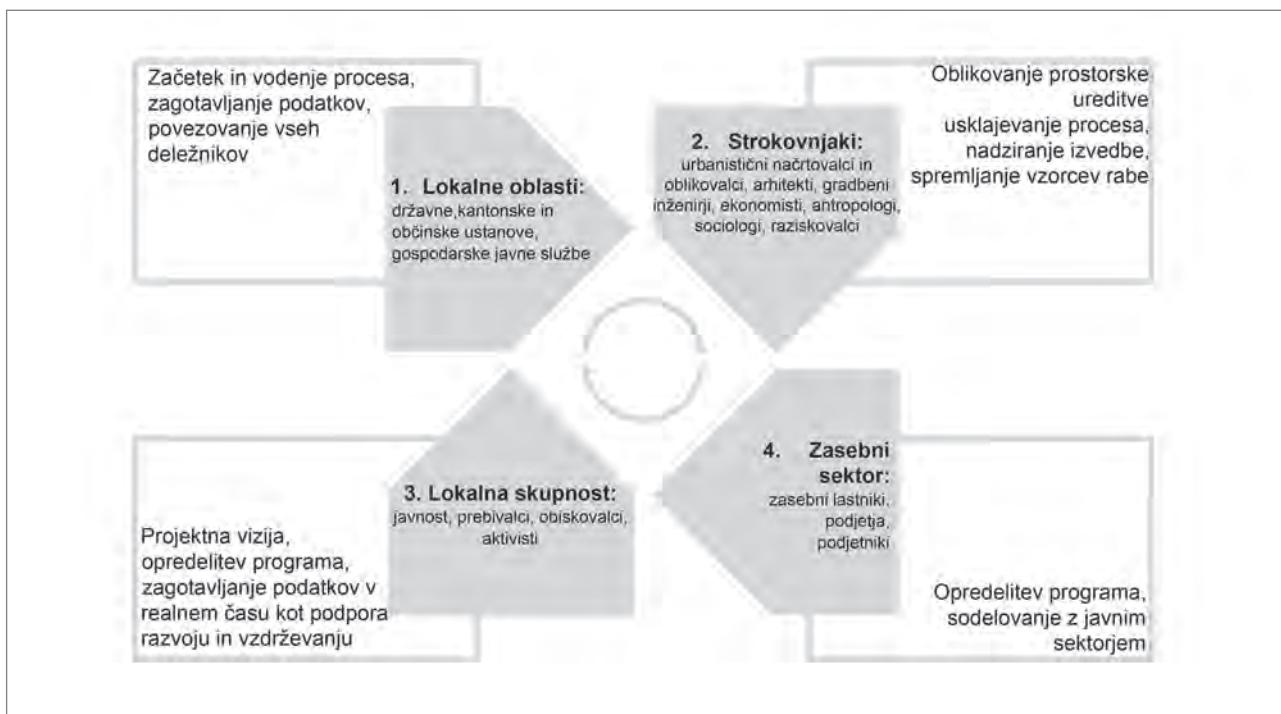
3.1 Geoprostorska podatkovna zbirka javnih prostorov

Čedalje večja urbanizacija in neupoštevanje javnih prostorov sta pereč problem na globalni ravni, zato je eden izmed ciljev trajnostnega razvoja, ki so jih določili Združeni narodi in naj bi bili doseženi do leta 2030, tudi zagotoviti splošen dostop do varnih, odprtih in dostopnih zelenih in javnih površin, zlasti za ženske in otroke, starejše in invalide. V ta namen so bila v okviru Programa Združenih narodov za naselja (UN-Habitat, 2018) izdana priporočila glede zaželenega deleža mestnih zemljišč, namenjenih odprtim javnim prostorom, pri čemer naj bi bilo 45–50 % zemljišč dodeljenih ulicam in pločnikom, 15–20 % pa javnim odprtim prostorom. Oblikovalci politik, voditelji, prebivalci in urbanisti pogosto zanemarjajo ali podcenjujejo pomen javnih prostorov. Za to je več razlogov, na primer pomanjkanje virov in nezadostno razumevanje ali nezmožnost uporabe javnih prostorov kot zaokroženega večfunkcionalnega urbanega sistema. Pogosto razmere še poslabšajo dejavniki, kot so pomanjkanje ustreznih spodbujevalnih okvirjev, šibka politična volja in to, da ni ustreznih načinov vključevanja javnosti. Dejansko pa pomen javnih prostorov na lokalni in svetovni ravni ni bil prepoznan predvsem zato, ker ni globalnega kazalnika na tem področju (United Nations Statistics Division, 2020).

UN-Habitat med načrtovalskimi in upravljaljskimi pristopi lokalnim upravam predlaga sistemski pristop, ki vključuje zbiranje točnih, pravočasnih ter razdruženih podatkov in informacij. Zbiranje podatkov večinoma temelji na satelitskih posnetkih (iz prosto dostopnih virov), dokumentaciji o zemljiščih v javni lasti in zemljevidih lokalne skupnosti. Pomemben korak naprej, ki ga predlaga UN-Habitat, je uporaba metodologije kartiranja razpoložljivih in potencialnih javnih prostorov po vsem svetu. Na podoben način je na primer Inštitut Jana Gehla skupaj s partnerji (mestnima občinama København in San Francisco ter seattelskim občinskim uradom za promet) razvil poseben protokol za zbiranje podatkov o življenju na javnih prostorih z naslovom Public Life Data Protocol (Gehl Architects, 2020). Protokol je prosto dostopen, njegov namen pa je omogočiti celovitejše in bolj usklajeno zbiranje prostorskih podatkov po urbanističnih uradih po vsem svetu. Predlaga različne ankete in orodja, ki so preprosta za izvedbo, na primer štetje ljudi, ki se premikajo po javnem prostoru, ali kartiranje dejavnosti na javnem prostoru, pri katerih se ljudje ne premikajo. Podobno je tudi ekipa KTH pod vodstvom Sethe Low ustvarila projekt Public Space Database Project (Centre for the Future of Places, 2020), katerega namen je zbiranje raziskovalnih podatkov z različnih področij in njihovo združevanje v podatkovno



Slika 5: Sestava interaktivne digitalne platforme za javne prostore v Sarajevu (ilustracija: avtorici)



Slika 6: Potencialne skupine uporabnikov prosto dostopne podatkovne zbirke javnih prostorov v Sarajevu (ilustracija: avtorici)

zbirko, ki temelji na uporabi splošne terminologije ter je dostopna in razumljiva vsem.

Na podlagi predstavljenih primerov je jasno, da sta temeljna pogoja za zagotavljanje bolj trajnostnih in vključujočih javnih prostorov multidisciplinarni pristop in dostop do vseh poglobljenih podatkov. Za kakovostnejše javne prostore v Sarajevu bi bilo torej treba najprej oblikovati okvir za razvrstitev javnih

mestnih prostorov, ki bi vključeval več plasti informacij ali metapodatkov v realnem času, kot so podatki o zgodovini, funkciji (hibridnosti), lastništvu, upravljanju, infrastrukturi, sosednjih objektih in prostorih, sodelujočih deležnikih in rezultatih meritev (npr. vzorcih uporabe in delovanja javnih prostorov), hkrati pa bi omogočal spremljanje stanja vzdrževanosti ter poročanje o tehničnih in varnostnih zadevah, kar bi spodbujalo vključevanje javnosti (slika 5).

Preglednica 1: Kriteriji, na podlagi katerih so bili kartirani javni prostori v Sarajevu

Kriterij	Atributi
Tipologija	Zeleni, mestni, skupnostni, prometni, javni notranji prostori, neopredeljeni
Velikost	Veliki in zelo veliki, srednje veliki, majhni in zelo majhni
Stopnja odprtosti	Odperti, polodprti, zaprti
Aktivnost	Aktivni in sezonsko aktivni, pasivni
Dostopnost	Dostopni, pogojno dostopni
Urbano vzdušje	Ekstrovertirani, introvertirani

V tovrstni obsežni prostodostopni podatkovni zbirki bi bili zbrani vsi pomembni podatki najrazličnejših ustanov in deležnikov, od občinskih uradov, urbanističnih inštitutov, svetov krajevnih skupnosti in nevladnih organizacij do aktivističnih skupin, ki se ukvarjajo s problematiko javnih prostorov. Zbrani podatki bi bili sistematično razvrščeni na podlagi tipoloških meril (v funkcionalne, prostorske in družbene podatke), nato pa bi bili razdeljeni v različne plasti, s prekrivanjem katerih bi lahko bolje razumeli izbrano območje. Poleg tega bi morala podatkovna zbirka delovati kot interaktivna platforma, ki bi bila namenjena zbiranju in deljenju podatkov. Ena najpomembnejših koristi takih digitalnih orodij je ta, da lahko zagotavljajo edinstveno zbirališče za vse deležnike, ki želijo ustvarjati boljše javne prostore. Pri tem je treba združiti štiri ključne deležnike, katerih sodelovanje je odločilno za prihodnost javnih prostorov: gospodarski sektor (industrijo, lastnike zemljišč in banke), politiko (politične voditelje in stranke), strokovnjake s področja prostorskega razvoja (urbaniste, arhitekta in inženirje) in civilno družbo (javnost, nevladne organizacije in urbana družbena gibanja) (Seferagić, 2007). Opisana prosto dostopna platforma bi spodbujala in krepila vključevanje javnosti, družbeno kohezijo in zaupanje v skupnost – vrednote, za katere se zdi, da so v postranzicijski družbi že dolgo pozabljene.

Vključenost javnosti ne bo povzročila samo demokratizacije vseh procesov, povezanih s prostorom, ampak bo spremenila tudi trenutno mišljenje ljudi. Pomembno je poudariti, da bi moralo sodelovanje lokalne skupnosti pri odločanju prek digitalnih orodij presegati formalno raven, glas ljudstva pa bi moral biti upoštevan že od vsega začetka. V prihodnje je zato zelo pomembno, da je javnost vključena že v začetne faze prostorskega načrtovanja, saj je ključni akter kakršne koli urbane revitalizacije mesta (Zlatac Gamberožić, 2019). Prostore, ki ne pripadajo nikomur, lahko tako končno *zamenjajo prostori, ki pripadajo vsem*. Zbrani podatki bi bili v opisanem postopku pretvorjeni v orodje, ki bi lokalne oblasti usmerjalo pri načrtovanju in izvajanju prostorskih posegov. Poleg tega bi omogočalo spremljanje stanja javnih prostorov in urbane opreme v realnem času.

Zavedati pa se je treba, da bi imela tovrstna platforma različne uporabnike, od urbanistov, arhitektov, raziskovalcev,

investitorjev in drugih strokovnjakov do zasebnih vlagateljev, komunalnih služb in skladov, nevladnih organizacij, aktivistov, javnosti in turistov, med katerimi bi vsak iskal in delil različne vrste podatkov (slika 6). Zato je zelo pomembno, da se uporablja splošna terminologija, čeprav bo platforma razdeljena na številne odseke glede na zahteve, znanje in spretnosti uporabnikov.

3.2 Kartiranje javnih mestnih prostorov

Avtorici sta javne prostore v Sarajevu kartirali, da bi dobili splošen vpogled v to, kako so porazdeljeni. Kartiranje je temeljilo na uporabi izbranih kriterijev, ki opredeljujejo naravo javnih prostorov, vključno z njihovo tipologijo, velikostjo, stopnjo odprtosti, aktivnostjo, dostopnostjo in urbanim vzdušjem (preglednica 1).

Podoben metodološki pristop se lahko uporabi za oblikovanje interaktivne podatkovne zbirke javnih prostorov v Sarajevu. Posledična geoprostorska platforma bi omogočala združevanje, prekrivanje ali razstavljanje številnih podatkovnih slojev, na podlagi česar bi bila prikazana porazdeljenost javnih prostorov v mestu ali pa predstavljena povezava med vsemi prostorskimi in družbenimi vidiki izbranega območja.

Pri kartiranju je bil vsak javni prostor na podlagi vnaprej opredeljenih kriterijev povezan s točno določenim prostorskim ali družbenim atributom. Ključno je bilo torej zbrati vse razpoložljive geoprostorske podatke in jih povezati s proučevanjem zemljiščem in uradnimi prostorskimi akti. Kartiranje je bilo tako uporabljeno kot metodološko raziskovalno orodje za klasifikacijo javnih prostorov v Sarajevu. Razvoj digitalne geoprostorske platforme ali podatkovne zbirke lahko temelji na vnaprej določenih kriterijih kartiranja javnih prostorov, podatkovni sloji pa se lahko naknadno združijo v kategorije, med seboj prekrijejo ali pa seštejejo z ukazom »presek«. Kriteriji, ki se lahko uporabljajo pri kartiranju in so predstavljeni v nadaljevanju, so: funkcija in dostopnost, urbana morfologija in družbeni vidik. Po razlagi vsake skupine kriterijev je predstavljena simulacija funkcionalnosti potencialne digitalne platforme, in sicer s prikazom zemljevidov ali kartografskih izsekov štirih izbranih lokacij v mestu.



Slika 7: Kartiranje središča Sarajeva: 1. gledališki trg, 2. trg mladinskega gledališča, 3. arheološko najdišče, 4. parkirišče, 5. park in 6. prazna stavba (ilustracija: avtorici)

4 Rezultati in razprava

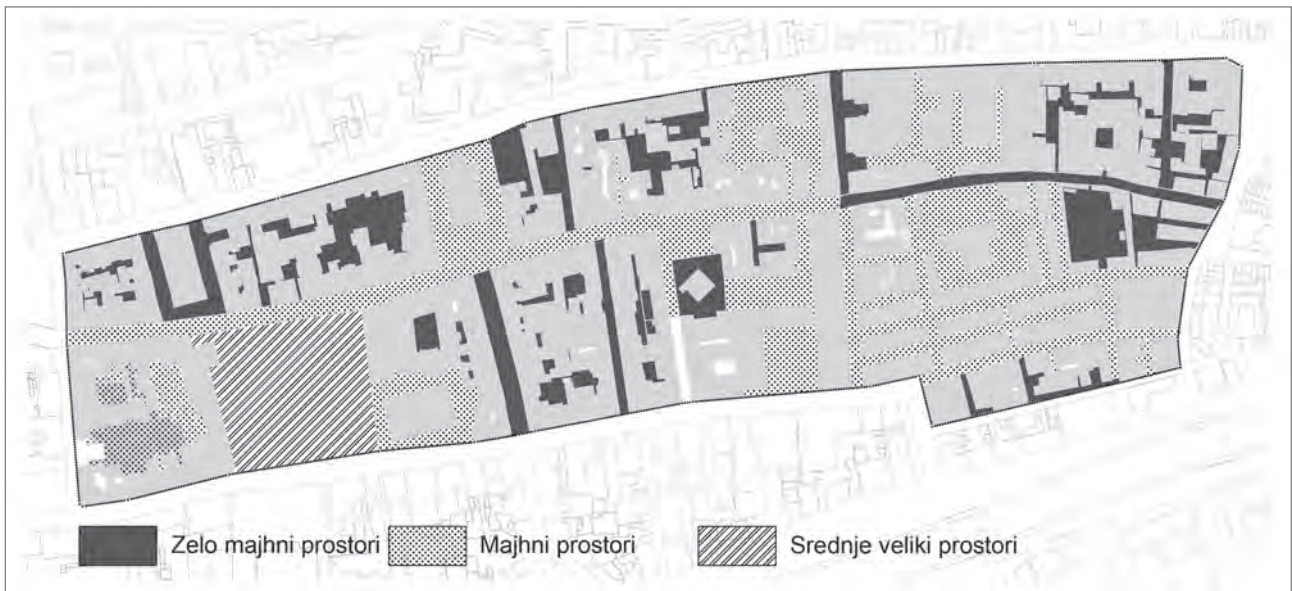
4.1 Funkcija in dostopnost

Funkcija in raba prostora sta temeljna kriterija za določanje vrst javnih prostorov. Z drugimi besedami, tipologijo javnih prostorov običajno določajo aktivnosti, ki jih navedeni prostori omogočajo in ustvarjajo. Javni prostori so že od nekdaj kraji, na katerih se ljudje družijo, in prizorišče kulturnih in političnih dogodkov. V današnji družbi, v kateri se krepijo individualizem in družbeni mediji, je tradicionalna vloga javnih prostorov postavljena pred preizkušnjo. Kot navaja Gehl (2011), lahko aktivno navzočnost, sodelovanje in izkušnje zdaj nadomesti pasivno gledanje fotografij, ki prikazujejo, kaj so drugi doživeli nekje drugje. Avtomobil pa omogoča, da namesto aktivnega sodelovanja v spontanem lokalnem družabnem dogajanju raje obiščemo izbrane prijatelje in znamenitosti.

Na podlagi funkcionalnih razvrstitev javnih prostorov, ki so jih razvili Carr idr. (1992), Oldenburg (1997) in Carmona (2010), sta avtorici kartirali porazdeljenost šestih funkcionalnih vrst javnih prostorov v Sarajevu: zelenih, mestnih, skup-

nostnih, prometnih, javnih notranjih prostorov, objektov in drugih krajev ter neopredeljenih prostorov. Fizična in psihološka dostopnost sta med najpomembnejšimi vidiki, ki določajo javnost mestnih prostorov. Dostopnost je poudarjena že v naslovu tega članka, nanaša pa se na upravičenost do uporabe javnih prostorov. Stopnja dostopnosti skupaj z lastništvom določa zasebnost ali javnost mestnih območij. V današnjih mestih je meja med javnimi in zasebnimi prostori pogosto zabrisana. Navedenemu pojavu se pogosto očita, da povzroča erozijo javnih prostorov (Sennett, 2002), zgoraj opisano hibridizacijo prostorov pa lahko razumemo kot fazo v njihovem razvoju (de Solà Morales, 1992; Kohn, 2004). Glede na različno stopnjo dostopnosti sta avtorici s kartiranjem določili dve kategoriji sarajevskih javnih prostorov: dostopne in pogojno dostopne. Povezava med funkcijo in dostopnostjo je ključni del analize trenutnega položaja in potenciala javnih prostorov v mestu.

Glavna vloga digitalne platforme je torej zagotavljanje dostopa do podatkov o funkcijah, dostopnosti in lastništvu javnih prostorov, ki so temelj za nadaljnjo analizo njihovih morebitnih preobrazb. Poleg tega bi platforma omogočila boljši vpogled v širši mestni prostor in razmerje med vrstami javnih prostorov, razkrila možnosti za oblikovanje omrežij javnih prostorov,



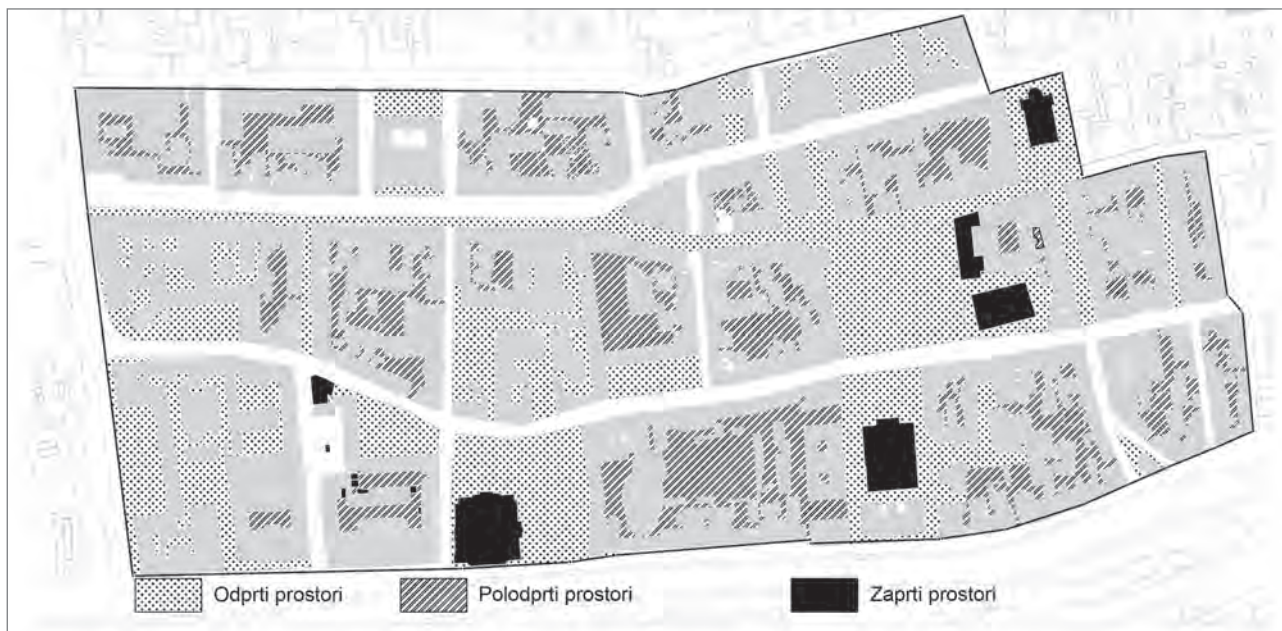
Slika 8: Kartiranje javnih prostorov v starem mestnem jedru Sarajevu glede na velikost (ilustracija: avtorici)

sosednjih območij in objektov ter okrepila sodelovanje med vsemi deležniki. Kartiranje javnih prostorov v Sarajevu je na primer razkrilo heterogenost in hibridnost njihovih funkcij. Gledališki trg Susan Sontag (bos. *Pozorišni trg – Susan Sontag*) in Trg kulture Jurislava Korenića (bos. *Trg kulture Jurislaw Korenić*) sta se izkazala za glavni kulturni območji, katerih funkcija pa še vedno ni dovolj jasno izražena (slika 7). Glavni gledališki trg obkrožajo tri razmeroma neaktivna javna območja z nejasno funkcionalnostjo in dostopnostjo: arheološko najdišče na zahodu, zasebno parkirišče na vzhodu in prazno hotelsko poslopje iz začetka 20. stoletja na severu. Zaradi dolgoletnih sporov se je arheološko najdišče z ostanki nekdanje džamije spremenilo v urbano praznino ali neopredeljen, nedostopen in zanemaren prostor brez povezave z okolico, ki že dolga leta ostaja neurejen in zato propada. Drugi sosednji javni prostor, ki bi bil lahko ustrezno preurejen, je zasebno parkirišče proti vzhodu. Po poročanju več medijev je na tem območju že več desetletij predvidena gradnja podzemnega parkirišča. Če pa bi se preuredilo v območje za pešce, bi lahko kot podaljšek gledališkega trga odpiralo nov pogled na trg in z njega ter zagotavljajo prostor za številne aktivnosti. Opisana prostorska razdrobljenost, spori in različni vzorci rabe mestnih prostorov so posledica nejasne programske opredelitve in slabe dostopnosti proučevanega območja. Naštete težave bi lahko rešili in raznolike mestne prostore povezali v omrežje živahnih javnih prostorov s sistematičnim in preglednim zbiranjem in kartiranjem vseh ustreznih podatkov, na podlagi česar bi se lahko nato načrtovala preobrazba celotnega območja.

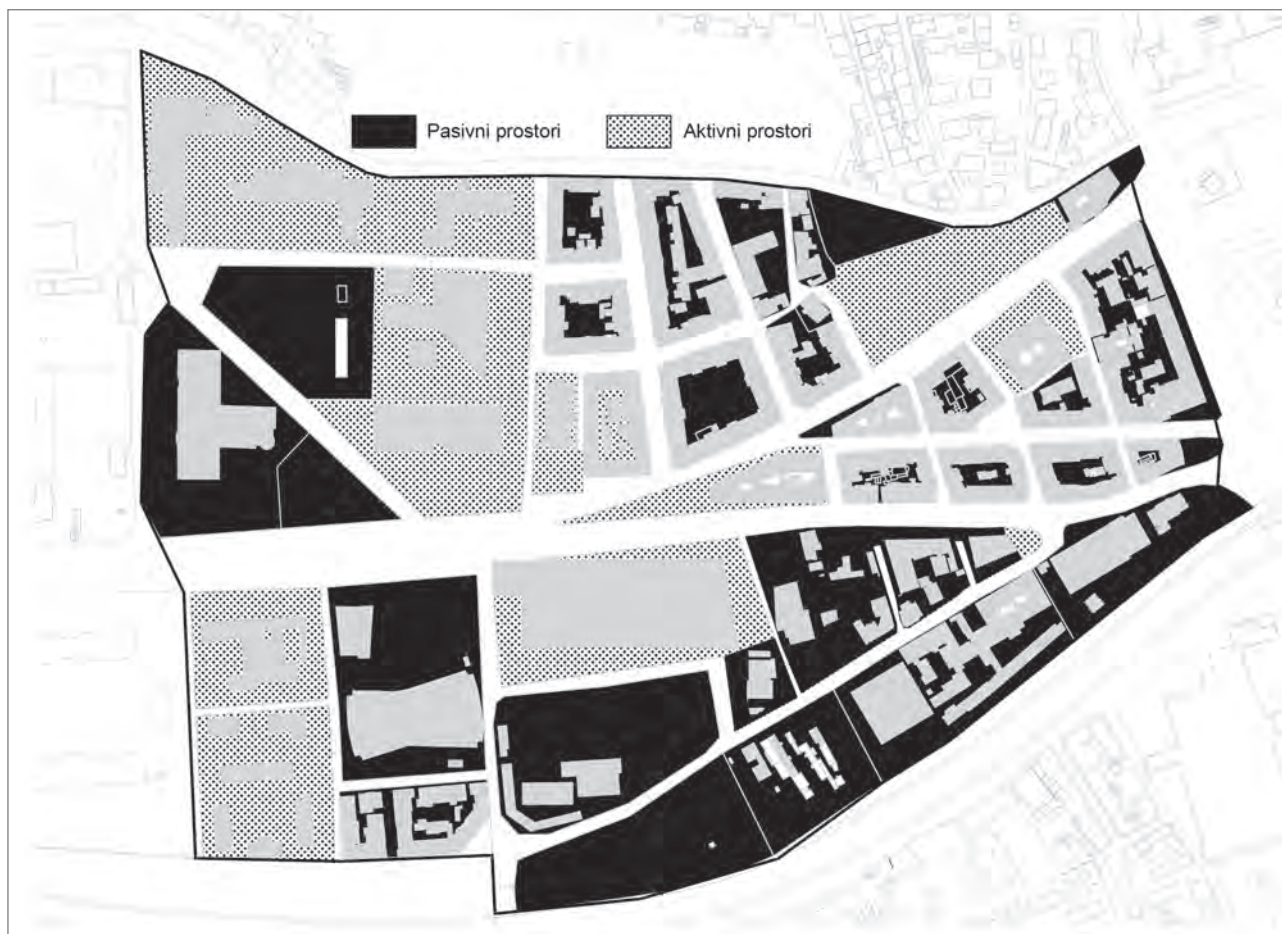
4.2 Urbana morfologija

Geometrijske in fizične lastnosti, kot so velikost, konfiguracija in tridimenzionalna oblika javnih prostorov, so pomembni vidiki vsakršne analize mestnih prostorov. V primeru Sarajeva je na morfologijo pozidanega okolja, tudi odprtih javnih prostorov, močno vplivala naravna topografija mesta. Zaradi hribov na severni in južni strani se je mesto širilo od vzhoda proti zahodu po dolini reke Miljacke. V zgodnji fazi razvoja (v srednjem veku in obdobju turške oblasti) je na urbano mrežo nezavedno vplivalo človeško merilo (ang. *human scale*), s čimer so bili oblikovani najrazličnejši intimni javni mestni prostori, opredeljeni v urbanistični teoriji (Lynch, 1971; Gehl, 2011). Od vzhoda proti zahodu se merilo postopno večja, pri čemer se dimenzije prostorov in stavb ujemajo s kronološkim razvojem mesta v obdobjih Avstro-Ogrske, Kraljevine Jugoslavije in socialistične Jugoslavije (slika 8). S kartiranjem javnih prostorov na podlagi njihove morfologije sta avtorici določili tri kategorije javnih prostorov glede na njihovo velikost: velike in zelo velike, srednje velike ter majhne in zelo majhne javne prostore in površine. Še ena pomembna geometrijska lastnost javnih prostorov je njihova tridimenzionalna oblika. Čeprav se javni prostori že od nekdaj dojemajo kot prazne površine v prostoru, so dejansko del urbane mreže, v kateri jih določajo robovi, ploskve ter volumni okoliških stavb in stavbnih blokov. Glede na stopnjo odprtosti sta avtorici določili tri kategorije javnih prostorov v Sarajevu: odprte, zaprte in polodprte.

V predelih mesta, ki izvirajo iz turškega obdobja, prevladujejo intimni prostori v človeškem merilu, kot so zelo majhna in majhna notranja dvorišča in ulice. Dimenzije prostorov se nato proti zahodu večajo v skladu s kronološkim razvojem, in



Slika 9: Kartiranje javnih prostorov v središču Sarajeva glede na stopnjo odprtosti (ilustracija: avtorici)



Slika 10: Kartiranje območja Marijinega dvora v Sarajevu (ilustracija: avtorici)

sicer od srednje velikih javnih prostorov v soseskah iz obdobja Avstro-Ogrske in Kraljevine Jugoslavije do velikih javnih površin v soseskah iz socialističnih časov in sodobnega obdobja.

Kartiranje starega mestnega jedra in drugih predelov v središču Sarajeva na podlagi morfologije je razkrilo posebne kategorije polodprtih majhnih do srednje velikih javnih prostorov (slika 8), ki se ujemajo z notranjimi dvorišči stavb iz turškega obdobja na Baščaršiji in atriji stavb iz obdobja Avstro-Ogrske. Funkcija in dostopnost nekaterih od teh prostorov sta nejasni in neopredeljeni, hkrati pa imajo velik potencial za preobrazbo, s katero bi mesto lahko spet pridobilo dostopne javne prostore. S sistematskim pristopom ter evidentiranjem, kartiranjem in povezovanjem vseh pomembnih podatkov, ki se nanašajo na opisano tipologijo prostorov, bi lahko oblikovali strategijo ponovne opredelitve in preobrazbe teh območij in njihove okolice.

4.3 Družbeni vidik

Največji teoretiki s področja urbanizma menijo, da so družbene aktivnosti, kakovost javnega življenja in urbano vzdušje ključne vrednote javnih prostorov (Carr idr., 1992; Varna in Tiesdell, 2010; Gehl, 2011). Poleg fizičnih lastnosti javne prostore določajo tudi njihova družbena vrednost ali vrste in ravni družbenih aktivnosti in interakcij, ki jih spodbujajo. Kot navajata Varna in Tiesdell (2010), javni prostor zagotavlja skupno podlago za družbeno interakcijo, druženje in sporazumevanje: je kraj družabnosti, izmenjave informacij, osebnega razvoja, družbenega učenja (tj. učenja o drugem) in razvijanja strpnosti. Gehl pa izpostavlja, da sta opazovanje na kraju samem in merjenje družbenih aktivnosti, kot so hoja, kolesarjenje, staja, zadrževanje, sedenje, gledanje, poslušanje, govorjenje, igranje, telovadba in zabava, podlaga za izboljšanje in razvoj javnih prostorov (Gehl Institute, 2017). Z analizo aktivnosti na javnih prostorih v Sarajevu sta avtorici te prostore razdelili v dve kategoriji: aktivne in sezonsko aktivne javne prostore ter pasivne javne prostore. S kartiranjem soseske Marijin dvor v središču mesta sta ugotovili, da so družbene aktivnosti na tamkajšnjih javnih prostorih neenakomerno razporejene (slika 10). V glavnem se zgoščajo okoli poslovnih in trgovskih objektov, območja okoli različnih ustanov, kot je parlament, in stavbnih blokov pa zaradi fizične in psihološke nedostopnosti ostajajo pasivna. Druga pasivna območja vključujejo urbane praznine ob reki Miljacki, na katerih naj bi se v prihodnje gradilo, in številne atrije stavb iz avstro-ogrškega obdobja, ki so le delno javno dostopni in nimajo jasnega lastništva. Po drugi strani so zaprtost in intimnost teh polodprtih javnih prostorov ter vzdušje na njih lahko prednost pri morebitnih projektih urbane preobrazbe.

Pomemben dejavnik, tesno povezan z odzivom uporabnikov na nekatere mestne prostore, je tudi urbano vzdušje. Fenomenološki pristop v arhitekturi zagovarja prostorske koncepte, ki presegajo vidno zaznavanje, pri čemer vzdušje arhitekturnih objektov in mestnih javnih prostorov aktivira celotno zaznavo, vključno s tipom, vohom in sluhom (o tem so razpravljali Gaston Bachelard, Martin Heidegger, Christian Norberg-Schulz, Juhani Pallasmaa, Peter Zumthor in drugi). Raziskava urbane vzdušja na javnih prostorih v Sarajevu (Zagora in Šamić, 2021) je pokazala, da je to, ali bodo javni prostori ustvarili multisenzorično izkušnjo, močno odvisno od njihove velikosti in stopnje odprtosti, pri čemer jih lahko razdelimo na ekstrovertirane javne prostore, za katere sta značilna formalno vzdušje in urbanost, ter introvertirane javne prostore, za katere sta značilna intimno vzdušje in občutek notranjosti. Družbeni vidik javnih prostorov lahko razumemo kot programsko opremo, fizični prostor pa kot strojno opremo. Razlaga in analiza kvantitativnih in kvalitativnih podatkov o aktivnostih in vzdušju na mestnih prostorih v realnem času v interaktivni geoprostorski podatkovni zbirki javnih prostorov lahko omogočita nov vpogled v razumevanje in morebitno preobrazbo izbranih območij in njihove širše okolice.

5 Sklep

Ena izmed posledic dolgotrajne tranzicije v Bosni in Hercegovini ter njene povojne, postsocialistične in postmoderne družbe je kriza javnih prostorov v Sarajevu, razvidna iz propadajočih, zanemarjenih in disfunkcionalnih skupnih mestnih prostorov ter težav, povezanih z njihovo dostopnostjo, lastništvom ter odtujenostjo od okolice in skupnosti. V navedenih okoliščinah so osnovne pravice ljudi do oblikovanja, uporabe, vzdrževanja ter ponovne uporabe in aktivacije skupnih prostorov v mestu težko uresničljive. Najpogostejše težave, s katerimi se mesto spopada, so propadanje in izguba javnih prostorov ter nezakonito ali dvomljivo prilaščanje javnih zemljišč. Prostorske posledice zadnjih političnih in družbenoekonomskih sprememb spremlja tudi odpor ljudi do socialističnih vrednot, pri čemer je celo njihov odnos do koncepta skupnega prostora pogosto nejasen.

Težave v urbanem okolju današnjega Sarajeva so povezane s pomanjkanjem sodelovanja med strokovnjaki, javnim in zasebnim sektorjem ter lokalno skupnostjo, nezadostnimi javno dostopnimi podatki in redkimi razpravami, ki bi se osredotočale na javne prostore. Avtorici sta v raziskavi predpostavljali, da je razpoložljivost informacij eden ključnih temeljnih pogojev za razvoj učinkovitih javnih prostorov. Večina urbanističnih težav, ugotovljenih v Sarajevu, je posredna ali neposredna posledica razpršenosti informacij in ustreznih podatkov o zgodovini, lastništvu, dostopnosti, funkciji, upravljanju, stanju in

okolici javnih prostorov. Avtorici zato predlagata metodologijo oblikovanja digitalne geoprostorske podatkovne zbirke javnih prostorov v Sarajevu. Kot kažejo primeri drugih uspešnih projektov, ki so vključevali digitalna orodja in proaktivno upravljanje javnih prostorov, bi morala predlagana podatkovna zbirka delovati kot obsežna, prosto dostopna interaktivna platforma. Namen rednega zbiranja in objavljanja vseh pomembnih in ažurnih podatkov o javnih prostorih v mestu bi morala biti transparentna in demokratična porazdelitev koristi, dolžnosti in pravic med lokalne oblasti, strokovnjake, zasebni sektor in lokalno skupnost. Kot je nakazano že v naslovu članka, je bil cilj raziskave nadomestiti dvoumni koncept nikogaršnjih prostorov oziroma prostorov, ki pripadajo komur koli ali nekemu, z demokratično in izvirno oznako: prostori, ki pripadajo vsem. Eden izmed načinov doseganja navedenega je uporaba metodologije kartiranja: sistematičnega zbiranja in geolociranja različnih plasti podatkov o javnih prostorih. Kartiranje temelji na skupinah ključnih podatkov, povezanih s funkcijo in dostopnostjo, urbano morfologijo in družbenim vidikom javnih prostorov, tem pa se lahko dodajo še druge kategorije in plasti. Pomembna funkcija, ki jo platforma omogoča, zajema tudi prekrivanje in združevanje raznovrstnih podatkov o javnih prostorih, kar zagotavlja nove multidisciplinarnе poglede na to, kako se lahko izboljšajo, spremenijo, znova aktivirajo in nenazadnje vrnejo ljudem.

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 Dina Šamić-Musemić
 Općina Sarajevo Centar, Sarajevo, Bosna in Hercegovina
 E-naslov: dina.samic@centar.ba

Nermina Zagora
 Univerza v Sarajevu, Fakulteta za arhitekturo, Oddelek za arhitekturno oblikovanje, Sarajevo, Bosna in Hercegovina
 E-naslov: nerminaz@af.unsa.ba

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Pablo CAMPOS

Vključujoči univerzitetni kampusi: vloga urbanističnega načrtovanja, arhitekturne kompozicije in funkcionalnih značilnosti

V mednarodnem univerzitetnem okolju se ustvarjajo različne inovacije, med drugim tudi na področju oblikovanja vključujočih kampusov. V članku avtor proučuje ključne dejavnike prostorskega načrtovanja na urbanistični in arhitekturni ravni ter predstavi funkcionalna priporočila za oblikovanje kampusov, ki podpirajo dobro počutje in omogočajo kognitivni dostop osebam z intelektualno oviranostjo. Cilj je spodbuditi razvoj vključujočih okolij in okrepiti občutek pripadnosti kraju, pri čemer je poudarek na psihološkem in čustvenem zaznavanju univerzitetnega okolja. Avtor proučuje niz vključujočih načrtovalskih smernic in arhitekturnih tipologij, pri čemer se najprej osredotoči na dve zgodovinski univerzitetni prostorski paradigmi: križni hodnik in kampus. Nato proučuje re-

šitve, ki so lahko zgled za celostno načrtovanje kampusov in krepitev socialne vključenosti: učne skupnosti, razne tipologije prostorske kompozicije, človeško merilo, robove, naravo, estetiko in funkcionalne strategije. Na koncu predstavi, kako se lahko zadosti opisanim merilom, na podlagi česar se lahko kampusi bolj kakovostno načrtujejo in preobrazijo v vključujoča okolja, ob tem pa ponudi napotke za njihove izboljšave in prilagoditve najrazličnejšim uporabnikom.

Ključne besede: urbanistično načrtovanje, arhitektura, univerzitetni kampus, socialna vključenost, intelektualna oviranost

1 Uvod

1.1 Socialna vključenost in univerza

Vsakršno proučevanje inovativnih strategij z vidika socialne vključenosti najprej zahteva pregled teoretičnega ozadja, ki se osredotoča na temelje koncepta izobraževanja. Delors idr. (1996) so vpeljali naslednje štiri stebre učenja: učiti se, da bi vedeli, učiti se, da bi znali delati, učiti se, da bi znali živeti v skupnosti in drug z drugim, ter učiti se biti. Navedeno bi moralo spadati tudi med lastnosti vključujočih kampusov. Univerze morajo izpolnjevati tri osnovne naloge: morajo izobraževati, izvajati raziskave in prispevati k razvoju družbe. Zadnja naloga je močno povezana tudi s socialno vključenostjo. Med cilji visokošolskega izobraževanja izstopa osebni razvoj (Bergan in Damian, 2010) kot temeljni cilj vseh družbenih skupin, tudi najranljivejših. Eden izmed ciljev, povezanih s socialno vključenostjo v univerzitetnem okolju, je tudi povečanje prisotnosti oseb z intelektualno oviranostjo, ki omejuje njihovo vključevanje. Ukrepi socialne vključenosti spodbujajo njihovo aktivno sodelovanje v izobraževalnem sistemu, na podlagi česar lahko nato dostopajo tudi do trga dela. Navedeno omogočajo številne socialne in izobraževalne pobude, kljub vsemu pa bi bilo treba ustrezno ovrednotiti tudi, kakšno vlogo pri vsem tem imajo urbanistične in arhitekturne rešitve. Avtor v članku predstavi vizijo grajenega okolja, ki krepi socialno vključenost in pomaga ustvarjati študijske prostore, ki zagotavljajo dostop vsem. Za zagotavljanje socialne vključenosti je potrebno stalno prizadevanje na področju izobraževanja, ki spodbuja uporabo raznih načinov poučevanja in učenja ter ustreznih virov usposabljanja. Poleg tega je treba izdelati protokole, ki so naklonjeni vključevanju študentov, pri čemer je pomembno upoštevati tudi prostorski vidik. V zadnjem času se poleg javne politike socialnega vključevanja spodbujajo tudi dragocene rešitve, kot so vključujoči kampusi ali kampusi brez mej (Gorjón, 2020). Zaradi večje ozaveščenosti o opisani problematiki se izdajajo številni priročniki in priporočila (Kleinert idr., 2012; Agarwal idr., 2015). Za vključevanje ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo v univerzitetno okolje je treba spodbujati njihovo udeležbo in odpraviti številne ovire, ki lahko povzročajo njihovo izključenost. Hkrati je treba ustrezno usposobiti pedagoško osebje, da zna uporabljati vključujoče pedagoške strategije (Pijl idr., 1997).

1.2 Socialna vključenost in človekova interakcija s fizičnim prostorom

Človekovo vedenje lahko dojemamo kot rezultat interakcije med njegovo osebnostjo in okoljem. Socialna vključenost v izobraževanju ne vpliva samo na človeške odnose, ampak tudi na grajeno okolje (Foreman, 2008; Mishchenko, 2013). Če-

dalje večja dinamičnost tega področja po svetu ima pozitivne posledice za ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo (Molina in Ríos, 2010). Avtor v članku proučuje merila in urbanistično-arhitekturne rešitve, ki spodbujajo socialno vključenost in so v univerzitetnih kampusih ključne za ustvarjanje učnih skupnosti (Harrington, 2014), s čimer izboljšajo tudi študijsko uspešnost celotnega kampusa (Bogue, 2002). Opisana problematika je tesno povezana s tem, kako ljudje z intelektualno oviranostjo doživljajo okolje, kar je povezano z ustvarjanjem krajev (na podlagi afektivnega doživetja), ne prostorov (kot golih grajenih območij) (Whitmer, 2009). Treba se je zavedati, da se človek dobro počuti, ko je njegova interakcija z okoljem pozitivna. Posledično je lahko okolje odsev ljudi, v katerih vzbujajo občutke identitete, nadzora in naklonjenosti prostoru (Sommer, 1969; Proshansky idr., 1983). Za spodbujanje socialne vključenosti je ključna analiza vloge fizičnega prostora, ki omogoča človeške stike in s tem oblikovanje skupnosti. Kraj je torej glavni dejavnik, ki omogoča napredek v znanju.

1.3 Zaznavanje in doživljanje urbanističnih in arhitekturnih prostorov

Socialna vključenost vpliva na interakcijo med posameznikom in njegovo grajeno okolico, ki vpliva na njegovo telesno in duševno počutje ter temelji na čutnem in psihološkem zaznavanju. Čutno zaznavanje poteka prek petih čutov, zlasti vida, sluha in tipa, nato pa je interakcija odvisna od psihološkega zaznavanja, ki vpliva na občutke. S tem se podrobneje ukvarja okoljska psihologija (Canter in Stringer, 1975). Vse skupaj se v možganih pretvori v podobe na urbanistični in arhitekturni ravni, pri čemer oblikovanost kraja vpliva na razpoloženje ljudi, ki v njem živijo, ali kot pravi Arnheim (1977: 268): stavbe oblikujejo človekovo vedenje. V tem pogledu čustveno doživljanje presega strogo zaznavanje in v posamezniku vzbujajo čustva. Proučevanje teh čustev pa lahko razkrije tudi pomembne ugotovitve v zvezi z izobraževalnimi okolji. V literaturi je pomen občutij pri uporabi univerzitetnih kompleksov in pri načrtovanju skozi zgodovino obširno obravnavan (Giedion, 1982; Campos idr., 2020). Nekateri avtorji so proučevali vpliv okolja na posameznika: Canter in Stringer (1975) se osredotočata na naravo okolja, koherenco, sprejemljivost, prožnost in varnost okolja, Kasmarjeva (1970) pa obravnava druge značilnosti, kot so estetska privlačnost, prostorska organizacija in velikost. Zaznavanje in doživljanje fizičnega prostora je ključno pri določanju oblikovalskih meril, ki omogočajo dobro počutje posameznikov z intelektualno oviranostjo. Nekateri raziskave kažejo, da uporabniki bolj cenijo prostore, ki jim vzbujajo prijetne občutke ali reakcije, kot so navdušenje, naklonjenost in sproščenost (v smislu osmih spremenljivk afektivnega pomena okolja) (Russell in Pratt, 1980). Tovrstni parametri so pomembni za socialno vključevanje omenjenih ranljivih skupin, saj so njihove potrebe prav tako pomembne kot potrebe



Slika 1: Križni hodnik univerze v Salamanki leta 2011 (foto: avtor)

drugih skupin ali celo še bolj. Potem ko se določijo osnove zaznavne in afektivne interakcije človeka z grajenim okoljem, je treba proučiti tiste značilnosti, na podlagi katerih se lahko oblikujejo načrtovalske smernice. Poleg pregleda literature je pomembna tudi analiza dveh zgodovinskih univerzitetnih prostorskih paradigem, ki sta lahko vir navdiha pri načrtovanju vključujočih kampusov za ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo. V članku avtor predstavi še druge strategije, na podlagi česar na koncu sestavi podroben seznam načrtovalskih meril.

2 Metode

2.1 Križni hodnik kot arhitekturni navdih za socialno vključevanje

Križni hodniki so nastali zaradi želje po prostorski ločenosti od okolice in ustvarjanju intimne skupnosti. Izvirajo iz samostanov in katedral, kot arhitekturna prvina pa so se uporabljali tudi pri gradnji srednjeveških evropskih univerz. Izjemni primerki tovrstne arhitekturne dediščine so se na primer do danes ohranili na univerzah v Oxfordu, Bologni, Cambridgeu, Salamanki in Alcalaju.

Koncept utopije je bil neusahljiv vir inovacij pri prostorski ureditvi visokošolskih ustanov. Utopični pristopi so lahko navdih

za konfiguracijo prostorov za ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo v smislu zagotavljanja boljše družbe, ki je občutljiva na potrebe ranljivih. Tovrstni pristopi so spodbujali izobraževalne in prostorske paradigme, kot je križni hodnik, ki naj bi zagotavljal občutek domačnosti in omogočal vključevanje študentov od drugod (O’Gorman in McPhee, 2006), kar lahko razumemo kot zametke socialnega vključevanja. S funkcionalnega vidika naj bi križni hodnik zagotavljal samozadostnost (kot posledica avtonomne narave njegovih samostanskih prednikov), čeprav so mu bili v kampusih nato dodani tudi drugi objekti.

Križni hodniki imajo centripetalno kompozicijo s težiščem v lepo urejenem odprtem prostoru na sredini, v katerem se posameznik počuti dobrodošlega in ima občutek, da ga prostor z vseh strani objema. Na tej podlagi so se razvile različne interpretacije, med njimi tudi psihološka opredelitev križnega hodnika kot *alma mater* ali matere rednice (Painter, 2003). S ciljem doseganja občutka dobrodošlice se v opisani prostorski prvini kaže zavezanost človeškemu merilu (Coomans, 2018), tesno pa je povezana tudi s fenomenologijo prebivanja in poetiko prostora (Bachelard, 1958). Arhitekturna konfiguracija križnega hodnika temelji na morfoloških rešitvah, kot so zmerno visoki ritmični loki različnih vrst (npr. polkrožni, znižani ali s kombinacijo ravnih in ukrivljenih linij) kot konkavnih elementov na vodoravni ploskvi. Elegantni, preprosti stebri, ki podpirajo niz lokov, tvorijo arkade, pod katerimi se sprehajajo študenti



Slika 2: Kampus Univerze v Virginiji leta 2012 (foto: avtor)

in učitelji. Intimnost križnega hodnika ustvarja njegova arhitekturna zasnova, ki opravlja dve usklajeni funkciji: omogoča ločenost od zunanjega sveta in varuje vase zatopljeno notranjost, ki spodbuja druženje. Vse skupaj deluje kot zamejena celota, ki vzbuja občutek varnosti in zavetja ter posledično vključenosti. Križni hodnik je poleg tega zasnovan tako, da združuje arhitekturo in naravno okolje. Naravne prvine, umeščene med debele zidove in prefinjene arkade, so za socialno vključenost zelo pomembne: manjša travnata površina, drevesa in voda, katere izvir ustvarja prostorski zvok, ki omogoča koncentracijo. Narava tako še poveča občutek prostorskega objema, ki ga s svojimi prvinami zagotavlja arhitektura. Zaradi koherentne kompozicijske zasnove ima križni hodnik tudi estetsko vrednost. Quaroni se naslanja na razlago zgodovinarja Nikolausa Pevsnerja in navaja, da arhitekturni objekt vzbuja estetske zaznave na tri načine (vidne v prostorskih rešitvah): prek dvodimenzionalne projekcije, pri kateri so fasade navpične ploskve, kot bi jih naslikal slikar, prek tridimenzionalne projekcije ali niza prepletenih volumnov, kot bi jih napravil kipar, in prek prostorske projekcije kot izključno arhitekturne prvine, saj se nanaša na nize okolij ter večanje ali krčenje prostorov, kot jih oblikuje arhitekt (Quaroni, 1977: 93). Pri vseh projekcijah lahko uporabnik neposredno uživa v njihovem vizualnem učinku, kar poudarja njihovo vključevalno naravo.

Križni hodnik skratka ponuja zgodovinski zgled usklajenosti izobraževalne funkcije in načrtovanja njene grajene oblike, pri kateri se ljudje počutijo dobrodošle in sprejete. Lahko bi rekli, da je njegova prefinjena in ritmična notranja arhitektura neke vrste metafora za gibanje njegovih uporabnikov ali stanovalcev na intimni ravni, kar krepi občutek socialne vključenosti: telesa sama ustvarjajo prostore, na primer na križnih hodnikih

samostanov, po katerih se dostojanstveno sprehajajo menihi (Lefebvre, 1991: 2016). V skladu z navedenim arhitekturna kompozicija izjemne tipologije, predstavljene zgoraj, ponazarja človeško hojo, stebre, ki obdajajo osrednje dvorišče, pa lahko razumemo kot grajeni izraz hoje.

2.2 Kampus kot urbanistični navdih za socialno vključenost

Če je križni hodnik posledica utopičnega vzgiba, pretvorjenega v arhitekturo, je kampus njegova pretvorba v urbanizem. Kampusi izvirajo iz kolegialnega sistema univerz v Oxfordu in Cambridgeu, ki je bil prenesen v ameriški prostor, zgodovinsko pa so se uveljavili kot model, ki združuje izobraževanje, bivalno izkušnjo in prostor. Najbolj prepoznavne primere najdemo v Severni Ameriki, v okviru univerz, kot so Harvard, Univerza v Virginiji, Union College ali Stanford, pa tudi drugje po svetu, na primer v Otaniemiju, Mexico Cityju, Caracasu ali Madridu.

V nasprotju z evropskimi univerzami, pri katerih so poslopja umeščena v mestna središča, so kampusi posledica težnje po ločevanju, na podlagi česar so se uveljavili kot otoki znanja na posameznem območju. Tako kot za križni hodnik je zato tudi za paradigmo čezoceanske zibelke znanja značilna utopija samozadostnosti, ki temelji na delu Thomasa Moora (Surtz, 1953). Z vidika socialne vključenosti nekatere prvine načrtovanja kampusov spodbujajo tovrstno vključenost, saj so kampusi eden izmed prvih primerov oblikovanja vključujoče učne skupnosti. Celovito izkušnjo in naravo samostojnega habitata zagotavljajo številni funkcionalni objekti in infrastruktura, umeščeni v mestno okolje, med katerimi izstopajo stanovanjske stavbe. Nekateri načrti dajejo prednost občutku dobrodošlice

in sprejetosti (npr. koncentrična zasnova, polarizacija okoli posameznih jeder, zelene površine za pešce in človeško merilo). Štirikotno notranje dvorišče (zapuščina britanskih kolidžev) izstopa kot središče družabnega življenja, ki je pomemben del socialne vključenosti. Pri najvidnejših primerih kampusov je navedena temeljna prvina poudarjena kot arhitekturni simbol institucionalne legitimnosti in kakovosti. Načrtovanje kampusov se je postopno odmaknilo od prvotne zasnove, ki je poudarjala zaprtost in izoliranost, ter se obrnilo v smer večje družbene odprtosti. Pri štirikotni zasnovi je vedno poskrbljeno za človeško merilo: osrednje dvorišče kot naravno okolje, ki spodbuja medčloveške odnose, ustrezno razmerje med dimenzijami arhitekturnih objektov in razdaljami med njimi, preglednost pešpoti in vizualni učinek.

Kampusi so različno zamejeni: nekateri imajo zelo toge meje, pri drugih pa so meje manj jasne. Toge meje hkrati ustvarjajo občutek vizualne in izkustvene omejitve ter občutek, da bi bilo prostor zelo težko razširiti. Nejasne meje pa so običajno posledica umeščenosti v mesto, ki že sama po sebi spodbuja interakcijo in na neki način tudi socialno vključenost. Kot navaja Painter (2003: 9), kampus ustvarja intelektualno dobro počutje na podlagi dveh pozitivnih dejavnikov, ki sta bila človeku pri iskanju primerne bivališča od nekdaj pomembna: zagotavlja dober razgled in zavetje. Poglavitni element kampusa je tudi narava, ki zagotavlja pasivno okolje za premišljevanje, hkrati pa spodbuja pozitivne interakcije med ljudmi (Kaplan, 1993). Narava in zelene površine blagodejno vplivajo na človekovo psiho in spodbujajo pozitivne afektivne odzive (Houlden idr., 2018). Navedeno je povezano s hojo ali sprehajanjem kot aktivnostjo, ki zaradi osebnega užitka, ki ga omogočajo zelene površine, krepí tudi socialno vključenost (Speake idr., 2013). Narava daje s svojo lepoto človeku energijo ter vpliva na njegovo zdravje in ravnanje z okoljem. Skupaj z arhitekturo tvori celovito pokrajino, ki vzbuja pozitivna čustva (Dober, 2003). Pomembno je, da so zelene površine dostopne in blizu učilnicam (Giles-Corti idr., 2005), hkrati pa so dragocen povezovalni člen z mestnim tkivom.

Načrtovanje je pri vsem tem neizogibno, načrtovalske rešitve pa so tako pomembne, da so bile označene za umetnine, ki imajo svoj estetski naboj (Gaines, 1991). Poleg severnoameriških kampusov lahko izvrstne primere najdemo tudi na drugih celinah. Eden izmed njih je kampus helsinške tehnološke univerze v Otaniemiju, ki ga je zasnoval Alvar Aalto. Kakovost njegove zasnove je razvidna iz dejstva, da je poskušal ohraniti čim več topografije in rastlin (Hipeli, 2008: 19). Pri načrtovanju tako živega in spreminjajočega se organizma, kot je kampus, je treba posebno pozornost nameniti splošni strukturi, ki mora biti brezčasna: ne načrtuje se samo posamičen objekt, ampak celoten proces.

3 Rezultati in razprava

3.1 Socialna vključenost in mestni arhitekturni prostori: načrtovalska merila in kompozicijske tipologije

3.1.1 Učne skupnosti in utopični navdih pri načrtovanju

Koncept utopije je že od nekdaj gonilo človeškega napredka (Gray, 2012). V zvezi s socialno vključenostjo lahko njegov veliki potencial uporabimo za ponazoritev zamisli o vključujočih kampusih. Prostorska zasnova kampusa mora temeljiti na načrtovanju, ki ideale posamezne ustanove pretvori v prijemljivo resničnost: to se je zgodilo zlasti v primeru severnoameriških kampusov, kjer so se pri načrtovanju osredotočili tudi na oblikovanje pravih vključujočih učnih skupnosti (Turner, 1984). Na splošno se je izkazalo, da kakovost načrtovanja kampusa vpliva na kakovost poučevanja in krepitev občutka pripadnosti kraju med študenti (Coulson idr., 2010); sklepamo lahko, da navedeno velja tudi za skupine z intelektualno oviranostjo. Socialna vključenost se lahko spodbuja z oblikovanjem izkustvenih skupnosti v univerzitetnih kampusih, ki ustvarjajo pozitivne občutke in prostore človeške bližine. Cilj je ustvariti gostoljubna in prijazna okolja, ki zagotavljajo dobro počutje, varnost in fizično udobje.

3.1.2 Tipologije formalne kompozicije

Oblikovanje vključujočih kampusov bi moralo temeljiti na tipologijah kompozicije, ki so bolj centripetalne narave, saj dajejo prednost občutku dobrodošlice in sprejetosti na urbanistični in arhitekturni ravni. Zagotavljajo namreč formalne rešitve, ki jih posamezniki z intelektualno oviranostjo lažje prepoznajo ter se jih lažje naučijo in si jih zapomnijo. Cilj je načrtovati vključujoče kampuse, katerih oblika omogoča kognitivno dostopnost ter vzbuja občutek varnosti in dobrega počutja (Steel in Janeslätt, 2017). Centripetalne rešitve spodbujajo osamitev, ki pa lahko hkrati krepí socialno vključenost, če vzpostavlja intimno vzdušje ter prostorska razmerja med ljudmi in grajenim okoljem.

Vključujoče kampuse je treba načrtovati na različnih ravneh. Avtor se v članku osredotoča na urbanistično in arhitekturno raven, vendar bi morali pozornost nameniti tudi ravni učilnice. Kot navajata Jebil in Chen (2021: 1), proučevanje fizičnih in psiholoških značilnosti otrok z motnjami v duševnem razvoju razkriva, da je treba pred in med arhitekturnim oblikovanjem učilnic upoštevati nekatere dejavnike, kot so razporeditev pohištva (najbolje v obliki črke U), talne obloge, stranišča, preho-

di, zložljivi stoli, višina stropa, nežna glasba, toplotna izolacija, prezračevanje, naravna svetloba, barve in zimski vrtovi.

Nekatere načrtovalske smernice imajo posledice za človekovo zaznavanje in vplivajo tudi na socialno vključenost. Pravokotni tloris vzpostavlja pravilno in usklajeno prostorsko ureditev, vendar je za zagotavljanje boljše orientacije pri ljudeh z intelektualno oviranostjo priporočljivo dodati prvine, na podlagi katerih lahko ti ljudje razlikujejo med prostori (npr. barve in pohištvo). V pomoč so lahko tudi ikonični arhitekturni projekti, ki se lahko uporabijo kot referenčni primeri (npr. svobodna univerza v Berlinu, ki so jo leta 1963 zasnovali Candilis, Josic in Woods, in knjižnica v okviru te univerze, ki je bila zgrajena po načrtih Normana Fosterja). Osrednji model prostorske konfiguracije se osredotoča na vzpostavljanje izkustvenih in zaznavnih jeder, ki sprožajo občutek vključenosti. Centripetalne arhitekturne oblike dejansko najbolj spodbujajo kognitivno dostopnost, občutek varnosti in dobro počutje, kar že stoletja potrjujejo tudi kampusi z zasnovo križnega hodnika s kvadratnim osrednjim dvoriščem.

3.1.3 Človeško merilo

Ljudje z intelektualno oviranostjo se bolje počutijo v okoljih, ki niso prevelika in v katerih vlada intimno vzdušje, saj jim to daje občutek, kot da jih prostor objema. Pri načrtovanju vključujočih kampusov je priporočljivo uporabiti človeško merilo kot splošno načelo, katerega pomen dokazujejo tudi paradigme, kot je križni hodnik (Masullo idr., 2020). Z upoštevanjem človeškega merila se zagotavlja občutek zavetja in prostorske preglednosti, ki krepi socialno vključenost ranljivih skupin. Raziskave kažejo, da navedeni občutek spremlja človeka že od nekdaj (Winerman, 2004). Proaktivna analiza objektov s križnimi hodniki je uporabna pri načrtovanju kampusov, saj so izjemen primer povezanosti arhitekturne oblike in formativnega razmišljanja. Druga rešitev, ki podpira socialno vključenost, je vključitev neformalnih skupnih prostorov poleg formalnih izobraževalnih prostorov, saj spodbujajo človeške stike (Crook in Mitchel, 2012).

Načrtovanje kampusov z upoštevanjem človeškega merila je priporočljivo za spodbujanje socialne vključenosti, saj krepi posameznikovo identiteto. Osnovni vidik, ki ga je treba upoštevati, so pešci. Kot so to opisovali znanstveniki ter celo filozofi in pesniki, hoja poveča senzorni užitek, kar ima zelo blagodejni učinek tudi na ranljive skupine (Giles-Corti, 2005). V delu z naslovom *Die Spaziengänge oder die Kunst spazieren zu geben* (Umetnost sprehajanja) (Schelle, 1802) je avtor hvalil sprehajanje kot izkušnjo, ki golo mehansko aktivnost združuje z drugo, ki je skoraj duhovne narave. Sprehajanje vzbuja občutek domačnosti, kar krepi socialno vključenost. Pešpoti v kampusih usmerjajo ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo in jim

pomagajo pri orientaciji v prostoru. Njihov blagodejni učinek izvira iz pradavnine: nekateri raziskovalci trdijo, da so povezane s prvotnimi človeškimi naselji (kjer je človek s sledenjem potem našel hrano, vodo ali zavetje) in posledično spodbujajo pozitivne psihološke zaznave (Mithen, 1996). Če lahko ranljivi posamezniki uporabljajo urejen sistem oznak, ki jih logično usmerjajo v prostoru, lahko zadovoljivo obvladujejo prostor. Boljšo orientacijo v prostoru omogočajo prvine, kot so ustrezna razporeditev stavb, prostorska raznolikost, orientacijske točke, table, zemljevidi in osvetljava (Carpman in Grant, 2002).

3.1.4 Robovi

Pri načrtovanju vključujočih kampusov je treba strogo upoštevati tudi meje. Ker vplivajo na zaznavanje posameznikov z intelektualno oviranostjo, je treba pretehtati vse možne rešitve. V velikih kompleksih, izoliranih od mesta, jasni robovi ali meje kompleksa vzbujajo občutek varnosti in povezanosti s skupnostjo. Če je kampus blizu drugih mestnih območij, prepustne meje spodbujajo interakcijo z okoljem ter posledično socialno vključenost in sinergijo ter občutek prostorske vključenosti. Načrtovanje mej vpliva na socialno vključenost obravnavanih ranljivih skupin, saj v njih vzbujajo čustvene odzive. Pri načrtovanju je treba stremeti k odstranjevanju fizičnih ovir, saj otežujejo interakcijo med ljudmi, ki je osnova socialne vključenosti (Booth in Ainscow, 1998). Na manjših območjih kampusa morajo robovi ali meje olajšati orientacijo v prostoru, ne pa, da ustvarjajo fizično oviro, ki povzroča osamitev. To, da meje niso neprepustne, lahko ljudje razumejo kot prostorsko povabilo k vstopu v kampus. Vhode za ljudi z oviranostmi je priporočljivo načrtovati skupaj z glavnim vhodom, ne ločeno, saj je to v skladu z načeli univerzalnega oblikovanja in dostopa.

3.1.5 Vloga narave pri socialni vključenosti

Naravne prvine so pri gradnji kampusov zelo pozitiven dejavnik, ki podpira socialno vključenost ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo. Kot je bilo razvidno že iz opisa križnega hodnika in ameriških kampusov, naravno okolje krepi zdravje in dobro počutje uporabnikov (Thompson, 2010).

V vključujočem univerzitetnem kampusu imajo zelene površine pomembno vlogo pri krepitvi skupnosti, saj omogočajo sprostitev, ukvarjanje s prostočasnimi aktivnostmi in družbeno interakcijo. Raziskave kažejo, da preživljanje prostega časa v naravi zmanjšuje stres (Ulrich idr., 1991), krepi odnose med ljudmi, v kampusu ustvarja jedra povezovanja in preprečuje občutke osamljenosti (Bell in Dymont, 2008). Pri načrtovanju kampusa, ki naj bi omogočal vključevanje ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo, je treba nujno vključiti prvine, ki omogočajo kompozicijsko povezavo z arhitekturnimi prvini. V praksi

to pomeni, da je treba ustrezno umestiti zelene površine, drevesa in druge rastline ter celo vodne prvine, ki posamezniku omogočajo, da se vživi v okolje in v njem uživa, hkrati pa v univerzitetni vsakdanjik vnašajo življenje. Ena izmed naravnih prvin, ki lahko izboljša dobro počutje ranljivih skupin v kampusu, je tudi vrt v najrazličnejših oblikah in pomenih, tudi zdravilnem (Lau in Yang, 2009). Poleg tega odprti naravni prostori usmerjajo ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo, saj povezujejo stavbe z drugimi (Garling idr., 1986; Lau idr., 2014). Odprti prostori v kampusih omogočajo človeško interakcijo in bližino (Chou idr., 2016). Osrednja kvadratata dvorišča ali vrtovi pomagajo ljudem z intelektualno oviranostjo, da se vključijo v univerzitetni vsakdanjik. Arhitektura, narava in ljudje so med seboj tesno povezani, kar je treba upoštevati tudi pri oblikovanju vključujočih kampusov. V zvezi z arhitekturo ter njeno naklonjenostjo ljudem in naravi Giedion (1982: 874) poudarja, da arhitektura služi človeku, ki je minljiv kot rastlina, zato vključuje tudi nekatere človeške in rastlinske prvine.

3.1.6 Estetika

Da lahko kampus zagotavlja socialno vključenost, mora biti njegova grajena oblika plod celovitega načrtovanja, ki med drugim poskrbi tudi za estetski vidik. Tega je treba vedno upoštevati, saj vzbuja pozitivne zaznave, duševno dobro počutje ter celo občutke sreče in notranjega miru (Weinberger idr., 2021). V načrtovalskem procesu je treba upoštevati razne vidike navedene teme, ki se nanašajo na skupine z intelektualno oviranostjo in jih lahko povzamemo iz analiziranih paradigem križnega hodnika in kampusa. Lefebvre (1991: 217) je samostanski križni hodnik konceptualno povezal s posameznikovim občutkom sreče: prostor, v katerem življenje, uravnoteženo med razmišljanjem o sebi in svoji minljivosti na eni strani ter transcendenčni brezkončnosti na drugi, zagotavlja srečo, ki izvira iz tišine in popolnoma sprejete neizpoljenosti. Le Corbusier (1947: 135), ki je bil navdušen nad odličnostjo ameriških kampusov, je v knjigi *When the Cathedrals Were White* zapisal: »Vse je zavoljo spokojnosti in umirjenosti. Vsak kolidž ali univerza je samostojna urbana enota, manjše ali večje mesto. A zeleno mesto. Trate, parki in cel kompleks udobnih bivališč (...) Ameriška univerza je svet zase, začasen raj.« Pregled arhitekturnih trendov v zadnjem stoletju, kot je *art nouveau* ali ekspresionizem, razkriva, da oblike, teksture in barve materialnih prvin, ki obdajajo človeka (npr. arhitektura in narava), v ljudeh, ki jih doživljajo, vzbujajo pozitivna čustva, ki jih projicirajo na predmete z estetskim potencialom. Navedeno se navezuje na teorijo vživljanja (nem. *Einfühlung*) (Worringer, 1959). Tudi narava pomembno prispeva k estetiki kampusa.

3.2 Socialna vključenost: funkcionalne strategije v univerzitetnih kampusih

V prejšnjih poglavjih so bile obravnavane značilnosti načrtovanja in prostorske kompozicije križnih hodnikov in kampusov, ki so lahko navdih za oblikovanje današnjih vključujočih kampusov. Obstaja pa še ena raven analize, ki lahko daje koristne smernice: analiza funkcionalnih značilnosti. Čeprav gre za funkcionalne vidike, vplivajo na grajeno obliko in jih je zato vredno upoštevati kot dejavnike, ki lahko podpirajo socialno vključenost.

3.2.1 Funkcionalne značilnosti, ki podpirajo socialno vključenost

Če ima kampus objekte in površine, ki ga uvrščajo med učne skupnosti (v kateri ima poglobljeno vlogo tudi prebivanje), krepi socialno vključenost najrazličnejših skupin, tudi tistih z intelektualno oviranostjo. Kot ugotavljata Clauson in McKnight (2018: 43), je za ustvarjanje vključujočega okolja ključno, da se identiteta posameznikov izraža v njihovi okolici. Estetika in zgodovina kampusa imata posreden ali neposreden pomen ter vplivata na posameznikove občutke sprejetosti in pripadnosti.

Kampus mora združevati najrazličnejše funkcije, da lahko učna skupnost v njem uspešno deluje. Mora se uveljaviti kot pravi habitat, ki poleg študijskih aktivnosti omogoča tudi raziskave, prebivanje, preživljanje prostega časa, športne aktivnosti in druženje. Če omogoča takšno celovito izkušnjo, se tudi posamezniki z oviranostmi lažje vključijo v študentsko življenje. Za doseg navedenega je priporočljivo urediti nekatere posebne objekte ali območja, ki podpirajo socialno vključenost (npr. zbirališča ali središča za ranljive skupine ter prostore za svetovanje in mentorstvo). Številne mednarodne ustanove so uvedle opisane rešitve za študente z oviranostmi, tako da se v skupnosti ne počutijo diskriminirane in da krepijo svojo identiteto. Tovrstni prostori spodbujajo človeško solidarnost po vsem svetu.

3.2.2 Vloga dediščine

Ustrezna strategija za krepitev socialne vključenosti ranljivih skupin v kampusu, ki se lahko vključi v urbanistično in arhitekturno načrtovanje, je tudi okrepitev pomena dediščine. Dediščina namreč bogati izobraževalni in izkustveni potencial kampusa, saj je učinkovit posrednik zgodovinskih, umetniških in simbolnih vrednot. Z vidika socialne vključenosti pa lahko dediščinske prvine posameznikom olajšajo orientacijo v prostoru in jim pomagajo, da si stvari zapomnijo. Urbanistične,

arhitekturne in druge oblike dediščine v univerzitetnem kompleksu prispevajo k vzpostavljanju krajev, ne zgolj prostorov, s čimer lahko učinkovito krepijo dobro počutje ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo.

3.2.3 Sodelovanje pri načrtovanju

Izkušnje kažejo koristnost participativnega načrtovanja, ki zelo pozitivno vpliva na kakovost samega načrtovanja in predanost članov načrtovalske skupine, kar nenazadnje krepi tudi socialno vključenost. Sanoff (1994: 4) ugotavlja, da če so stranke in državljani zgodaj vključeni v oblikovalski proces in povabljeni, da v njem prevzamejo kreativne in odgovorne vloge, je načrtovalcem in arhitektom nenadoma na razpolago nepredstavljiv vir mnenj in modrosti lokalnih prebivalcev, kar hkrati krepi skupnost. Sodelovanje pomeni vključenost skupin, ki jih zanima univerzitetni kampus, ter konkretno ranljivih posameznikov in njihovih sorodnikov in prijateljev, na podlagi česar se okrepi njihov občutek pripadnosti ustanovi.

3.2.4 Virtualnost in socialna vključenost v kampusih

Posamezni vidiki trenutnega trenda poučevanja na daljavo, ki se je okrepil zaradi pandemije covid-19, so pomembni tudi za socialno vključevanje ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo. Informacijske in komunikacijske tehnologije so lahko v veliko pomoč, saj omogočajo spletno podajanje študijskih vsebin in zagotavljajo alternativno obliko poučevanja in učenja (Méndez in Cataldi, 2012). Kljub vsemu navedeni virtualni sistemi ne morejo nikoli postati nova izobraževalna paradigma, saj je pri celostnem izobraževanju zelo pomemben človeški dejavnik. Poleg tega bi to oviralo učinkovito vključevanje ranljivih skupin, za katere je osebni stik zelo dragocen. Dober izobraževalni sistem mora temeljiti na afektivni bližini učiteljev in učencev, ki morajo biti empatični, da lahko vzpostavijo čustvene vezi, ki hkrati krepijo tudi kognitivne. Medsebojni stiki krepijo socialno vključenost. Mnogi strokovnjaki s področja izobraževanja ugotavljajo, da se z učenjem v skupini dosega višja raven znanja kot pri individualnem učenju. To potrjujejo tudi nevroznanstveniki, ki pojasnjujejo sproščanje oksitocina in aktivacijo zrcalnih nevronov (Guastella idr., 2008). Skupna univerzitetna izkušnja spodbuja izločanje dopamina in krepi altruistične občutke (Rilling, 2002). Pri načrtovanju vključujočih kampusov je zato treba upoštevati morebitna tveganja učenja in poučevanja na daljavo, hkrati pa je treba poskrbeti za razumno razmerje med virtualnostjo in človeškim stikom (Chapman, 2006). Nikoli ne smemo pozabiti, da je temelj izobraževanja in socialne vključenosti prav človeški stik.

4 Sklep

Glavni namen članka je bil predstaviti ustvarjalne smernice za načrtovanje vključujočih kampusov, ki spodbujajo socialno vključenost ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo. Ena avtorjevih najpomembnejših ugotovitev je, da mora oblikovanje tovrstnih kampusov temeljiti na predpostavki, da prostorske oblike vplivajo na človekovo vedenje (Burlage in Brase, 1997). Vsak univerzitetni kompleks naj bi dosegal visoko raven občutljivosti do skupnosti, ki v njem živi ali ga uporablja, v primeru omenjenih ranljivih skupin mora biti ta občutljivost še toliko večja.

Zgodovinski in konceptualni pregled obravnavanega področja razkriva številne uporabne ugotovitve. Analiza preteklih paradigem, kot sta križni hodnik in kampus, je pokazala, da čeprav nista bila oblikovana z namenom krepitev socialne vključenosti, sta vseeno lahko dragocen zgled za doseganje tovrstne vključenosti. Načrtovanje vključujočih kampusov mora temeljiti na argumentiranih podlagah in konkretnih smernicah, priporočljivo pa je tudi proučiti pozitivne lastnosti križnega hodnika in kampusa kot elementov, ki krepija medčloveške odnose. Navedena priporočila se nanašajo na oblikovanje prostorov, ki spodbujajo dobro duševno počutje ljudi z intelektualno oviranostjo in vseh ljudi na splošno (Grigal idr., 2012; Bumble idr., 2018). Pri krepitevi socialne vključenosti je treba posebno pozornost nameniti grajenemu okolju v smislu prepoznavanja, kako se ljudje čustveno odzivajo na neki kraj, kar je zlasti pomembno pri ranljivih skupinah. Kot razlaga Giedion (1982: 880), je vsa razprava o urejanju in načrtovanju zaman, če najprej ne ustvarimo spet celotnega človeka, nezlomljenega v svojem načinu razmišljanja in čustvovanja. V skladu z navedenim in po opravljenem proaktivnem in skrbnem zgodovinskem pregledu meril za krepitev socialne vključenosti lahko potrdimo, da se mora načrtovanje kampusov vedno začeti pri človeku kot središču in glavni osi vseh misli in dejanj.

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Pablo Campos

Univerza CEU San Pablo, Tehnološki inštitut, Oddelek za arhitekturo in oblikovanje, Madrid, Španija
E-naslov: utoplan@telefonica.net

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Iva LUKAN

Feministično mesto

Naslov: *Feminist City: Claiming Space in a Man-made World*

Avtorica: Leslie Kern

Izdajatelj: Verso

Kraj in leto izida: London, 2020

Število strani: 225

Leslie Kern, urbana geografinja, raziskovalka mest in predavateljica na kanadski univerzi Mount Allison, v knjigi *Feminist City* mesto gleda skozi feministična teoretska očala. Mesto predstavi kot prostor skrbstvenega dela, prijateljstva, osebne prostora, protesta, strahu in upanja.

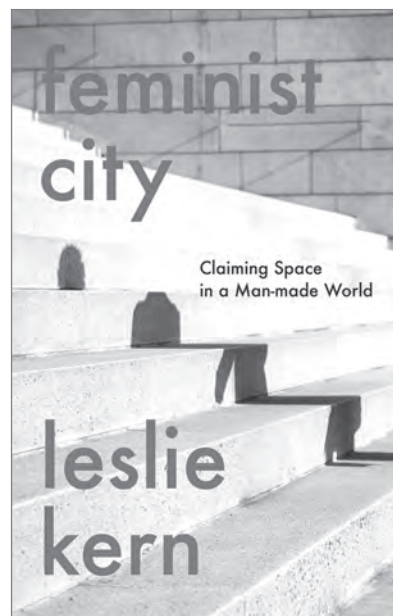
Avtorica prepleta dve teoretski smeri, urbano geografijo in interseksionalni feminizem ter poda izviren pogled na delovanje neenakosti med spoloma v praksi oziroma, z njenimi besedami, na tleh. Drugi spol namreč ni abstraktna kategorija, ki jo ustvarjajo še bolj abstraktna strukture. Drugi spol ustvarja dejanska, materialna geografija, kar se kaže v omejenem dostopu (urbanega) prostora za ženske. *V vsako naselbino v prostoru so zapisani družbeni odnosi in naša mesta so patriarhat, zapisan v kamnu, opeki, steklu in betonu* (str. 13).

Grajena okolja izražajo odnose med ljudmi, ki so jih zgradili. Zato ne čudi, da je tudi v mestih, tako kot v drugih družbenih sferah, polovica svetovne populacije prezrta in nevidna. Velja pa tudi obratno. Ne samo, da mesto odslikava družbene odnose, tudi ustvarja jih. Poleg ustvarjanja odnosov mesto vpliva tudi na razmerja moči in reproducira neenakost. Urbana zasnova oblikuje in določa možnosti za posameznika in družbene skupine. Kernova dialektiko odslikavanja in oblikovanja družbe-

nih odnosov ponazori na konkretnih primerih predmestnih naselij, javnega prevoza, pravice do osebne prostora in problematiki urbanega strahu.

Predmestna naselja danes jemljemo kot nekaj samoumevnega, čeprav so otrok svojega časa, urbanistični simptom razmerij moči po drugi svetovni vojni. Predmestja so bila pripravna rešitev za ponovno vzpostavitev normativnih spolnih vlog med moškimi in ženskami, ki sta jih zamajali vojna in naraščajoča prisotnost žensk v javni sferi. Vse preveč opolnomočene ženske, ki so med vojno zasedle (moška) tovarniška delovna mesta, je bilo treba znova pacificirati in domestificirati. Zadnje je uspelo prav s predmestnimi hišami, ki so ženske vrnile v zasebno sfero neplačanega skrbstvenega dela. Vzporedno s širjenjem *suburbiuma* so se v mestih dvigali nebotičniki, ki jih Kernova razume kot *spomenike moški korporativni ekonomski moči* (str. 27).

Število predmestnih gospodinj že dolgo upada, vendar podatki še vedno kažejo, da ženske po vsem svetu opravijo 75 odstotkov neplačanega skrbstvenega dela. To se kaže v načinu dnevnih migracij v mestu. Moški dnevno potujejo od doma na delo in nazaj, največkrat z osebnim avtomobilom. Ženske za dnevne migracije pogosteje uporabljajo javni prevoz, njihove poti so zapletene, saj so sestavljene iz verižnih potovanj (ang. *trip chains*) med vrtcem, šolo,



delovnim mestom in trgovino. Zato ženske plačujejo t. i. rožnati davek v javnem prevozu. Za isto storitev kot moški namreč plačujejo veliko več, ker so njihova potovanja verižna, vozovnice pa enkratne. Kernova na primeru New Yorka ugotavlja, da ženske kot primarne skrbnice zaradi verižnih potovanj na mesečni ravni plačajo precejšen davek, ki ga ocenjuje na sto dolarjev.

Problematika javnega prevoza se ne konča z rožnatim davkom. Avtorica opozarja na spolno nadlegovanje in razliko v govorici telesa med spoloma v javnem prevozu. Moški sedijo s široko razprtimi nogami, s čimer zasedejo več kot le svoj sedež. S tem prisilijo in socializirajo druge, da zasedejo čim manj javnega prostora. Podobno je tudi na otroških igriščih. Ali ste že kdaj videli skupino deklet, ki bi zasedla celotno športno igrišče?

Največ, kar si lahko ženske v javnih prostorih želijo, je, da jih ne bo nihče opazil, ogovoril ali požvižgal za njimi, (str. 164) opaža avtorica. V mestih je namreč kršena pravica do osebne prostora. Zato se ženske v mestu ukvarjajo z vsemi vrstami samoomejevanja, da bi se izognile neželeni pozornosti in nadzoru nad telesom in vedenjem. Vsako mesto je

namreč tudi mesto (ženskega) strahu pred nevarnim neznancem. Zato ženske prilagajajo svoja oblačila, prilagodijo tudi potovalne navade in se izogibajo temnim predelom mesta. Vendar avtorica opozarja, da nas še tako osvetljene ulice ne bodo rešile pred patriarhatom. Za enakost med spoloma bo potrebno veliko več kot feministično urbanistično načrtovanje. Predlaga predvsem spremembo odnosov med ljudmi, kulturnih vzorcev, družbenih interakcij in ekonomskih odločilnih dejavnikov.

Kljub vsem navedenim problematikam avtorica mesto vidi kot prostor osvoboditve. Anonimnost urbanega prostora namreč ženskam omogoča drugačno in svobodno življenje v primerjavi s suburbanimi enklavami in majhnimi mesti. Mesto omogoča izobrazbo, delo in politično udejstvovanje. Mesto širi horizonte možnega in čeprav je ukrojeno za moške, predstavlja upanje za radikalne družbene spremembe. Tukaj se pojavi glavna pomanjkljivost knjige, saj avtorica ostane le na abstraktni in kritični ravni in ne pojasni, kaj konkretno pomenijo radikalne družbene spremembe in kako dejansko, v praksi in na tleh doseči feministično mesto. V knjigi tako umanjajo primeri dobrih praks, za katere avtorica večkrat omeni, da obstajajo že stoletja.

Nedvomno Kernova uspešno krmari med pastmi, ki jih prinašajo identitete politike. V knjigi zavrača feminizem, ki svoj uspeh meri glede na izboljšanje statusa belih, finančno uspešnih žensk. Takšen feminizem namreč skozi urbanistične prakse v mesto vnaša predvsem estetske posege, ki niso nič drugega kot gentrifikacija in odstranjevanje drugih, drugačnih in deprivilegiranih družbenih skupin. Knjiga opozarja, da feministično mesto ni feministično brez revnih, delavcev in migrantov, in svetuje, da naj vsako feministično načrtovanje namesto bele ženske srednjega razreda raje izhaja iz potreb in perspektiv tistih, ki so v družbi najbolj ranljivi. Pri tem izhaja

iz lastnega položaja. Ko se kot bela ženska in mati zavzema za dostopnost prostorov z vozičkom, se bori tudi za ljudi, ki so gibalno ovirani ali starejši. Ko se zavzema za več javnih prostorov, ima v mislih tudi druge rase, narodnosti in razrede. To pa zahteva veliko samorefleksije o lastnem položaju in privilegijih.

Fizični prostori odslikavajo in ustvarjajo odnose med ljudmi. O urbani kraji redko govorimo kot o dejavniku, ki spodbuja neenakost med spoloma, zato je knjiga dobrodošlo in nujno branje za vse deležnike v urbanističnem načrtovanju. V času, ki ga je zaznamovalo gibanje #jztudi, je pomembno, da tudi v arhitekturi in urbanističnem načrtovanju upoštevamo neenakosti med spoloma. Vendar kot opozarja avtorica, moramo biti pri tem pazljivi: vse prevečkrat namreč to pomeni, da kot tipično uporabnico mesta razumemo finančno uspešno belo žensko. Takšno razumevanje pa prinaša gentrifikacijo. Feministično urbanistično načrtovanje mora zato delovati intersekcionalno, upoštevati marginalizirane družbene skupine in nepredvidljivo družbeno življenje. Zato mora upoštevati vse prebivalce mesta. Načrtovanje od spodaj, pri čemer margina postane center, je prihodnost urbanističnega načrtovanja.

Iva Lukan
Fakulteta za arhitekturo, Univerza v Ljubljani,
Ljubljana, Slovenija
E-naslov: iva.lukan@gmail.com

Biografija

Leslie Kern je izredna profesorica geografije in okolja ter direktorica ženskih študij in študij spolov na univerzi Mount Allison. Je avtorica knjige *Sex and the Revitalized City: Gender, Condominium Development and Urban Citizenship*.

Informacije o knjigi

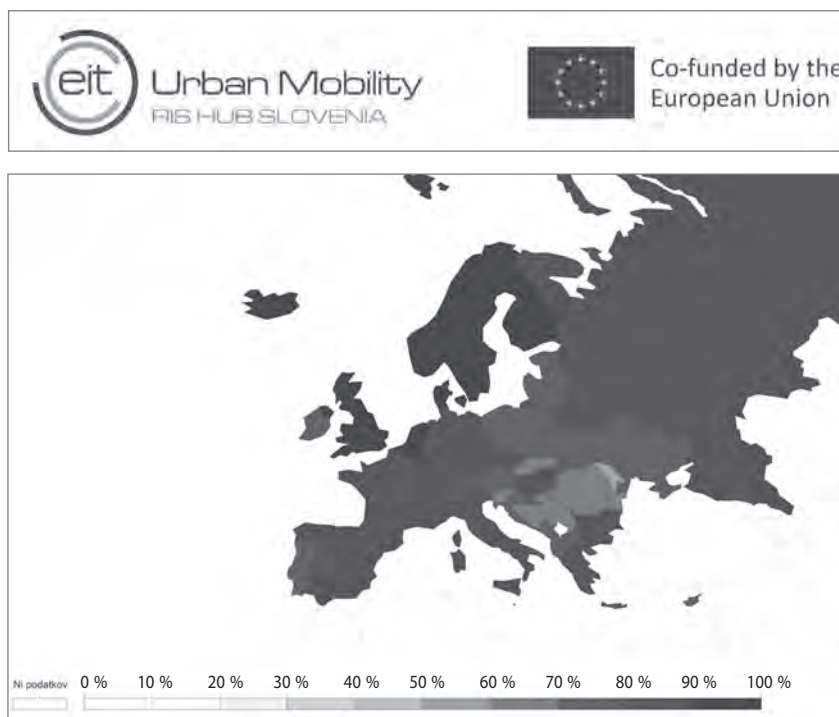
<https://www.versobooks.com/books/3227-feminist-city>

Anja ILENIČ
 Alenka MAUKO PRANJIČ
 Darko KOKOT
 Ana MLADENVIČ
 Mateja KOŠIR

Skupnost znanja in inovacij EIT Urbana mobilnost – prijetnejše in bolj trajnostno bivanje v evropskih mestih z uporabo inovativnih rešitev

Potrebe po bolj trajnostnem transportnem sistemu se iz leta v leto povečujejo. Urbana okolja potrebujejo ciljne in strateško usmerjene akcijske načrte, ki bodo izboljšali dostopnost, kakovost in izkoriščenost transportnih mrež ter obenem pripomogli h krajšim zastojem, manj nesrečam ter manjši onesnaženosti v urbanem okolju. Skupnost EIT Urbana mobilnost se s svojimi aktivnostmi osredotoča na evropske izzive v mobilnosti. Obenem si prizadeva za krepitev in povezanost različnih deležnikov v ekosistem, ki bo tudi v prihodnosti pomembno vplival na pozitivne spremembe na področju trajnostne mobilnosti, dostopnosti storitev v mestih, bolj učinkovite mestne logistike, zmanjšanje količine odpadkov, bolj integriran transportni sistem, povečanje aktivne mobilnosti in uporabe javnega prevoza med prebivalci ter posledično manjše odvisnosti od osebnih avtomobilov. Osrednji cilj te skupnosti je preobraziti mesta v bolj zelena in prebivalcem prijaznejše okolje za življenje.

Ljudje smo v središču trajnostnega razvoja naše družbe. Globalni demografski trendi, rast svetovnega prebivalstva, njegovo staranje, migracije in urbanizacija prostora vsi pomembno vplivajo



Slika 1: Napoved urbanizacije za leto 2050 – delež prebivalstva, ki bo živel v urbanih okoljih (vir: OWID, 2021 glede na Združeni narodi, 2019b)

na prehod v bolj trajnostno naravnano družbo, na okolje in na gospodarstvo v skladu z načeli krožnega gospodarstva (Združeni narodi, 2019b). V letu 2019 je svetovno prebivalstvo doseglo 7,7 milijarde, statistični trendi kažejo, da bo ta številka v letu 2050 že 9,7 milijarde (slika 1; OWID, 2021 glede na Zdr-

ženi narodi, 2019b) (Združeni narodi, 2019a). Poleg prebivalstva narašča tudi število prebivalcev v urbanih okoljih. Leta 1950 je v urbanih okoljih živelo približno 30 % ljudi, leta 2018 približno 55 %, za leto 2050 pa Združeni narodi napovedujejo, da bo v mestih živelo 68 % celotnega svetovnega prebivalstva,

ponekod že več kot 80 % (UN-Habitat, 2011, Združeni narodi, 2019b).

Prirast števila prebivalcev v urbanih okoljih ima lahko na okolje in na družbo izjemno negativen vpliv. Z globalnega vidika mesta (urbana okolja) zavzemajo le 2 % celotnega svetovnega ozemlja, ob tem pa ustvarijo kar 70 % vseh nastalih toplogrednih plinov (Vandecasteele idr., 2019). V Evropski uniji transportni sektor prispeva 27 % k skupnim količinam toplogrednih plinov (Eurostat, 2020).

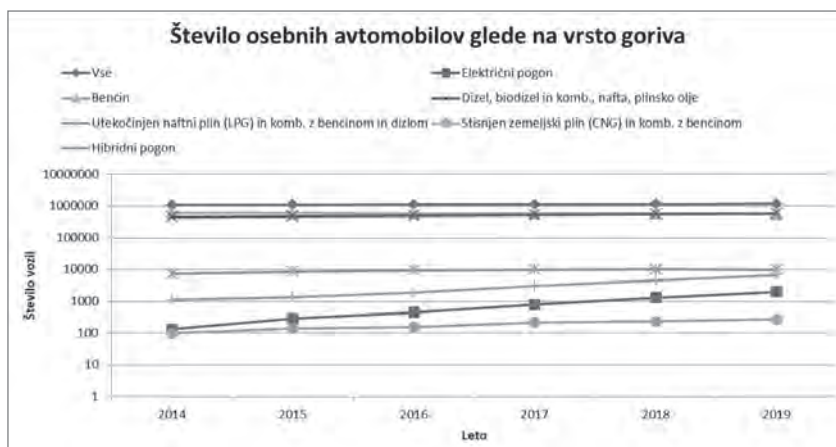
Prebivalstvo urbanih okolij se srečuje z naslednjimi izzivi:

- dostopnost cenovno ugodnih nepremičnin,
- težave, povezane s (pre)obremenjenostjo transportnih mrež (onesnaženje zraka, vode in tal zaradi avtomobilskih izpustov, zastoji in s tem povezani daljši potovalni časi itd.),
- dostopnost javnih mestnih storitev (npr. javno zdravstvo in prevozništvu, odvoz odpadkov),
- staranje prebivalstva in
- podnebne spremembe (Vandecasteele idr., 2019).

Kljub številnim izzivom urbanizacije imajo urbana okolja zaradi določene stopnje avtonomije in pripravljenosti na nove tehnološke napredke številne priložnosti za zmanjšanje vplivov na okolje in družbo. V urbanih središčih je treba v prihodnje reorganizirati javne in komercialne urbane storitve v bolj trajnostno naravnane in bolj učinkovite, npr. tako, da so primerne za večkratno rabo, da so souporabne, modularno oblikovane, osnovane na novih načinih rabe podatkov. Javni prostori v urbanih okoljih zavzemajo med 2–15 % celotne površine, posledično lahko premišljeno zastavljene politike rabe javnega prostora z bolj zelenimi in odprtimi površinami pomembno vplivajo na izboljšanje kakovosti zraka, boljše mikroklimatske razmere v urbanih okoljih, večjo varnost



Slika 2: Delež potniških kilometrov po načinu premikanja in namenu poti (vir: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2017)



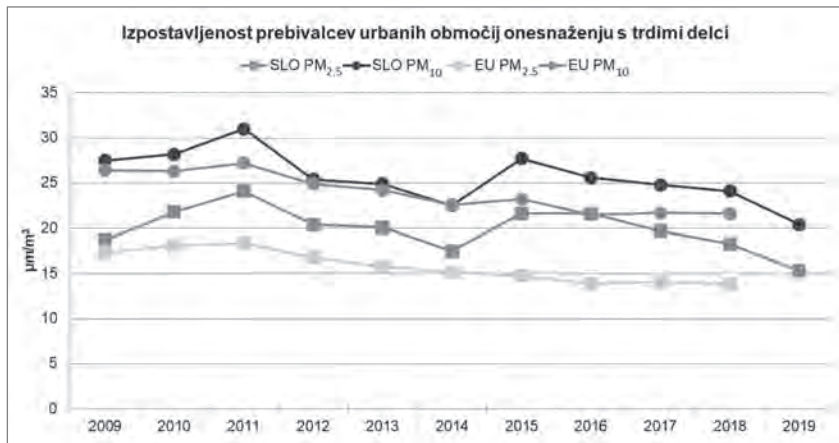
Slika 3: Število osebnih avtomobilov glede na vrsto goriva (vir: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2020)

in izboljšanje javnega zdravja. Pri tem lahko nove tehnologije pripomorejo k boljšim javnim storitvam, k reševanju trajnostnih in okoljskih izzivov, izboljšajo produktivnost posameznikov in družbe kot celote (Vandecasteele idr., 2019).

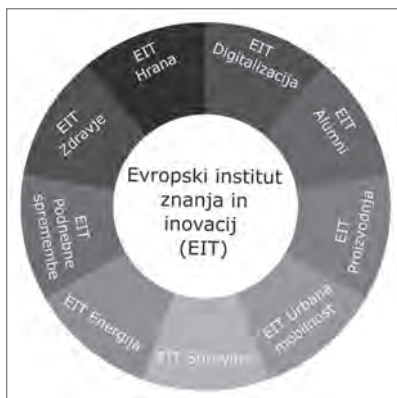
Prometni zastoji, onesnaženje zraka in hrup so le nekatere izmed težav, s katerimi se spoprijemajo evropska in slovenska urbana okolja. V Sloveniji glede na način premikanja prevladuje uporaba avtomobila (slika 2), v katerem posameznik povprečno preživi 14 dni na leto (Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2017). V zadnjih desetih letih je še vedno opazen trend povečevanja števila osebnih avtomobilov v prometu, ob tem pa je opazen trend naraščanja

uporabe osebnih vozil s hibridnim ali električnim pogonom (slika 3).

Motoriziran promet je poleg kurišč, industrijskih izpustov, gradbišč itd. eden izmed virov trdnih delcev v zraku (npr. PM_{10} in $PM_{2,5}$) (Thunis idr., 2017). Poleg okoljskih vplivov imajo lahko višje vrednosti delcev PM negativen vpliv tudi na človeško zdravje – razvoj Alzheimerjeve bolezni, povečano možnost za pojav srčnih zastojev, nagnjenost k višjemu krvnemu tlaku itd. (VFA Solutions, 2021). V Sloveniji so bile v zadnjem desetletju vrednosti delcev PM_{10} in $PM_{2,5}$ vedno višje od evropskega povprečja (slika 4). Soustvarjanje urbanih strategij in akcijskih načrtov, in to v sinergijah z urbani prebivalci, je torej pomembno za ohranjanje urbanih okolij in z



Slika 4: Povprečna letna izpostavljenost prebivalcev urbanih okolij onesnaženju s trdnimi delci v Sloveniji in EU (vir: Eurostat, 2020)



Slika 5: Skupnosti znanja in inovacij pod okriljem EIT

njimi povezanih sistematičnih napredkov (Vandecasteele idr., 2019). S problematikami urbanih okolij in reševanj izzivov se ukvarja skupnost EIT Urbana mobilnost.

Evropski inštitut za inovacije in tehnologijo (v nadaljevanju: EIT) je v letu 2019 ustanovil skupnost EIT Urbana mobilnost (ang. *EIT Urban Mobility*), kot eno izmed devetih evropskih skupnosti znanja in inovacij (slika 5). Eden izmed glavnih ciljev EIT je povečati konkurenčnost evropskih podjetij, med drugim tudi s sistematičnim pospeševanjem prehoda inovacij in inovativnih rešitev na trg. Poleg pospeševanja konkurenčnosti, predvsem avtomobilske industrije, si je skupnost EIT Urbana mobilnost določila še sedem drugih glavnih izzivov:

- razbremenitev transportnih mrež v urbanih okoljih,
- podpiranje interdisciplinarnosti,
- okoljsko učinkovit in varen transport ljudi, blaga (vključno z odpadki),
- novi načini uporabe podatkov,
- oblikovanje zakonodajnega okvira za spremembe vzorcev obnašanja,
- trajnostna rast urbanih okolij ter
- upravljanje urbanih okolij.

V letu 2021 skupnost vključuje že več kot 85 mestnih in državnih ustanov, raziskovalnih in izobraževalnih ustanov ter industrijskih partnerjev s področja mobilnosti.

Vse aktivnosti so usmerjene v doseganje treh ključnih družbenih ciljev: (1) blažitev posledic in prilagajanje podnebnim spremembam, (2) ustvarjanje boljših življenjskih razmer v mestih, (3) ustvarjanje novih delovnih mest in krepitev evropskega mobilnega sektorja (EIT Urban Mobility Strategic Agenda, 2021).

Strateški cilji, oblikovani za doseganje družbenih in mobilnostnih vplivov, so:

- ustvarjanje boljših življenjskih razmer v mestih,
- zapolnitev vrzeli v znanju,
- zelene in varne rešitve za mobilnost ljudi, blaga in odpadkov,
- pospeševanje tržnih priložnosti,

- spodbujanje učinkovitih politik in spremembe vzorcev obnašanja (EIT Urban Mobility Strategic Agenda, 2021).

Vse aktivnosti skupnosti EIT Urbana mobilnost so tudi v sinergiji z Agendo 2030 za trajnostni razvoj, ki jo je leta 2015 sprejela Organizacija združenih narodov. Velik poudarek je na skrbi za zdravo življenje in spodbujanju splošnega dobrega počutja v vseh življenjskih obdobjih posameznika ter na zmanjšanju porabe energije in zagotavljanju trajnostne in ekonomsko dostopne oskrbe. Čeprav je opazen trend upadanja, je bilo v Sloveniji leta 2019 mogoče ugotoviti, da si 3 % gospodinjstev še vedno ne morejo privoščiti primerne ogrevanja v stanovanju, delež energije, pridobljene iz obnovljivih virov, pa je bil v istem letu le 21 %. Eden izmed ciljev kazalnikov prehoda v bolj trajnostno mobilnost je tudi izboljšanje kakovosti življenja v mestih in skupnostih ter spodbujanje napredka v razvoju bolj trajnostnega prometa z manj škodljivimi vplivi na okolje, spodbujanje odgovorne rabe primarnih virov, ustanavljanje bolj trajnostnih mest in skupnosti (Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2020).

Skupnost EIT Urbana mobilnost uvaža spremembe na omenjenih osmih področjih delovanja z izvajanjem petih programov: Klub mest, Akademija, Podpora podjetništvu, Inovacije ter Tovarna.

Klub mest (ang. *City Club*) je program aktivnosti, v okviru katerega evropska mesta sodelujejo med seboj, si izmenjujejo informacije o izzivih, priložnostih ter dobrih praksah. Informacije in izkušnje evropskih mest se uporabijo kot izhodišče za druge programe ter vsakoletne razpise na raznovrstnih tematskih področjih razvoja inovacij, akademije, podpore podjetništvu, regionalne inovacijske sheme (RIS), tovarne in vključenosti prebivalcev. V razpisu leta 2021 so bili izzivi osredotočeni na

različne možnosti prehoda na aktivne načine premikanja (hoja, kolesarjenje), reševanje negativnih vplivov prometa v urbanih okoljih, izboljšanje urbane logistike s poudarkom na zadnji miljii itd.

Akademija (ang. *Academy*) vključuje raznovrstne magistrske in doktorske programe ter druge izobraževalne programe, npr. na področju vseživljenjskega učenja. Program je namenjen izboljšanju znanja na področju trajnostne mobilnosti v urbanih okoljih, pridobivanju in analizi podatkov o pametni mobilnosti, alternativnih oblikah mobilnosti, transformaciji javnih površin, novih trendih na področju mestne logistike, izzivov avtonomnih vozil, aktivne mobilnosti itd. Velik poudarek je tudi na razvoju kritičnih sposobnosti posameznika in interdisciplinarnosti vseh programov.

Programa Inovacije (ang. *Innovation*) in Podpora podjetništvu (ang. *Business creation*) se zavzemata za hitrejši prehod inovativnih storitev in proizvodov na trg, predvsem na področjih aktivne mobilnosti, intermodalnosti, infrastrukture, zmanjševanja onesnaženja, trajnostne mestne logistike, ustvarjanja javnih površin, mobilnosti v prihodnosti, mobilnost in energija. Program Podpora podjetništvu svoje aktivnosti izvaja v treh podprogramih:

- Pospesevalnik (ang. *Accelerator*) je namenjen zagonskim, mikro in majhnim podjetjem, ki lahko v okviru programa pridobijo povratna in nepovratna sredstva, mentorstvo, dostop do živih laboratorijev (ang. *Living labs*), testnih polj, možnosti preveritve tehnologije in trga,
- Globalni prehod (ang. *Scale-THENGlobal*) je nadaljevalni program, namenjen umeščanju inovativnih rešitev na mednarodnih trgih,
- Finančna podpora (ang. *Finance2Move*) je program, v okviru katerega lahko podjetja pridobijo

finančno podporo za nadaljevanje podjetniške kariere in možnost mreženja.

Glavni poudarek programa Tovarna je na implementaciji rešitev po svetu. Aktivnosti vključujejo: povezovanje izdelkov s povpraševanjem preko digitalnega tržnega prostora in fizičnih mreženj, promocijo dobrih praks in tudi iskanje ustreznih priložnosti za podporo inovacijam.

Zavod za gradbeništvo Slovenije (ZAG) je v letu 2020 postal nacionalna kontaktna točka skupnosti EIT Urbana mobilnost – EIT Urbana mobilnost RIS Hub Slovenija. Glavni cilj skupnosti EIT Urbana mobilnost RIS Hub Slovenija, je:

- povezovati različne deležnike v integriran in multidisciplinaren ekosistem (predvsem predstavnike trikotnika znanja – izobraževalne in raziskovalne ustanove, mesta, odločevalce in oblikovalce politik ter industrijska podjetja, ki delujejo na področju mobilnosti),
- povečati prepoznavnost skupnosti EIT Urbana mobilnost v Sloveniji,
- obveščati širšo družbo o aktivnostih in prihodnjih razpisih,
- aktivno podpirati zagonska podjetja, študente in raziskovalce pri nadaljnjem razvoju njihovih inovativnih idej ter
- vsesplošno izboljšati podjetniške pogoje na lokalni ravni.

V ta namen je skupnost EIT Urbana mobilnost RIS Hub Slovenija, tudi v letu 2021 organizirala številne aktivnosti. Te so razdeljene v šest sklopov:

- temeljne aktivnosti,
- komunikacijske in informativne aktivnosti,
- aktivnosti, ki podpirajo lokalni inovacijski ekosistem,
- aktivnosti, ki podpirajo lokalno podjetništvo,
- izobraževalne aktivnosti,
- oblikovanje lokalne skupnosti, integracija trikotnika znanja in

krepitev lokalnega inovacijskega ekosistema.

V letu 2021 je bila organizirana mednarodna konferenca EIT Urbana mobilnost, ki je imela glavni poudarek na krepitevi partnerske skupnosti v Sloveniji. Organizirana so bila tudi razna izobraževanja (prijava projektne prijave, zaščita intelektualnih pravic, informacije o prihajajočih razpisih, pridobivanje javnih in zasebnih financiranj) in zimska šola za študente, da bi s tem zmanjšali vrzel v znanju na tem področju. Del aktivnosti je bil osredotočen na zagonska in mikro podjetja, del pa na lokalno skupnost in izboljšanje aktivne mobilnosti. V sodelovanju z Mariborsko kolesarsko mrežo (MKM) sta bila v jesenskih mesecih organizirani dve kolesarski prireditvi: Kolesarski lov na zaklad in dvomesečni Strava kolesarski izziv Goni z mano v toplice. V okviru izziva je bila udeležencem omogočena brezplačna izposoja mobilnih senzorjev PM_{2,5}, s katerimi so lahko tudi sami preverili onesnaženost zraka na njihovi kolesarski poti.

Skupnost EIT Urbana mobilnost na področjih svojega delovanja omogoča številne priložnosti za podjetnike in raziskovalce, ki lahko tako prispevajo k izboljšanju življenjskih in bivalnih razmer v mestih.

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Anja Ilenič
Zavod za gradbeništvo Slovenije, Ljubljana, Slovenija
E-naslov: anja.ilenic@zag.si

Alenka Mauko Pranjič
Zavod za gradbeništvo Slovenije, Ljubljana, Slovenija
E-naslov: alenka.mauko@zag.si

Darko Kokot
Zavod za gradbeništvo Slovenije, Ljubljana, Slovenija
E-naslov: darko.kokot@zag.si

Ana Mladenovič
Zavod za gradbeništvo Slovenije, Ljubljana, Slovenija
E-naslov: ana.mladenovic@zag.si

Mateja Košir
Zavod za gradbeništvo Slovenije, Ljubljana,
Slovenija
E-naslov: mateja.kosir@zag.si

Več informacij o drugih dogodkih je na voljo na spletnem naslovu: hubum.si

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Tülay ZIVALI TURHAN
Hatice AYATAÇ

Understanding of the relation between ethnic diversity and public space: A bibliometric analysis

In its most obvious form, the mechanism of the “public” – the individuals in a society and their engagement with each other – can be seen in the core of the cities; the public space. Over the years, many scholars from various disciplines have contributed extensive research on this notion. This article provides a constructive analysis of research approaches and methodologies applied to ethnic diversity as a social phenomenon in relation to public space. It examines 1,079 articles published between 1995 and 2020 and included in Web of Science. The bibliometric dataset was manually filtered, and query-based scientometric visualization was produced using CiteSpace software. The article explores how theory is applied, and it

outlines current trends, gaps, and common methodological approaches in the literature, which may lead to new insights for further interdisciplinary research. The results show two fundamental clusters in the theoretical conceptualization regarding the subject: a human–place relational approach, which is based on examining urban and social policy, and a human–human relational approach, which focuses on interpersonal interactions and considers public space a facilitator for this social encounter.

Keywords: bibliometric review, CiteSpace, ethnic diversity, public space, Web of Science

1 Introduction

One prominent effect of the globalizing world is increasing migration and thus increasing diversity in urban settlements. Many large cities face a persistently high influx of immigrants from around the world. Consequently, populations are shifting toward a dynamic, heterogeneous, and multicultural structure with the presence of various ethnic groups and subcultures. Ethnic diversity can be observed from the (sub)national level to the neighbourhood level in both social and spatial organization. Ethnicity identifies shared attributes of groups of people and identifies common traditions, ideologies, and behaviours that show cultural continuity over time (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996; Peoples & Bailey, 2011). Eventually, people tend to congregate with others that have the same norms and values, and certain groups evolve with distinctive characteristics. Nevertheless, diverse individuals and groups of people are obliged to engage and share space with each other more than ever. This phenomenon has always been an issue in a wide range of fields such as geography, urban studies, sociology, environmental psychology, and cultural studies. The urban fabric plays a substantial and decisive role in shaping the relations between ethnic groups. Interaction between diverse ethnic communities in daily life occurs in commonly used spaces in the city; public space is the meeting place of different identities – or, as Sennett (2003) argues, the place where “strangers” meet each other. Common space is an always-fragile spatial situation that people shape through engagement. In addition, a person’s cultural identification creates a sense of belonging and thus promotes meaningful places. Experiencing common spaces as they are is possible through their emergence in the process of being used, defined, comprehended, and communicated collectively (Stavrides, 2016). “Mainstream urban design theory and practice are explicitly pro-social; the importance of socialising in outdoor public spaces is promoted” (Rishbeth et al., 2018: 37) through various residential scales in the city (Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1980; Gehl & Gemzoe, 1996; Carmona et al., 2003). In this manner, urban public space is the place where everyday practices reflect individual and collective social cultures of sociability (Dines et al., 2006) and is thus considered essential to the quality of life. According to Hillier (1996), the interface of ethnicity is one of the most critical among the multiple interfaces that characterize urban space. Hence, ethnic diversity appears as a social structure formed by the interaction of different communities in the urban landscape. Parallel to this urban sociological approach, the most integrated spaces in the spatial system attract more movement, and with their gravitational force they carry the potential for creating social interaction (Hillier et al., 1993). In this sense, it is essential to understand the role of ethnic diversity on public space, considering that these places are the most integrated

spaces in the city. Ethnic groups tend to be spatially segregated from each other, but they are integrated into the system (proximate from any space of origin to all others in a system) as much as possible. However, the majority occupies the most integrated spaces, and the minority occupies secondary public spaces (Ferati, 2009). Although houses in diverse ethnic communities have the same spatial layout, it is their spatial configuration that discloses ethnic identity (Charambous Antoniadou & Peristianis, 2001). In terms of sociability in public space, both disengagement and contact mechanisms occur as ethnic diversity increases (Blumer & Solomos, 2015). Representations of the public space or representations of shared space (space as a common property of a group that symbolizes a common collective identity) are forms of creating the common space. As a matter of fact, common space may be contested in a struggle over representation even before it is defined as common space. These spaces are not merely the result of the acts that produced them or the acts of interpretation that name them. It is possible for common spaces to be misrecognized, corrupted, and even usurped within and through these struggles. It is important, then, to examine the ways in which people can develop tools to recognize, invent, and dream of common spaces (Stavrides, 2016).

To understand the trends of this dynamic and interdisciplinary concern, a common method is to conduct a literature review. It not only presents a multi-perspective overview of previous literature on the subject but also provides a foundation with possible objectives, methodologies, and indicators highlighting gaps and potentials regarding the topic (Khoo et al., 2010). It also provides a basis for larger studies related to the topic. By conducting a bibliometric analysis, Su et al. (2019) argue that the construction of a social model and its reflection in public space is based on the construction of the intangible cultural heritage of various ethnic groups. Shuangyun and Hongxia (2020: 27) state that “acculturation is not only a problem of immigrants but also a problem of ethnic minorities that have lived for generations in contact with mainstream groups.” Andrade et al. (2016) review the dimensions of the “right to the city” and show that there has been an intensification of segregation in the last decade in urban public space. Overall, such studies point out that the impact of ethnicity and race cannot be underestimated in the formation of (in)tangible urban structures and relations, but signify that there are limited bibliometric studies addressing this issue.

Within this framework, this study examines the relation between ethnic diversity and public space based on a constructive analysis of the research approaches and methodologies used. The research identifies conceptual assumptions and the underlying trends in the past and present development of urban public space in relation to ethnic diversity. The article addresses

Table 1: Inclusion and exclusion search criteria for the dataset.

Criterion	Search terms
Query entry	ethnic* racial* racism + public space* shared space* urban space* urban public space* open space* open public space* common space*
Population	Ethnic groups
Setting	Open public space accessible to all
Outcome	Qualitative: perceptions and regulations regarding use of public space by ethnic groups
	Quantitative: correlation between ethnic groups and use of public space
Publication type	Peer reviewed publications indexed in WoS databases
Time span	1995–2020

Note: The asterisk retrieves any group of characters, including no character, in Web of Science.

the dynamics and patterns of ethnic diversity in urban public spaces, arguing that the use of and engagement in the public sphere are affected by ethnic identity. In this way, it analyses the notion that ethnic diversity leads to socio-spatial segregation in public space.

2 Research methods and tools

2.1 Search and selection process

The research is based on publications from 1995 to 2020 taken from the Web of Science (WoS) bibliographic database. The support of bibliometric software (e.g., CiteSpace, HistCite, or VOSviewer) is very beneficial for tackling the complexity of such cross-domain research (Shuangyun & Hongxia, 2020). Therefore, the data were analysed manually and with the help of CiteSpace software. This tool is used to translate bibliometric datasets into visualizations based on co-citations and clustering algorithms, and it makes it possible to explore the development of a certain research area (Chen & Song, 2019). The search was conducted in July 2021 based on the title, abstract, publication information, keywords, and publication content. The following information was stored in the dataset during the search process: publication title, author information, publication source information, publication abstract, citation amount, and usage count. In addition, WoS provided specific information about individual publications, including the authors' keywords, WoS keywords (KeyWords Plus), author information, publisher information, document information, references cited, and other information related to the publication. The search query was “ethnic* OR racial* OR racism AND public space OR urban open space” and it

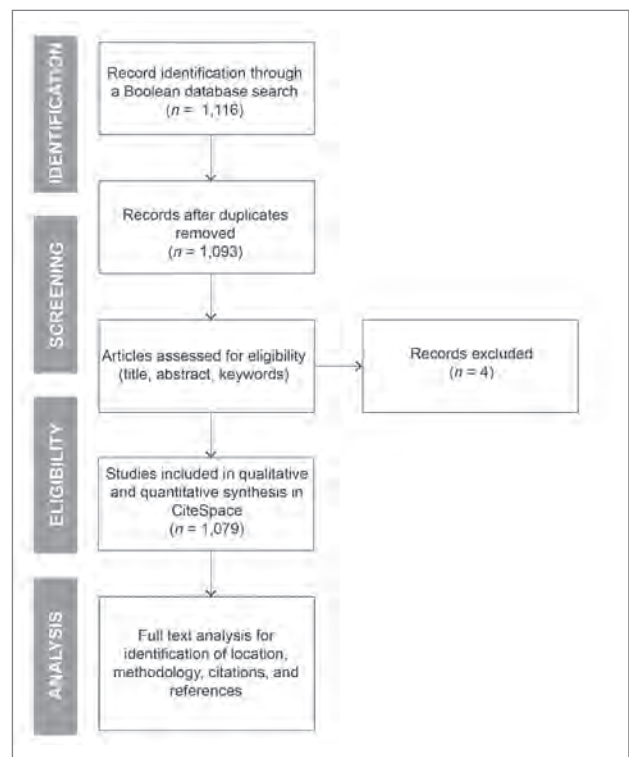


Figure 1: A PRISMA flow diagram showing the selection procedure and analysis of the dataset (illustration: authors).

included related terms that detected relevant residue regarding the subject and thus a more precise and substantial dataset (Table 1).

The set of terms and Boolean searches resulted in 1,116 hits (Figure 1). Then manual filtration was applied by reading the abstracts of the publications to attain greater accuracy and

detect deviations and duplicates. The final dataset considered relevant for the study included 1,079 publications.

2.2 Principal limitations

“Interpretations based on the results of this methodology are limited by several factors. Firstly, WoS indexing practices can limit the reliability of the findings” (Le Gentil & Mongruel, 2014: 87). The selected publications on this subject are not complete, and further material undoubtedly exists (e.g., in journals and books and/or book chapters not indexed in WoS, (un)published reports, dissertations, or (un)published conference proceedings). Second, the search output may have varied because different keywords related to the topic were included.

3 Research findings on ethnic diversity in relation to public space

The study comprehensively investigates the key thematic landscapes and their associated cluster patterns based on the bibliographic and geographic information, thematic areas, and methodological approaches of the data set.

3.1 Bibliographic and geographic information

The literature review retrieved a total of 1,116 publications from the WoS database, which were culled to 1,079 studies (96.7%) dealing with ethnic diversity in public space. The document types are mainly research articles (93.4%) and conference proceedings (5.1%), which indicates that there is a certain degree of attention to the topic because some of the publications were presented at conferences. Although the search period covered almost a quarter century (1995–2020), half of the studies were published after 2015 (Figure 2). The overall citation counts of the selected publications clearly increased between 2013 and 2020, and they reached a peak in 2020. Although there are fluctuating intervals, an increase in such publications over time (more than 50% of all articles were published in the last decade) shows that there is increasing interest in and research on this subject. At the same time, the subject has gradually become integrated in various research areas. English is the predominant language of the publications, at 88.6%. Among the non-English publications, Russian and Spanish (3.3% and 3.2%, respectively) were the most frequent.

Table 2 presents the WoS-assigned classification of the selected records into research areas. The majority of the publications are classified in the WoS category “Geography”. The literature search resulted over 150 different journals. Despite this, there

is no single academic journal devoted entirely to the relation between ethnic diversity and public space. The journals, however, represent branches and sub-branches in the social sciences, including sociology, psychology, human geography, anthropology, urban studies, architecture and planning, political science, linguistics, economics, and history. Only major journals in archaeology are missing.

A large share of studies were conducted in the Americas (49.1%). The case studies in the corresponding publications mainly examine (sub)urban settlements and multi-ethnic neighbourhoods in the US (40.2%). The main focus of these studies is mixed black and white neighbourhoods (Caliendo, 2011; Rollock et al., 2011; Gibson, 2018; Harwood et al., 2018), particularly in New York and Los Angeles. These studies are strongly affiliated with cultural differentiation in the uses of various (semi-)public areas such as schools and parks (Loukaitousideris-Sideris, 1995; Ho et al., 2005; Wolch et al., 2005; Chuang et al., 2013; Kaczynski et al., 2013; Vaughan et al., 2013; Trouille, 2014; Wilson, 2016; Rigolon & Németh, 2018). These studies mainly focus on children and youth.

“Notable terrorist attacks in the last 15 years, both in the UK and in other countries, have shaped everyday understandings of the public realm as a place that has the potential to be dangerous, and this danger is frequently conflated with racial visibility” (Rishbeth et al., 2017: 42). Accordingly, one breaking point in this review may be related to the global approach to terrorism after the September 11th attacks. The share of case studies in European countries concerning this topic is relatively high (20.1%). Notably, 14.4% of the case studies examine the United Kingdom, focusing on British cross-cultural discourse and the ethnographic understandings of ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Multicultural phenomena and questions about the integration of Muslim minorities and their everyday activities in public spaces are explicit (Schmidt, 2012; Kloek et al., 2013; Mohammad, 2013; Johnson & Miles, 2014; Hopkins et al., 2017; Joly, 2017). There are also examples of case studies of places where multiculturalism has been present for centuries. A set of studies examines settlements in Palestine and Israel, considers conflict areas between Jews and Arabs, analyses non-recognized autonomous areas, evaluates the status of oppressed communities, and explores the concept of “place” within a multicultural context (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003; Shuval et al., 2009; Monterescu, 2011; Aharon-Gutmann, 2014; Jadallah, 2014; Badarin, 2015; Shtern, 2016; Omer et al., 2018; Rokem & Vaughan, 2018).

The dataset indicates that current migration trends have also been a subject of investigation. The studies mainly cover research on migrant belonging in cities and contestation and resistance of opposite groups: homeowners and newcomers

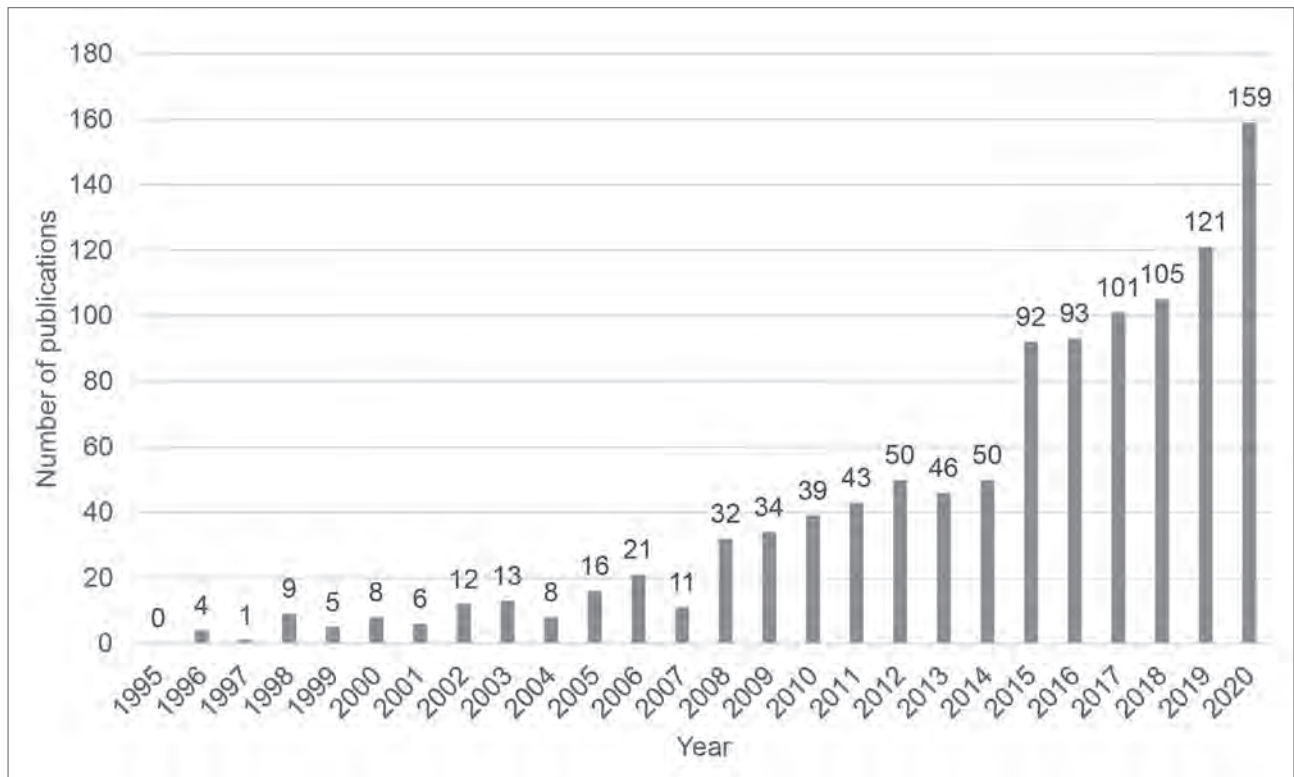


Figure 2: Distribution of the dataset through years (illustration: authors).

Table 2: Research areas included in the dataset.

Research Area	Frequency
Geography	194
Urban studies	169
Sociology	134
Environmental sciences, ecology	120
Social sciences other topics	112
Ethnic studies	102

(Ryan, 2003; Ayata, 2008; Müller, 2011; Ehrkamp, 2013; Triandafyllidou & Kouki, 2013; Hall, 2015; Lobo, 2015; Demintseva, 2017). The dataset implies that this topic is a central debate subject in everyday politics. Case studies in Asia and Australia mainly focus on ethnically mixed areas caused by migration flows in the distant or recent past. Williamson (2016: 2328) examines whether “forms of belonging are becoming increasingly flexible and are characterized by multiple place attachments by exploring how different scales of belonging and mobility come together in migrant incorporation processes in a hyper-diverse, transitional suburban locality in Sydney, Australia.”

3.2 Thematic areas

To understand the structure and dynamics of a domain, it is necessary to examine what specific research has been carried

out for each major area and how different research areas are connected through specific articles (Chen, 2020: 17). This search process can be divided into two parts. The first part consists of word frequency analysis to examining the dataset based on keywords. By extracting the keywords, main themes are formed, which describe the core content of the dataset. The second part is co-citation analysis. Co-citation of a study shows the occurrence of two or more articles in a third reference list. In such a case, these articles form a co-citation relation, which can be useful for indicating the trends in a research domain.

The keywords *public* and *space* evolve parallel to each other and seem to be correlated with consistent appearance over time (Figure 3a). This indicates that research dedicated to urban areas is related to public open spaces. However, these spaces are not only on a city scale but also on a neighbourhood scale because there are a significant number of studies investigating

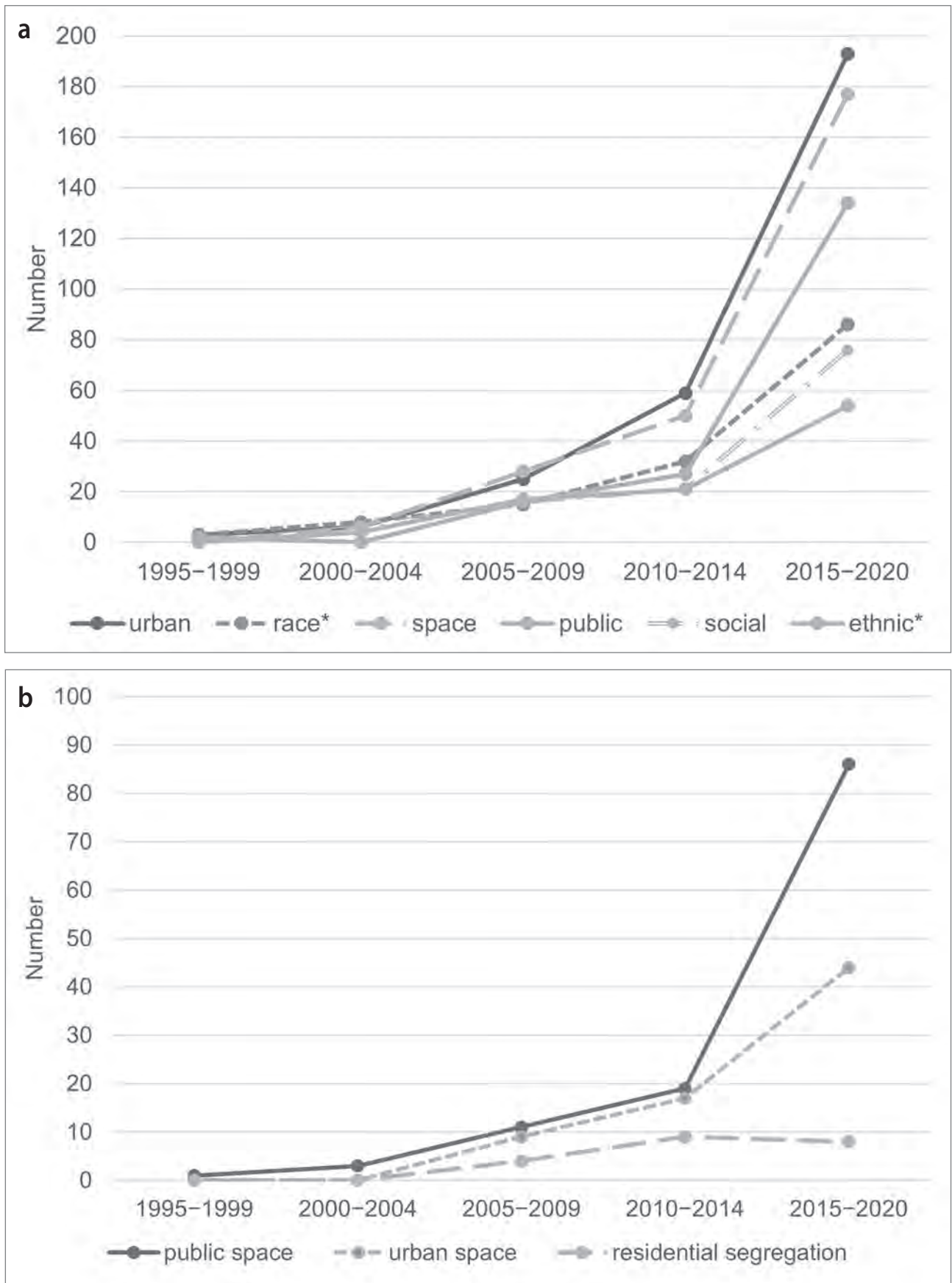


Figure 3: a) most frequent keywords within the time interval; b) most frequent phrases within the time interval (illustration: authors).

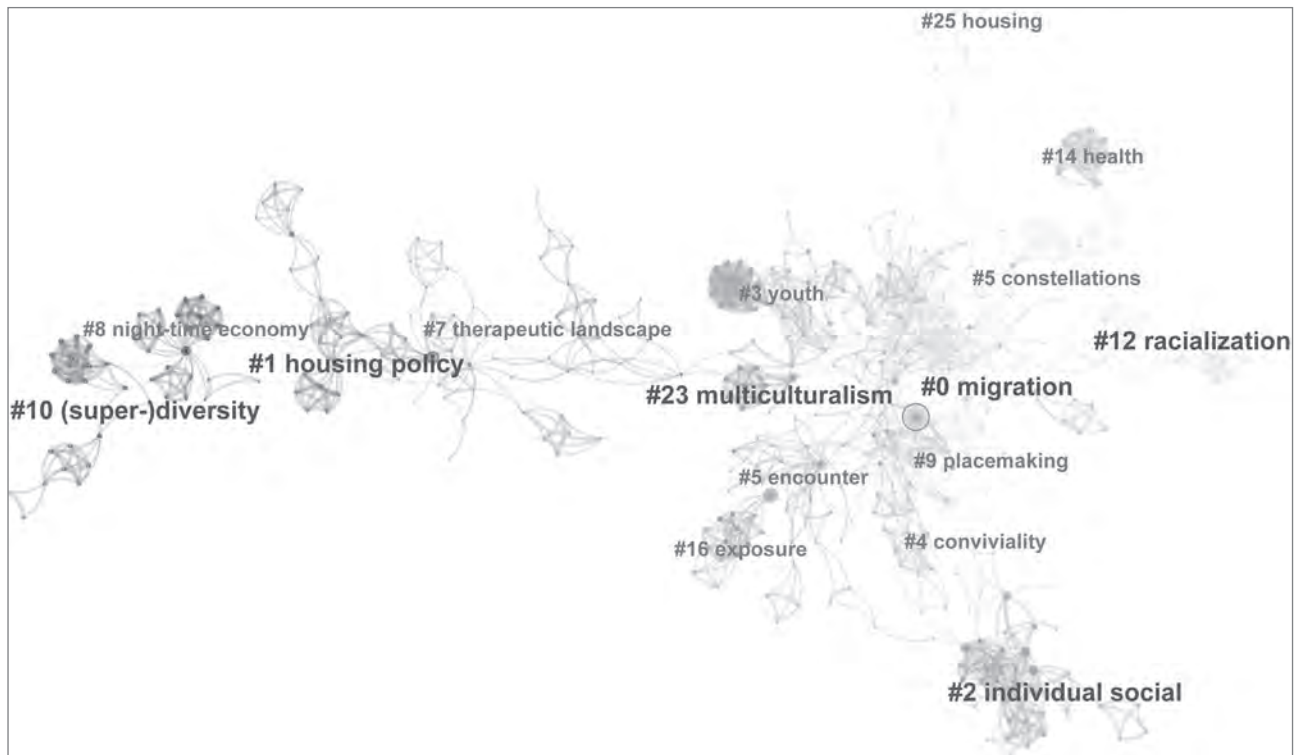


Figure 4: Labelled cluster view of the review dataset (derived from CiteSpace: authors).

residential segregation in diverse neighbourhoods within the urban landscape (Figure 3b). Zsolt Farkas et al. (2017) examine the impacts and consequences of residential segregation in urban spaces in Hungary with a focus on Romani people. Burgers and Zuiderwijk (2016) investigate ethnic segregation in England and Wales. In addition to open urban public spaces, other places as the “common good”, such as places for work, education, or leisure, have also been examined. Swyngedouw (2013: 293) explains that “[p]eople of different race and class, represented by the station where they board the train, do not encounter each other much in the L-train because of the existing residential segregation in the city of Chicago.” Lobo (2014) explores the lived experience of multiculturalism through the eyes of three people (an Aboriginal, a migrant woman, and herself) by catching the same bus in Darwin, Australia. Jackson (2019) explores contested opinions about a bowling alley in London that is used by diverse ethnic groups and has been threatened with demolition. Schmidt (2015) examines inequity and the variety in access to the school environment using spatiality. Here, the emphasis is on the relation between the social organization and spatial fabric. On the other hand, Yu et al. (2018) explore college students’ spatial perception of a college campus in Memphis. The interpretation of the degree of spatiality and publicness in public space vary in the studies.

A significant amount of the dataset (44.6%) emphasizes how various parameters are related to ethnicity, fostering diversity, and how this affects the living environment and vice versa.

Disparities are the main concern. The most frequent variables examining the relation between ethnic diversity and public space are segregation, integration, inclusion, exclusion, contact, social interaction, and social cohesion. These parameters encompass multidimensional meanings because they are related to the city as a physical entity, including all its dynamics. For instance, segregation, the most significant variable, has been defined in a broader context (educational segregation, residential segregation, social segregation, or economic segregation) in many studies and is frequently related to urban violence, raising the questions of when and how segregation shapes violence either in the sense of tensions or active conflict (Bhavnani et al., 2013; Trouille, 2014; Kutmanaliev, 2015; Ha, 2017; Zahnnow, 2018). To this extent, the keywords indicate that the studies can be categorized into four main themes: 1) multiculturalism (the social phenomena related to the creation of ethnic diversity); 2) relation (containing the indices/parameters measuring the interrelation between ethnic identities or the relation between place and identity); 3) space (understood as the public space, the common good as spatial appearance); and 4) city (the constitutional system of networks that reveals socio-spatial relations).

The interrelations of the articles form a co-citation network, which indicates how the publications differ in terms of co-cited references. It simply shows how frequently two articles are cited together by other articles in a dataset (Chen & Song, 2019). These clusters are themed by index terms from their



Figure 5: Reference network of the major clusters (derived from CiteSpace: authors).

own citers. A cited author or study may be included in multiple clusters. In correspondence with the dataset, the network is composed of sixteen co-citation clusters, of which six are major clusters (Figure 4). These clusters include interrelated studies and/or authors, which reveal representative approaches to the subject (Figure 5). Furthermore, citation bursts indicate hotspots, attracting a substantial amount of attention within a brief amount of time (Chen, 2016). This signifies certain articles that are frequently cited in a certain time period, which reveals the milestone studies regarding the subject.

3.2.1 Conceptual cluster 1: human–place relations: a concern for urban and social policy

The largest cluster (#0) is labelled “migration”. The most frequently cited author in this cluster is Amin (2012), who considers living with diversity and the role of public space in the city of strangers against contemporary urban policies with regard to the disposal of cohabitation of unwanted groups. Urban policies to manage and foster social cohesion within a society can be created through the study of daily negotiation of ethnic differences in multicultural cities. However, these analyses are limited (Amin, 2002; Fincher & Iveson, 2008; Valentine, 2008). Understanding the social and spatial processes of diverse user patterns in public space is quite complex and challenging. As Massey (1994: 168) explains, this may be because the notion of place is “formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location”. He argues that “places do not have to have boundaries in the sense of divisions which frame simple enclosures” (Massey, 1994:

155–156). Instead, “they do not have unique ‘identities’; they are full of internal conflicts”, and this specificity “derives from the fact that each place is the focus of a distinct mixture of wider and local social relations”, with a result that is “progressive; not self-enclosing and defensive and outward-looking” (Massey 1994: 147).

A minor cluster named “placemaking” basically refers to the work of Mitchell (2003), which confronts the reader with a critical statement that the right to the city must be defended through all kinds of diversity to attain social justice. As a matter of fact, this publication has the strongest citation burst (Figure 6). The author defends “the importance of the city as a locus for diversity and the struggle to create a public sphere” (Mitchell, 2003: 18). Hence, the notion of public space is described as the physical environment that allows the representation of an individual’s or group’s behaviour and thus takes an important step toward creating justice at the management level. When this justice has not been served, less-empowered groups often have difficulty accessing and using everyday public spaces (Mitchell, 1995). Emerging research on migration, asylum policies, refugee agendas, and so on has been reflected in various case studies across the world to examine the political framework and assess the socio-political effects and struggles of ethnic diversity in urban settlements (Lees, 2003; Bryne, 2012; Bhavnani et al., 2013; Festić, 2015; Fredman, 2018). The overall dataset represents a bundle of work that explores “how cultural diversity is experienced and negotiated on the ground in everyday situations” (Wise & Velayutham, 2009: 2) and proposes new politics of diversity appropriate for the

References	Year	Strength	Begin	End	1995–2020
Ruddick S, 1996, URBAN GEOGR, V17, P132, DOI 10.2747/0272-3638.17.2.132, DOI	1996	5.36	1999	2003	-----
Day K, 1999, ENVIRON PLANN D, V17, P307, DOI 10.1068/d170307, DOI	1999	3.55	2003	2006	-----
Caldeira Teresa, 2000, CITY WALLS CRIME SEG, V0, P0	2000	3.48	2005	2008	-----
Mitchell D, 2003, RIGHT CITY SOCIAL JU, V0, P0	2003	7.79	2006	2011	-----
Valentine G, 2008, PROG HUM GEOG, V32, P323, DOI 10.1177/0309133308089372, DOI	2008	5.16	2011	2016	-----
Kaczynski AT, 2007, LEISURE SCI, V29, P315, DOI 10.1080/01490400701394865, DOI	2007	3.83	2011	2014	-----
Vertovec S, 2007, ETHNIC RACIAL STUD, V30, P1024, DOI 10.1080/01419870701599465, DOI	2007	5.66	2012	2015	-----
Cohen DA, 2007, AM J PUBLIC HEALTH, V97, P509, DOI 10.2105/AJPH.2005.072447, DOI	2007	3.36	2013	2014	-----
Amin A, 2012, LAND STRANGERS, V0, P0	2012	3.85	2014	2018	-----
Anderson E, 2011, COSMOPOLITAN CANOPY, V0, P0	2011	4.78	2015	2020	-----

Figure 6: Top references with the strongest citation bursts (illustration: derived from CiteSpace by authors).

present time (Brown, 2006; Amin, 2012). The second-strongest citation burst is related to Vertovec’s (2007) work. Due to the strong postcolonial immigration trends in the United Kingdom, the author considers East London and Birmingham as heterogeneous and focuses on migrants’ experiences. Herewith, Vertovec introduces the term *super-diversity*, which recognizes “multiple identifications and axes of differentiation, only some of which concern ethnicity” (2007: 1048). Many other parameters generate inequality between inter- and intra-ethnic groups. These variables include dimensions of religion and class, as well as age, sex, and legal status.

3.2.2 Conceptual cluster 2: human-human relations: interpersonal interaction and public space as a facilitator

The second cluster (#2) is labelled “individual social”. By definition, public spaces are “universally accessible, they offer one of the few opportunities for people to directly encounter other people with different behaviours and cultures” (Shaftoe, 2008: 13). Lobo (2010) is the most cited author in the cluster, and his ethnographic study reveals the importance of place attachment as a socio-political concern that forms through everyday intercultural encounters in public spaces. This “provides the potential to blur fixed ethnic boundaries and contribute to interethnic understanding and a sense of belonging” (Lobo, 2010: 85). Several studies discuss similar challenges questioning the importance of urban encounters in public space. Wessel (2009: 7) argues that in everyday interaction “mere exposure to diversity reduces prejudice.” However, “proximity does not necessarily bring ‘meaningful contact’, instead, people who exchange civilities in public might still hold prejudicial views towards minority ethnic groups” (Piekut & Valentine, 2017: 177). The study with the third-strongest citation burst (Valentine, 2008) establishes that “positive encounters with individuals from minority groups do not necessarily change people’s opinions about groups (as a whole) for the better” (Valentine, 2008: 332). “Similarly, quantitative studies have demonstrated that an increase in ethnic diversity in urban space does not directly lead to improved social relations and

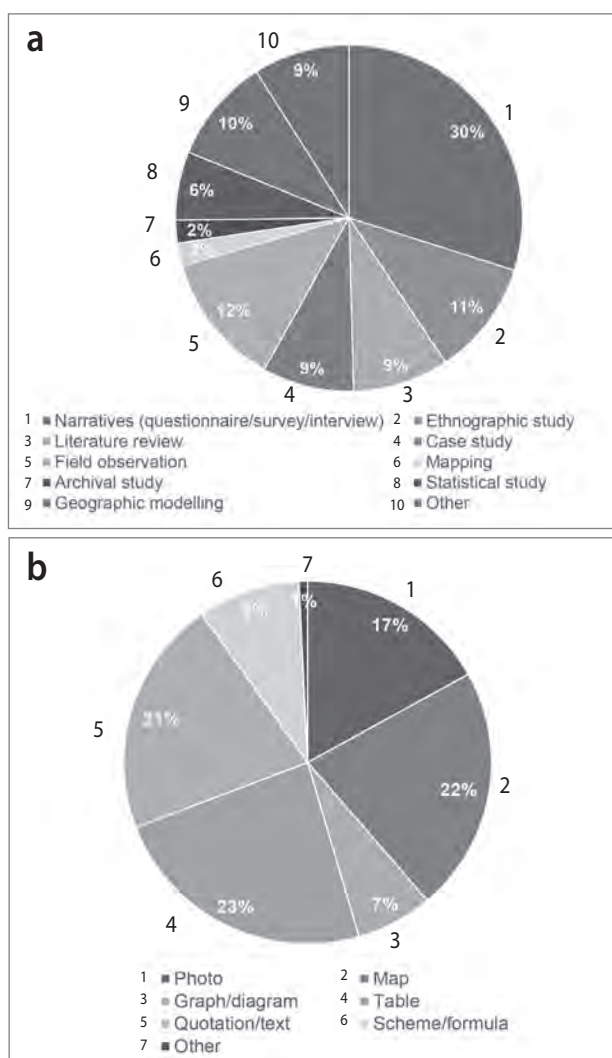


Figure 7: a) distribution of applied methodologies; b) visual representations of the methods used (illustration: authors).

attitudes” (Piekut & Valentine, 2017: 177). Instead, the studies seek an understanding of the circumstances under which ethnic heterogeneity may lead to tensions (Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010; Stolle et al., 2013; Laurence, 2014). There are specific studies investigating people’s everyday relationships within public space. Cattell et al. (2008: 556) argue that “[a] wide

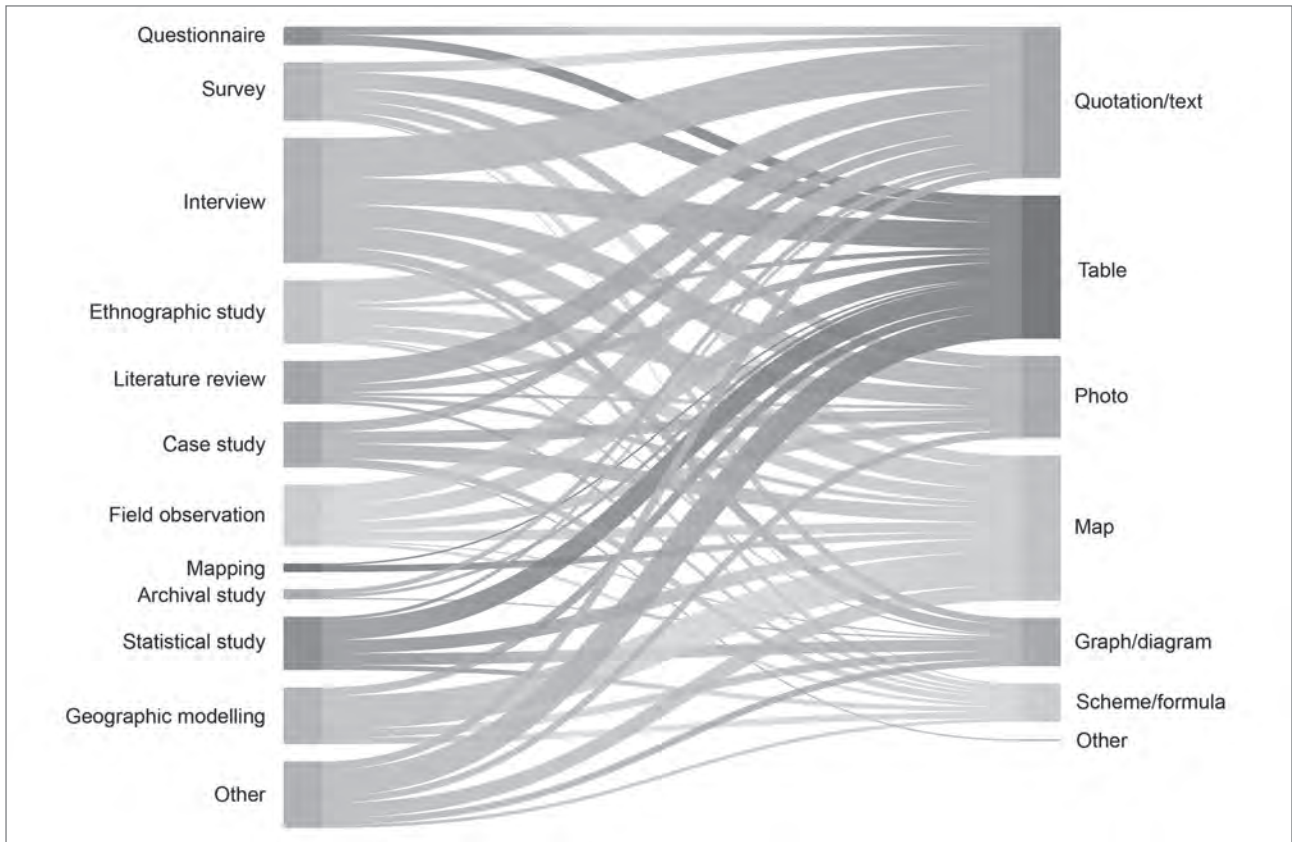


Figure 8: Interrelation of the methodologies applied and their visual representations (illustration: authors).

range of everyday public open spaces were perceived as having a positive influence on both individual well-being and community life.” The study emphasizes especially the shared value and collective use of the spaces and how this could contribute to maintaining health and wellbeing. Kazmierczak (2013: 31) investigated “the contribution of local parks to the development of social ties” in “three inner-city neighbourhoods in Greater Manchester, UK, characterised by different levels of material deprivation and ethnic diversity.” The author claims that, alongside the existing social composition, new or short-term diffusions are also relevant to focus on.

In summary, this cluster shows that social relations in (socially) isolated territories may have an impact on overcoming or at least reducing differences (Amin, 2002). The discourse focuses either on the majority–minority relation or on the absence on a particular dominant ethnic group. As Gehl (2011) emphasizes regarding varying degrees of contact, the intensities are not directly correlated with their importance. “Compared with the other contact forms, these (low-intensity) contacts appear insignificant, yet they are valuable both as independent contact forms and as prerequisites for other, more complex interactions” (Gehl, 2011: 15). Considering these different approaches, studies have increasingly concentrated on theorizing and examining ethnic encounters in public spaces.

3.3 Methodological approaches

We observed that qualitative articles reveal positive or negative effects on public space and test hypotheses, whereas quantitative articles present numerical values for the relation between phenomena by assessing indices and parameters. The studies utilize a mixed-methods approach that includes both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data have been collected using interviews, questionnaires, and observations in narrative forms. In addition, previous literature and archival material were reviewed to support the studies conducted. The results show that 138 articles specifically mentioned using an ethnographic study method, and actually about half of the studies did use it (Figure 7). Ethnographic research aims to understand cultures and norms focusing on human behaviour and collecting observational data (Creswell, 1998, 2003). Given that almost one-fourth of the studies used narratives obtained from interviews, the significance of participatory research must be emphasized. Quantitative data, on the other hand, were collected by using statistical data and mapping and were also obtained through field observations. These observations focus on patterns in everyday activities of public space users. The units of analysis were marginal and minor communities within the case-specific urban settlement. Some other specific case areas were residential neighbourhoods, suburban areas, and

educational environments such as high schools and university campuses. Focus groups related to these case studies included schoolchildren and college students.

Additional investigation offers an understanding of the relation between the method used and the representation or visualization of the data obtained. Almost every type of methodological approach has been extracted as text, but significant data have also been expressed as visual representation, such as photographs or mappings (Figure 8).

4 Conclusion

To prevent deterioration of the social climate, it is crucial to understand interethnic attitudes in public space from different perspectives. The study reveals that relevant literature is generally associated with geography, urban studies, and sociology. However, the selected database corresponds to a wide range of subdisciplines. The literature indicates that there are four main themes to identify regarding the subject: multiculturalism, relation, space, and city. Using bibliometric data analysis, two major co-citation clusters were detected and evaluated based on these themes. The clusters represent the relation between human and place (socio-spatial), and the relation between human and human (socio-physiological).

The largest cluster explores the human–place relation and focuses on ethnic diversity as a concern for urban and social policy. Case studies regarding the cluster treat socio-political effects and struggles particularly associated with migration, asylum policies, and refugee agendas. Moreover, “place” is an essential common good for developing collective and individual public expression. In the second cluster, public space provides a platform to realize social relations and is thus a mediator for ethnic encounters. Nevertheless, investigations of ethnic group behaviour in public space are mainly exploratory. Various empirical research reveals that the contextual effects of ethnic expression are important for understanding the determinants of social relations in settlements. Most of them simply treat ethnicity as a covariate in the analysis of behaviour in public space, and they focus on group differences instead. Here, the emphasis is on the majority–minority ratio of the community. Related literature refers to the physical setting of public space as a site of competition, protest, or negotiation. The link between the clusters establishes that, if justice cannot be served at the administrative level, ethnically disadvantaged groups will have difficulty accessing and using everyday public spaces. Therefore, applying an interdisciplinary framework to the study of multi-ethnic settlements may open doors to dis-

cuss issues for policymaking and building peace at the local and global levels.

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Tülay Zıvalı Turhan

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Faculty of Architecture and Fine Art, Department of Architecture, Ankara, Turkey
E-mail: tturhan@ybu.edu.tr

Hatice Ayataç

Istanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Istanbul, Turkey
E-mail: ayatac@itu.edu.tr

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Nilgün Çolpan ERKAN
Beril SEVIN TOPÇU

Gender-based differences in fear of crime in public spaces: An investigation of a safe district in Istanbul

Safety is an important issue in large cities. Fear of crime, on the other hand, is an issue independent of actual crime rates, but it is directly related to spatial qualities, affecting people's feelings of safety. Fear of crime also varies by gender. This study investigates fear of crime in public places in a particularly safe location of a large metropolis. In this context, it focuses on the effects of spatial characteristics on fear of crime and the differences between genders. The study was carried out in one of the safest districts of Istanbul, which women consider safe. In a 2017 survey,

387 male and female participants of varying ages were questioned regarding their fear, when they experienced such fear, and their reasons for fear in public space. According to the results, women felt a certain amount of fear of crime even in a safe district of the city. In addition, gender-based differences concerning fear in public places and the conditions in which fear is felt are significant.

Keywords: fear of crime, risk assessment, public space, gender, Istanbul

1 Introduction

This study examines gender differences in public spaces as a factor in fear of crime. One important reason why women avoid public spaces is fear of crime. This affects the gender balance in public spaces. It is therefore important for women to feel safe in public spaces to preserve their presence in these areas. In this context, the study's main goal is to determine gender-based differences in the perception of safety and the source of fear of crime. The findings of this research may inform new regulations or amendments to current legislation.

One of the main motives for this study is the alarming increase in violence against women in Turkey in the last decade. Femicide rates, which are one of the most striking consequences of this violence, increased by 30.6% between 2016 and 2018 (428.9% in 15 years; Tıǧlı, 2019). Official records and data on crimes against women are not shared with the public in Turkey, and therefore it was not possible to include data relating to crimes other than murder in this study. Moreover, according to Lordođlu (2018), reporting sexual assault and sexual harassment to the police is rather low in Turkey, and the definition and boundaries of sexual harassment are very blurred in Turkish society, and so this must be taken into account when assessing crimes against women. The report on violence against women in Turkey (Karal & Aydemir, 2012) emphasizes that, rather than the crime rates of a particular place, the rate of violence against women throughout the country may be a more significant factor influencing women's fear of crime. Male violence is an extension of the patriarchal belief that a woman's place is in the home; this manner of thinking implies that violence is overlooked and legitimized, especially when state intervention is insufficient. This results in women feeling defenceless and vulnerable. Even though women may not actually be victimized, it prevents them from utilizing the city's public spaces freely. News about women in Istanbul being attacked in public by men because of their clothing, and assailants not receiving the expected criminal penalties, are causing women to experience increasing fear in public spaces. Therefore, this study investigates gender-based differences in fear of crime in public spaces. In particular, it examines aspects related to fear of crime in public space and it seeks to determine how problems can be solved by urban design.

1.1 Literature review

Fear of crime stems from the belief of being victimized by crime. It is an emotional reaction caused by fear, danger, and anxiety toward potential violent crimes (Covington & Taylor, 1991). When it occurs, it is combined with a feeling of vulnera-

bility due to the threat of physical harm (Garofalo, 1981; Ward et al., 1990). This is also described as a sense of insecurity. It can also be defined as an emotional reaction characterized by a sense of danger or anxiety created by crime or symbols related to crime (Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987). Individuals that fear crime avoid certain routes (Ravenscroft et al., 2002), walk less (Ross, 1993; Foster et al., 2010), interact less socially (Ross & Jang, 2000), and change their habits (Garofalo, 1981). When an individual's perception of victimization is higher than the objective probability, fear of crime can turn into a serious problem. Fear of crime is both a personal and social problem that reduces the quality of life because it restricts access to social and cultural activities. It has a detrimental effect on individuals' interaction in society (Sacco, 1993). The complex structure of fear of crime means that it is becoming a social and political problem more comprehensive than crime itself (Garofalo, 1981; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1992).

Fear of crime is an increasing fear type, especially for the residents of larger cities, and it is significantly related to how individuals perceive their surroundings, and how they evaluate themselves in their surroundings (Ferraro, 1995; Çardak, 2012). Consequently, fear of crime is a factual and perceptual problem. Crime or fear of crime is directly related to education level, income level, age, ethnicity, place of residence, sense of belonging to a space, and gender (Gray et al., 2011). A main approach to fear of crime based on an individual's characteristics is the vulnerability perspective approach. According to this approach, groups that are deemed weaker, more defenceless, more unprotected, and more vulnerable to external factors in terms of physical, socioeconomic, and cultural status are assumed to feel fear of crime more often than other groups in society (Ferraro, 1995; Çardak, 2012; Kul, 2013). Women, the elderly, the handicapped, and individuals without social support interpret the information they receive from their surroundings as a more intense fear of crime (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Çardak, 2012).

More vulnerable or disadvantaged groups of society with regard to security (i.e., women, migrants, the poor, LGBT individuals, handicapped people, the elderly, children, and the homeless) are mostly examined in studies on fear of crime (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Pain, 2001; Otis, 2007; Jackson, 2009). Although some studies have not shown significant differences based on age, they almost always conclude that fear of crime is higher in women than men (Valentine, 1989; MacMillan et al., 2000; Pain, 2001; Jackson, 2009; Uludağ, 2010; Kul, 2013; Öztürk et al., 2016). Jackson's (2009) study showed a gender difference disfavours women in crimes against persons, whereas a gender difference was not detected in crimes against property.

Even though crime and fear of crime are related to each other as concepts, the relationship between them is weak (Jackson, 2009; Dolu et al., 2010). It is also important not to ignore the influence of mass media and the environment in fear of crime. The traditional view of society about women should also be considered in women's fear of crime, which is detailed below. Finally, even though fear of crime is related to crime itself, it emerges as an independent factor after a certain point. This explains why fear of crime is seen not only in residents of districts with high crime rates, but also in residents of safer cities or districts where crime rates are lower (Furstenberg, 1971; Ferraro, 1995).

1.1.1 Fear of crime and gender

Women are undoubtedly the most vulnerable part of society when it comes to fear of crime. The fear geography of women in the Western world has been studied since the late twentieth century (Valentine, 1989; Treske, 1990; Pain, 1991; Koskela, 1997). On the other hand, in Turkey fear studies focusing on women have been gaining prominence only in the last decade (Dolu, 2010; Çardak, 2012; Erkan, 2015; Yirmibeşoğlu & Ergun, 2015). The vulnerability perspective is an approach that explains the gender difference in fear of crime. According to the vulnerability perspective, personal vulnerability perception is an important factor affecting fear of crime in individuals (Taylor & Hale, 1986; Franklin et al., 2008). Individuals that feel physically, socially, and economically defenceless experience a heightened sense of fear of crime (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Hale, 1993) because they perceive themselves to be too weak and vulnerable to stand up against potential criminals and they see themselves as the potential victims of many crimes. This implies that women and the elderly are physically more vulnerable compared to men and youth. Hence, women (Warr, 1984; Hale, 1993; Mirrlees-Black et al., 1996; Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2013) and the elderly (Warr, 1984; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1992; Jackson, 2009) report a higher level of fear of crime. When recorded victimizations are compared, women, especially older women, experience fear of crime more even though they are rarely the victims; however, young men experience fear of crime less, even though their actual victimization potential is higher (Hale, 1993). This inconsistency between fear levels and actual victimization rates is called the gender-fear paradox.

Studies of gender-based differences, including this study, show that women living in urban areas experience fear of crime more often and more intensely compared to men living in the same areas (Valentine, 1989, 1992; Hale, 1993; Koskela, 1999; Pain, 1991, 2001; Dolu et al., 2010; Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2013; Uçan et al., 2016). Data on fear of crime show that there are relatively small but statistically meaningful differences between

fear rates expressed by men and women (Gilchrist et al., 1998). As a result, gender surfaces as an important indicator of fear of crime.

Fear of crime affects women in two ways. Women may either stay away from certain places and activities to avoid the sense of fear, or they may internalize the prejudices and ideologies that harm women in general (Koskela, 1997; Sutton et al., 2011). Either way, fear of crime is a mechanism that forces women out of particular urban spaces and social relationships. Consequently, women usually adopt avoidance behaviour because of fear of crime, and they place restrictions on their own lives. These restrictions may have to do with when they leave and return to their homes, where they go, how they dress, who they communicate with, and how they communicate. If the fear is too high, their lives are completely restricted by these influences (Valentine, 1989; Pain, 1991; Koskela, 1999; Çardak, 2012; Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2013; Tandoğan & Şimşek İlhan, 2016). Fear of crime especially restricts women's access to public spaces and influences their behaviour in public. Because women avoid public spaces, the gender balance in public spaces deteriorates, further increasing women's fear of using these spaces.

1.1.2 External factors in fear of crime

It would be wrong to think that fear of crime stems only from an individual's personal perception. Therefore, many studies focus on external factors such as physical space itself, or mass media creating the perception of fear. A person's fear of crime is not parallel to crime levels but is instead related to the news about crime in the mass media (Kohm et al., 2002; Smolej & Janne, 2006; Çardak, 2012; Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2013; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2015; Sallan Gül & Altındal, 2015). Fear stimulates people to take precautions. In this case, even if there is not an actual danger, news about assault, rape, and violence against women in the mass media influences how women conduct themselves in public spaces. A study in Turkey about women's fear of crime showed that half of women experience greater fear of crime in public spaces if they are wearing revealing clothing or if they are alone (Tandoğan & Şimşek İlhan, 2016). Since mass media recently began broadcasting news about physical assaults on women dressed in revealing clothing, increasingly more Turkish women have experienced fear of crime (Internet 1, Internet 2).

External factors affecting fear of crime are not limited to the mass media. According to another approach, irregularities in the built environment can be interpreted as clues of insecurity and are effective in creating fear of crime. Dark, deserted areas where trash is not collected, places where there are vandalized structures, or places characterized by an imbalance of men



Figure 1: Location of and facilities in Kadıköy (illustration: G. E. Albayrak).

and women cause individuals to fear being victimized (Vrij & Winkel, 1991; Nasar & Fisher, 1993; Newman, 1996; Kalpana & Ashish, 2015). Deserted alleys, dark passages, insufficient lighting, isolated urban spaces, and late-night public transport are usually described as conditions or spaces where fear of crime is experienced the most (Treske, 1990; Warr, 1990; Greene, 2003; Erkan 2015; Tandoğan & Şimşek İlhan, 2016). According to Tandoğan and Şimşek İlhan (2016) and Treske (1990), women experience fear of crime more in deserted areas or when it is dark. In contrast, a study performed in Helsinki showed that women thought of winter and summer nights as equally dangerous despite the difference in the level of light. Their explanation is that, even though winter nights are darker, there are more men in public spaces on summer nights because of favourable weather (Koskela, 1998). According to this, the fear most women experience does not stem from spatial features, but from fear of men (Valentine, 1989). This shows that women's fear of crime cannot be removed by simply rectifying

the space (Koskela & Pain, 2000). As a result, women experience fear of crime more than men, and this seems to be a contributing factor in limiting their participation in public life.

2 Method

2.1 Study area

Kadıköy is a district on the Asian side of Istanbul (Figure 1). Kadıköy was selected for this study because, even though it has a crowded and diversified user profile, it is considered a safe area of Istanbul, especially by women (Bilen et al., 2013; Lordoğlu, 2018). This is important because it helps focus on fear of crime independently from actual crime rates. A study by Lordoğlu (2018) of single women also showed that Kadıköy was regarded as the most comfortable district to live in as a woman in Istanbul.



Figure 2: a) Nightlife (photo: Internet 3); b) Women's Day celebration (photo: Internet 4); c) "Do not interfere with my clothes" demonstration in Kadıköy (photo: Internet 5).

As a result of media coverage of women that were attacked because of their clothing, protests were held in several parts of Istanbul in July 2017, including Kadıköy. These organized protests showed the impact of fear of crime in public spaces. One reason why this study was carried out in Kadıköy is the "do not interfere with my clothes" demonstration. Due to the density of both formal and informal social movements, Kadıköy is a district that differs significantly from the rest of Istanbul in aspects such as socioeconomic variables, culture, and nightlife (Figure 2).

The district was defined as a cultural and transfer hub in the metropolitan master plan, and it has become more crowded

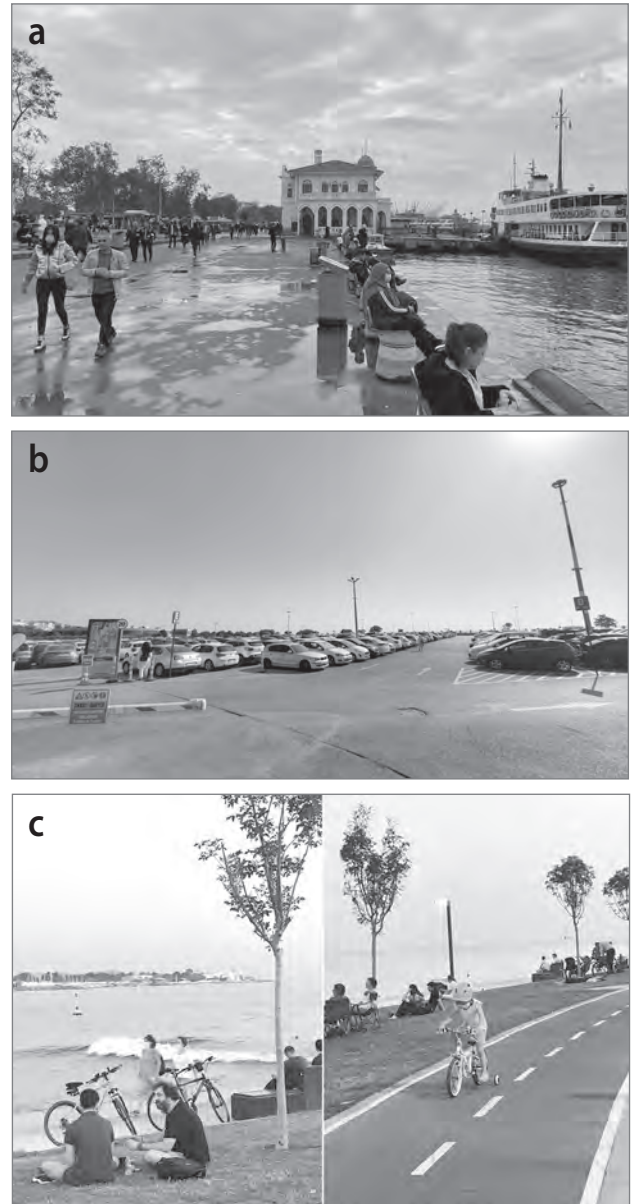


Figure 3: Waterfront functions in Kadıköy; a) piers (photo: N. Ç. Erkan); b) parking space (photo: B. Sevin); c) recreation area (photo: F. Çobanoğlu).

and more cosmopolitan in recent years. Due to the impact of entertainment, food, and beverage venues, cultural activities have gathered pace in Kadıköy. Because of the corresponding availability of public transportation (ferry, bus, metro, etc.), Kadıköy has gained a large visitor population and has become a crowded area that is lively until late at night. According to 2017 data from TÜİK (the Turkish Statistical Institute), the population of the Kadıköy district is 451,453 and the district has a daily visitor capacity of more than six times its population (Kadıköy District Registry Office, 2017). Kadıköy was chosen as a study area to cover the traditional market (with the highest visitor population), retail trade areas, entertainment venues, the waterfront centre, which is regarded as a transfer



Figure 4: a) People in the commercial area (photo: B. Sevin); b) car-free shopping street (photo: N. Ç. Erkan); c) metro station (photo: B. Sevin).

centre as well as a recreation area, and the other transportation transfer centre on land (Figures 3, 4). This area was observed on different days and at different times, and a survey was carried out using the methodology explained below.

2.2 Survey

This study focuses on fear of crime among users of a safe public space and the differences between men and women in the vulnerable group in this regard. It questions the types of locations where fear is felt and the conditions that may create fear. Based on this, the research questions are: 1) In a safe district, is there a difference in fear of crime felt by different genders? 2) Does the quality of a public space and its conditions have an effect on fear of crime? and 3) Are there gender-based differences in the sense of fear in the public space studied, taking into account its quality and conditions? Based on these questions and the study's starting point, the hypothesis of the study is that women feel more fear of crime in public spaces compared to men, independent of the safety of the district.

In light of information about fear of crime and the study area, an in-depth survey was conducted to collect the experiences and thoughts of the place users in the study area. The survey inquired about the following: a) personal information of users such as gender, age, and education level, in addition to the reasons why they were in Kadıköy or how often they visited; b) whether they felt safe in Kadıköy and the locations where they experienced fear in Kadıköy, and c) the locations and conditions that might be a source of fear. In this third set of questions, fifteen locations and nine conditions were defined as a source of concern. Participants were asked to evaluate these locations and conditions on a five-point Likert scale. The values were completely disagree (1), disagree (2), indecisive (3), agree

(4), and completely agree (5). The participants were free to mark as many options as they desired.

These locations and conditions were selected from a group of places that cause fear, identified in a 2014 pilot study with the participation of sixty women. These locations were mainly dark and deserted places where seeing and being seen are problems, and crowded places where a criminal can remain anonymous. Alleys and main streets were also included in the survey, but they are less significant and more neutral in fear of crime. The locations selected for evaluation in the study are described by their functions and features without actually naming various neighbourhoods in the study area. The goal here is not to directly label the locations, but to understand what these locations represent for the users. A statistically meaningful difference was expected to be found between these locations. Situations that may occur in any place, independent of location, were also listed in the questionnaire under the heading "conditions". These conditions are being lost, a crowd, deserted areas, darkness, verbal abuse by a stranger, the presence of stray animals, the presence of beggars, drug users, and so on, a crowd staring at you, and a crowd making noise. In this context, gender-based fear of crime was a dependent variable, and public locations with certain qualities and certain conditions were independent variables.

The survey was carried out in May and June 2017 and was collected from 387 respondents, 170 online and 217 in person. The validity of the data obtained before the statistical analyses for normal distribution was checked by an analysis of skewness and kurtosis values. Because these were in a range of ± 2 , it was decided that the data had a normal distribution (George & Mallery, 2010). In addition, because the data were collected via both face-to-face and web-based methods, whether the groups

Table 1: Respondents' gender and education levels, and their reasons for being in Kadıköy.

Criterion and value	Female: <i>n</i> (%)	Male: <i>n</i> (%)	Total: <i>n</i> (%)	
Age	15–25	63 (27)	35 (23)	98 (25)
	26–35	91 (38)	62 (41)	153 (40)
	36–45	51 (22)	24 (16)	75 (19)
	46–55	17 (7)	11 (7)	28 (7)
	56–65	9 (6)	13 (9)	22 (6)
	65+	6 (14)	5 (24)	11 (17)
	Total	237 (100)	150 (100)	387 (100)
Education	Primary school	7 (3)	6 (4)	13 (3)
	Secondary vocational school	5 (2)	7 (5)	12 (3)
	High school	38 (16)	20 (13)	58 (15)
	Bachelor's	143 (60)	96 (64)	239 (62)
	Master's, PhD	44 (19)	21 (14)	65 (17)
	Total	237 (100)	150 (100)	387 (100)
Reason in Kadıköy	Living and working	65 (27)	55 (37)	120 (31)
	Other	172 (73)	95 (63)	267 (69)
	Total	237 (100)	150 (100)	387 (100)
Total	237 (61.2)	150 (38.8)	387 (100)	

Table 2: Gender-based chi-squared analysis for "place feels unsafe".

		Gender		Total	χ^2	SD	<i>p</i>
		Female	Male				
Is there any place in Kadıköy where you do not feel safe?	No	123	101	224	8.976	1	.003
	Yes	114	49	163			
Total		237	150	387			

Table 3: Correlation between feared spaces and gender.

Locations	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
Public transportation	-.209**	.000
Bus or minibus stops	-.181**	.000
Metro stations	-.188**	.000
Underpasses	-.232**	.000
Residential areas	-.278**	.000
Market area at night	-.175**	.001
Waterfront at night	-.280**	.000
Park	-.215**	.000
Parking space	-.288**	.000
Indoor parking space	-.395**	.000
Locations with graffiti	-.115*	.023
Alleys	-.177**	.000
Main streets	-.200**	.000
Near venues with alcohol	-.273**	.000
Near deserted and empty areas	-.175**	.001

Note: P value of analysis shows its statistical significance. Both $p < 0.05$ and $p < 0.01$ are considered statistically significant while a figure that is less than 0.01 is viewed as highly statistically significant (Greenland, et al., 2016).

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

showed a similar distribution was checked with the Wald–Wolfowitz runs test, and it was concluded that the groups showed a similar distribution. Online surveys were applied to include users that could not spare time for an in-person survey on the street, for younger generations that are comfortable using social media, and for individuals that avoid communication with strangers due to fear of crime. Online surveys were delivered via social media to individuals connected with the Kadıköy district in some way (who live in, work in, or visit Kadıköy). The in-person surveys were conducted by interns. A non-probability convenience sampling method was used, and the surveys were carried out with random users during weekdays and weekends at public spaces in Kadıköy. The number of women ($n = 237$) that participated in the survey is higher than the number of men ($n = 150$). The reason for this is that women are more willing to participate in surveys than men, and/or because men are more hesitant to express their fears (Crawford et al., 1990; Jackson, 2009: 371, 381).

Table 1 shows that 79% of the respondents have an undergraduate or higher degree. Thus, the neighbourhood residents or

Table 4: Regression of feared spaces by gender.

Dependent variable	Adj. R^2	F (sig.)	β	t (sig.)	Effect size
Public transportation	.041	17.551 (.000)	-.209	-4.189 (.000)	Small
Bus-minibus stops	.030	12.977 (.000)	-.181	-3.602 (.000)	Small
Metro stations	.033	20.499 (.000)	-.188	-3.755 (.000)	Small
Underpasses	.072	31.039 (.000)	-.273	-5.571 (.000)	Small
Residential areas	.028	12.134 (.001)	-.175	-3.483 (.001)	Small
Market area at night	.037	15.984 (.000)	-.200	-3.998 (.000)	Small
Waterfront at night	.051	21.807 (.000)	-.232	-4.670 (.000)	Small
Alleys	.075	32.264 (.000)	-.278	-5.680 (.000)	Small
Main streets	.028	12.097 (.001)	-.175	-3.478 (.001)	Small
Park	.076	32.859 (.000)	-.280	-5.732 (.000)	Small
Near venues with alcohol	.044	18.610 (.000)	-.215	-4.314 (.000)	Small
Parking space	.081	34.862 (.000)	-.288	-5.904 (.000)	Small
Indoor parking space	.154	71.313 (.000)	-.395	-8.445 (.000)	Medium
Locations with graffiti	.011	5.197 (.023)	-.115	-2.280 (.023)	Small
Near deserted and empty areas	.029	12.404 (.000)	-.177	-3.522 (.000)	Small

visitors have high levels of education; individuals with a higher level of education were more willing to take the survey than those without. Thirty-one per cent of the respondents lived or worked in Kadıköy, and 69% of the respondents were visitors to Kadıköy for various reasons (Table 1).

3 Results

The study investigated whether women and men feel safe in Kadıköy. A chi-squared test was conducted to determine whether the sense of security is dependent on gender, and the dependency between the variables was found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 8.97$; $p < .05$; Table 2).

When calculating the correlation between the locations where fear is felt and gender, all the results are negative and statistically significant ($p < 0.05$; Table 3).

Dummy coding was performed to subject the gender variable to regression analysis: female = 0, male = 1. Therefore, being a man has a negative effect and men score lower on these questions. In the regression analysis, it was observed that the independent variable “gender” explained all the variables related to spaces in a meaningful way. Among these, the greatest effect was determined for the variable “indoor parking space” ($R^2 = .154$, $F(1, 385) = 71.31$, $p < .001$). The variable “gender” provides a significant estimation of the variable “indoor parking space” ($\beta = -.395$, $t(385) = -8.445$, $p < .001$; Table 4).

In the correlation analysis, the correlation between gender and “crowd”, “presence of stray animals”, and “crowd making noise” was not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$). For this reason, these variables were not included in the regression analysis (Table 5).

Table 5: Correlation between feared conditions and gender.

Conditions	r	p
Being lost	-.206**	.000
Crowd	-.070	.167
Deserted areas	-.348**	.000
Darkness	-.416**	.000
Beggars, addicts, etc.	-.253**	.000
Verbal abuse by stranger	-.427**	.000
Presence of stray animals	-.094	.064
Crowd staring at you	-.279**	.000
Crowd making noise	-.091	.073

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

In the regression analysis, dummy coding was used to understand the effect of being male. For this reason, the data were re-coded as female = 0 and male = 1. The results of the regression analysis showed that being male had a negative effect (Table 6). This shows that women have higher scores on these conditions, whereas men scored less. In this analysis, the independent variable “gender” explained all the variables in a meaningful way. However, the effect size of the variables “deserted areas” ($R^2 = .040$, $F(1, 385) = 17.07$, $p < .001$), “darkness” ($R^2 = .171$, $F(1, 385) = 80.73$, $p < .001$), and “verbal abuse” ($R^2 = .181$, $F(1, 385) = 86.08$, $p < .001$) are higher than other variables. Regression analysis was not performed because there is no significant correlation between the presence of stray animals, a crowd making noise, and crowds.

In the analyses conducted, the variable “gender” has a negative and statistically significant correlation with each location and condition. Being a man has a negative effect in these conditions and reduces fear scores. However, the variable “gender” has the

Table 6: Regression of feared conditions by gender.

Dependent variable	Adj. R^2	F (sig.)	β	t (sig.)	Effect size
Being lost	.040	17.071 (.000)	-.206	-4.132 (.000)	Small
Deserted areas	.119	52.919 (.000)	-.348	-7.275 (.000)	Small to medium
Darkness	.171	80.736 (.000)	-.416	-8.985 (.000)	Medium
Beggars, addicts, etc.	.061	26.258 (.000)	-.253	-5.124 (.000)	Small
Verbal abuse by stranger	.181	86.084 (.000)	-.427	-9.278 (.000)	Medium
Crowd staring at you	.076	32.566 (.000)	-.279	-5.707 (.000)	Small

highest explanatory correlation with the variable “verbal abuse by stranger”. In other words, women are frightened by “verbal abuse by stranger” more than by other conditions.

4 Discussion

This study investigated the relationship between gender and locations and conditions that cause fear of crime in public spaces. The results show that, even though a public space is known to be safe, women feel more fear than men under any circumstance. According to a study conducted in Istanbul, the percentage of people that think they cannot act freely and safely due to fear of being victimized was 79% (Kul, 2013: 86; Karasu, 2017: 63). However, the results of this study show that the percentage of people that feel unsafe in certain districts of Kadıköy is 42.1%. According to these data, Kadıköy is safer compared to the entire Istanbul metropolitan area. On the other hand, 70% of the participants that felt unsafe in Kadıköy are women. This result shows that women experience the feeling of insecurity more than men. According to the results of a 2016 TÜİK report on life satisfaction, the percentage of people feeling in danger while walking alone at night in the districts where they live was 26.2%; this percentage was 15.2% among men and 37% among women. The percentage of people feeling safe in the area they lived was 71% among men and 47.5% among women. From these data, it can also be seen that women experience a feeling of insecurity more than men. In other words, this study found that there is a significant correlation between gender and sense of security, and that women have a higher rate of feeling unsafe.

One question the study sought to answer was the effect that the qualities and conditions of public spaces had on fear of crime. It was shown that qualities and conditions such as desolation and darkness have an effect on fear of crime. One outstanding issue in the study is a contradiction regarding the results obtained for deserted areas. Although no difference was found between men and women regarding fear felt in deserted areas, it was observed that the factor “deserted areas” had an effect varying from small to medium in the regression analysis. However, the analysis showed a p value of 0.073 for the variable

“deserted areas”, which indicates that the correlation is partially significant. If more participants had been included in the study, this value may have reached a statistically significant level (Pritschet et al., 2016). As a result, it is observed that locations such as indoor parking spaces and desolate areas cause fear, and women are more affected than men by conditions such as darkness, where visibility is problematic, and by verbal abuse. In a study conducted among women in Istanbul, it was found that women are most fearful of physical harassment (42%) and dark streets (11.4%). They also fear being assaulted (9.24%) in public places (Erkan, 2015). In a study by Tandoğan and Şimşek İlhan (2016) investigating fear of crime among female city dwellers, 88.0% of women were afraid in deserted/quiet streets and roads at night. These results are also consistent with the results obtained in this study.

It has been concluded that fears such as gender-based verbal abuse are more prominent among fears that shape female behaviour in public spaces. Research by Tandoğan and Şimşek İlhan (2016) reveals that verbal abuse by a stranger (63.4%) is a very common situation in Istanbul. In the interviews conducted in this study, some young female university students stated that they wear headphones when they are alone in order not to hear verbal abuse or to pretend not to hear it. Sometimes gazes in public spaces can be as offensive as verbal abuse, and they restrict women’s behaviour. Because the boundaries of harassment applied to women in a male-dominated society cannot be defined very clearly (although “looking” and “verbal abuse” can be taken for granted by women in some cases), such behaviours nevertheless continue to be a source of fear.

5 Conclusion

Although women are safer and feel free in Kadıköy compared to other districts of Istanbul, it has been determined that they still have a fear of crime. As seen in similar studies about fear of crime, gender is an important factor affecting fear of crime in public spaces. Urban planning and urban design regulations can produce solutions to overcome fear of crime, which is a feature of urban spaces. However, research shows that regulating urban spaces is not enough. The study confirmed that some

social precautions should be taken, especially in preventing fear of crime among women.

It should be noted that the research discussed in this article has certain limitations. The high level of education of individuals that voluntarily participated in the research does not reflect the general situation of Istanbul. Therefore, the results of this study cannot be generalized for Istanbul. The next step of the study will be to compare fear of crime in a safe district with an unsafe district and to investigate the gender differences in fear of crime felt in these areas.

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 Nilgün Çolpan Erkan
 Yıldız Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of
 Urban and Regional Planning, Istanbul, Turkey
 E-mail: nilgunerkan@gmail.com

Beril Sevin Topçu
 Municipality of Kadıköy, Istanbul, Turkey
 E-mail: berilsevin@gmail.com

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Vita ŽLENDER

Developing a spatially explicit method for delineating peri-urban landscape

The ill-defined space between urban and rural areas is typically referred to as *peri-urban landscape*. One key reason for this lack of clarity is the unduly broad scale of conceptual and geographical resolution. This article focuses on its spatial elucidation at a sub-regional scale. It describes a method for delineating peri-urban landscape, based on spatial and demographic criteria. Arguably, spatially explicitly denoted peri-urban landscape on a sub-regional level would help in choosing appropriate local and region-

al planning approaches and policies for its development. The method, based on an overlay analysis, was tested using datasets from regional and municipal authorities in Ljubljana and Edinburgh. The results indicate that this less ambiguous spatial definition of peri-urban landscape offers a sound basis for planning and policy development.

Keywords: peri-urban landscape, overlay method, Ljubljana, Edinburgh, landscape planning, GIS

1 Introduction

Although peri-urbanization is not a new phenomenon, it has attracted increasing attention in recent years from landscape and urban planners, geographers, and others. The outcome of peri-urbanization is a spatial type that early studies mainly linked to urban sprawl, but these spaces are now thought to share particular characteristics as the interface for rural and urban interactions and mixes (Meeus & Gulinck, 2008; La Rosa et al., 2018; Shaw et al., 2020). This kind of space has been variously characterized as *peri-urban*, *urban fringe*, *sub-urban area*, or *urban periphery*, but despite a growing number of studies, the definition remain unclear in conceptual and spatial terms (Gonçalves et al., 2017). These conceptual issues have been discussed elsewhere (see Žlender & Gemin, 2020; Žlender, 2021); for present purposes, we employ the term *peri-urban landscape* and define *peri-urban areas* as mixed land-use territories within that landscape (Žlender, 2021).

The focus of this study is to elucidate the spatial character of peri-urban landscape. In geographic terms, peri-urban landscapes are characterized by a higher population density than rural areas and are likely to be affected by urban sprawl (Couch et al., 2008; Jacquin et al., 2008; Piorr et al., 2011; Maleas, 2018). These areas typically attract industrial hubs and tertiary sector structures like outlets, shopping malls, technology and logistics centres (Couch et al., 2008; Gant et al., 2011; Gonçalves et al., 2017; Martyniuk-Pęczek et al., 2017), with an accompanying decline in rural uses like agriculture or forestry. Vacant land and protected natural habitats are also likely to be found in peri-urban areas. To date, research on peri-urban landscapes has ranged from analyses of land use patterns (Jacquin et al., 2008; van Vliet et al., 2019) to integrated analyses of multiple dimensions such as population and economic flows, and mobility patterns (see Mortoja et al., 2020, for a review).

While these integrated approaches attempt to provide a holistic view of spatial organization, land use and other dimensions (Gonçalves et al., 2017), the spatial characteristics of peri-urban landscapes can be very varied, and any analysis of peri-urban dynamics must take account of this diversity (Piorr et al., 2011). In particular, standard planning definitions must incorporate spatial analysis of land use patterns, appropriate scaling of spatial indices, and clear delineation to support spatial planning and policy implementation, especially when projecting urban growth boundaries to limit any undesirable effects of urban expansion (Inostroza et al., 2013; Wandl et al., 2014; Mortoja et al., 2020).

To that end, the present study advances a spatially explicit method of analysis to define the spatial extent of peri-urban

landscape and to classify peri-urban areas. As peri-urban landscape delineation at the regional scale has proved insufficiently precise, the proposed approach focuses on the sub-regional scale. The study addresses two main research questions.

RQ1: What and where are the boundaries of peri-urban landscape?

RQ2: Given the diversity of peri-urban land uses, morphological characteristics, and economic and cultural processes, is a more precise delineation possible or even necessary?

This study describes a spatially explicit method for delineating peri-urban landscapes to guide more appropriate approaches to planning. Specifically, the objectives were (1) to propose an operational methodology to delineate peri-urban landscapes; (2) to select and assess datasets for analysis; (3) to evaluate the results in the context of the relevant literature; and (4) to suggest directions for future planning and policy development. While delineation seems possible, the quality and quantity of available data may be problematic, especially in terms of granularity, spatial extent, accuracy, and differences in approaches to land use classification. We discuss whether less ambiguous spatial delineation of peri-urban landscapes would enhance planning and development, and we suggest how the study findings might improve current planning practice.

The proposed approach was first developed and implemented as part of a wider study (Žlender, 2014) and it has since been updated using more recent datasets for the test areas in the case cities of Ljubljana and Edinburgh. These two cities were selected as representative of the medium-sized cities in which most Europeans live (Giffinger et al., 2007), and for pragmatic reasons (e.g., access to databases and no language barriers for the researchers). The rest of the article is organized as follows. In Section 2, we define the study context, reviewing existing typologies to identify classification variables and spatial units of analysis and selecting the most appropriate typology for peri-urban delineation. In Section 3, we describe how we studied land use and other geographical aspects of the peri-urban landscape in both cities and outline the characteristics of the data and methodology used for delineation. The results of the analyses are discussed in Section 4. Finally, in Section 5, we evaluate the proposed method as a support tool for peri-urban planning and policy development on the basis of the case study results.

2 Characterizing and classifying peri-urban landscapes: Literature review

Among the changes caused by ongoing urbanization, some peri-urban areas can no longer be clearly or easily defined as urban or rural, as rapid urban growth continues to consume

agricultural land for residential and economic purposes (Cattivelli, 2021a). In the late 1980s, this undefined land, which we characterize as *peri-urban landscape*, was recognized as a distinct spatial type for research purposes, if not in planning practice. It was further suggested that such areas constitute a link rather than a divide between rural and urban (Unwin, 1989; Adell, 1999) as a transitional space characterized by rapid change, complexity, intrinsic variability (especially in spatial organization and land use concentration) and blurred boundaries (Gant et al., 2011; Piorr et al., 2011; Gonçalves et al., 2017; Mortoja et al., 2020), often extending beyond administrative boundaries (Iaquinta & Drescher, 2000; Rauws & de Roo, 2011). As this vague geographical identity can also lead to tenure-related conflicts (Dadashpoor & Ahani, 2019), it has been argued that clearer delineation of such territories is needed to facilitate better governance (Cattivelli, 2021b). In the extensive body of research investigating the rural–urban relationship and the nature of the peri-urban, most scholars have relied on spatial perspectives (e.g., land use) to delineate this landscape and its limits (Gonçalves et al., 2017); some of these analyses have incorporated other factors such as socio-demographics. For example, the PLUREL project defined the peri-urban area in terms of an *urban fringe* (a zone along the edges of a built-up area, with scattered lower density settlement, transport hubs and large green open spaces) and an *urban periphery* (smaller settlements of lower population density, industrial areas and other urban land uses surrounding the main built-up areas) (Piorr et al., 2011).

Additionally, the various regional typologies developed at the pan-European level have typically employed variables like population density of built-up areas, population size, morphology of mixed (built and open) spaces, infrastructure characteristics (e.g. accessibility), mix of functions at the regional scale, economic diversification, rate of urbanization, administrative boundaries, and distance to urban centres (Iaquinta & Drescher, 2000; ESPON, 2005; Korcelli, 2008; Perpar, 2009; Dijkstra & Poelman, 2010; OECD, 2010; Piorr et al., 2011; Internet 1). In an overview of 80 classification methods developed by statistical offices, national governments and scholars over the last two decades in Europe, Cattivelli (2021b) identified five distinct methods in terms of their defining variables: demographic dynamics, economic and social indicators, settlement structure, distance and hybrid. However, not all of these variables are easy (or even possible) to map. Among the studies reviewed, demographic census data, land cover data and administrative boundaries proved to be the most useful variables for mapping peri-urban landscape (Iaquinta & Drescher, 2000; Piorr et al., 2011; Wandl et al., 2014), and these inform our analysis here. Finally, while most of these approaches adopt a regional scale, this is sometimes narrowed to the metropolitan or sub-regional level, and some have identified this as the most

appropriate scale at which to address rural and urban dynamics (Piorr et al., 2011).

3 Methodology and analysis

3.1 Research approach

The classification variables and spatial units identified in the literature review helped determine the most appropriate typology for delineating the peri-urban landscape. On that basis, we devised a new methodology that builds on the understanding that this is not simply a gradient between urban and rural but refers to interconnected territories independent of administrative boundaries. The analysis of rural-urban territories in different cultural and topographic settings is based on the identification of general peri-urban land use types and overlay analysis as described below.

3.2 Identification of peri-urban land use types

The existing literature suggests that peri-urban boundaries cannot be defined in terms of particular land use characteristics such as discontinuous land use (Mortoja et al., 2020) but must take account of multiple factors as discussed above (Gonçalves et al., 2017). As some of these are difficult or impossible to map, we defined five general peri-urban land use types based on readily available information rather than new data to simplify the procedure for future users. This typology drew on existing concepts to describe the character and limits of peri-urban areas (see Section 2). Land use categories were assigned to each type in line with the general European Union approach to spatial development, which stresses the importance of conserving the landscape to halt the loss of biodiversity, cultural identity and ecosystem services associated with future land take, helping improve soil functions and sustain landscape quality (Committee on Spatial Development, 1999; Council of Europe, 2000; European Commission, 2011; EU, 2011). We also incorporated perceptual factors on the basis of previous evidence that local inhabitants regard some built structures (e.g. commercial and logistic centres, transport hubs, dumps, housing areas) as unattractive while semi-natural green spaces, open recreational areas, parks and similar are perceived as attractive (Žlender, 2021). Finally, it should be stressed that the data are determined by availability and so change from case to case; while the datasets used here relate specifically to the two case cities, we identified the following five general peri-urban land use types.

- Areas of residential-scale agriculture and leisure uses (ARSALU): land uses that are managed formally, semi-formally or not at all and support utility and leisure uses. These include city (urban) farms, allotments, community

gardens, private gardens, residential amenity green space, churchyards and cemeteries.

- Areas of industrial-scale agriculture and other monofunctional uses (AIAMU): agricultural and other areas that are large in scale and are used intensively or unsustainably. These include primary and secondary agricultural land, vineyards, orchards and forest nurseries. Golf courses also fall into this category because they involve intensive care that is often linked to environmental issues like herbicide pollution, soil erosion and biodiversity decline. These issues may be more pressing in continental Europe, as seasonal climatic variations entail higher maintenance demands.
- Sealed land, wastelands, industrial and brownfield sites with accompanying infrastructure (SWIBS): built-up and poor quality land, including degraded landscapes, land with little or no vegetation cover, abandoned sand and gravel pits, quarries, industrial and business sites, special economic areas, areas of scattered development, infertile, derelict and vacant land, environmental infrastructure, landfill sites, degraded urban areas, dams, boatyards, drains, weirs, docks, lock-gates, ditches and proposed housing areas.
- Cultural and amenity landscapes (CAL): larger semi-natural open spaces, parks and other managed green spaces, including country parks, regional parks, local parks, nature parks, historical parks and squares, informal recreation areas, tourism areas and green spaces, sport and recreation areas, playgrounds, linear green spaces, tree belts and woodlands, river and canal banks, semi-natural open spaces, special-purpose forests, forest reserves, nature reserves, ecologically important areas, Natura 2000 protected areas, grassland, pastures and marshland.
- Protected natural areas for active and solitary recreation (PA): national parks and other wilderness environments. (This type was not found in either of the case cities.)

3.3 Assessment of spatial datasets

Having identified these general peri-urban land use types, the relevant datasets were acquired from the city council and other government offices and were assigned to the land use types defined in Section 3.2. The relevant data were transformed for use in a GIS environment, where they were overlaid and merged into clusters corresponding to the above types to produce a graphical representation of general land use types.

Population densities from census databases (Internet 2; SURS, 2019) and data for peri-urban areas acquired from local spatial plans and/or other formal documents were also overlaid with data derived from the clusters of general peri-urban land use types. In Ljubljana, population densities referred to settle-

ments in the Municipality of Ljubljana and all neighbouring municipalities. In Edinburgh, these data referred to postcodes in the municipality and neighbouring municipalities. Formal designation of peri-urban areas in Ljubljana was based on the Municipal Spatial Plan (OPN; Odlok o občinskem, 2010), which defines the following settlements as peri-urban: Šentvid, Polje with Novo Polje and Črnuče, Pržan, Kamna Gorica, Podutik, Gunclje, Stanežiče, Medno, Brod, Tomačevo, Ježa and Podgorica, Vevče, Kašelj, Zalog, settlements west of the city bypass near the Polhov Gradec Hills, Šmartno, Gameljne, Bizovik, Spodnja Hrušica, Sostro, settlements along the Ižanska Cesta and Črna Vas. In Edinburgh, the designated areas were based on the Local Development Plan (LDP; CEC, 2016) areas other than designated “urban areas” (i.e., Green Belt and Countryside Policy areas).

3.4 Overlay method

The overlay method combines data or information from several datasets to derive new information that integrates spatial data with attribute data (which may be weighted). Input criteria can be transformed in various ways, including weighted overlay, spatial joins, cross tabulation, editing layers with clipping intersection, or union (ESRI, 2021). Overlay analysis is traditionally used in suitability modelling, but it has also been used to define spatial units – for instance, in landscape regionalization (Dang et al., 2000; Stahlschmidt et al., 2017) or to specify landscape types in landscape character assessment (Swanwick, 2002).

The weighted overlay method was used here to delineate the peri-urban landscape in both case cities; criteria were differently weighted to distinguish between the urban periphery and urban fringe (see Section 2). All mapping was performed in a GIS environment using a combination of two computer software programs; vector data were prepared, adjusted and cleaned in ArcMap 9.2 for import to ProVal 2000 (ONIX, 2000) to be rasterized (homogeneous spatial units of 10 by 10 m) and weighted for final cartographic representation. The overlaid datasets yielded specific spatial patterns that were then compared with aerial images from Google Earth to assess whether the urban fringe and urban periphery exhibited the spatial properties described in the literature. On that basis, the peri-urban landscape was manually delineated as the sum of the urban fringe and urban periphery.

The data overlaying procedure involved the following steps. First, we defined the characteristic features of urban fringe and urban periphery to derive an evaluation scale for the purpose of delineation. Peri-urban landscape has been characterized as a mix of low-value land combining landfill and brownfield sites, wasteland and semi-natural green open spaces that people

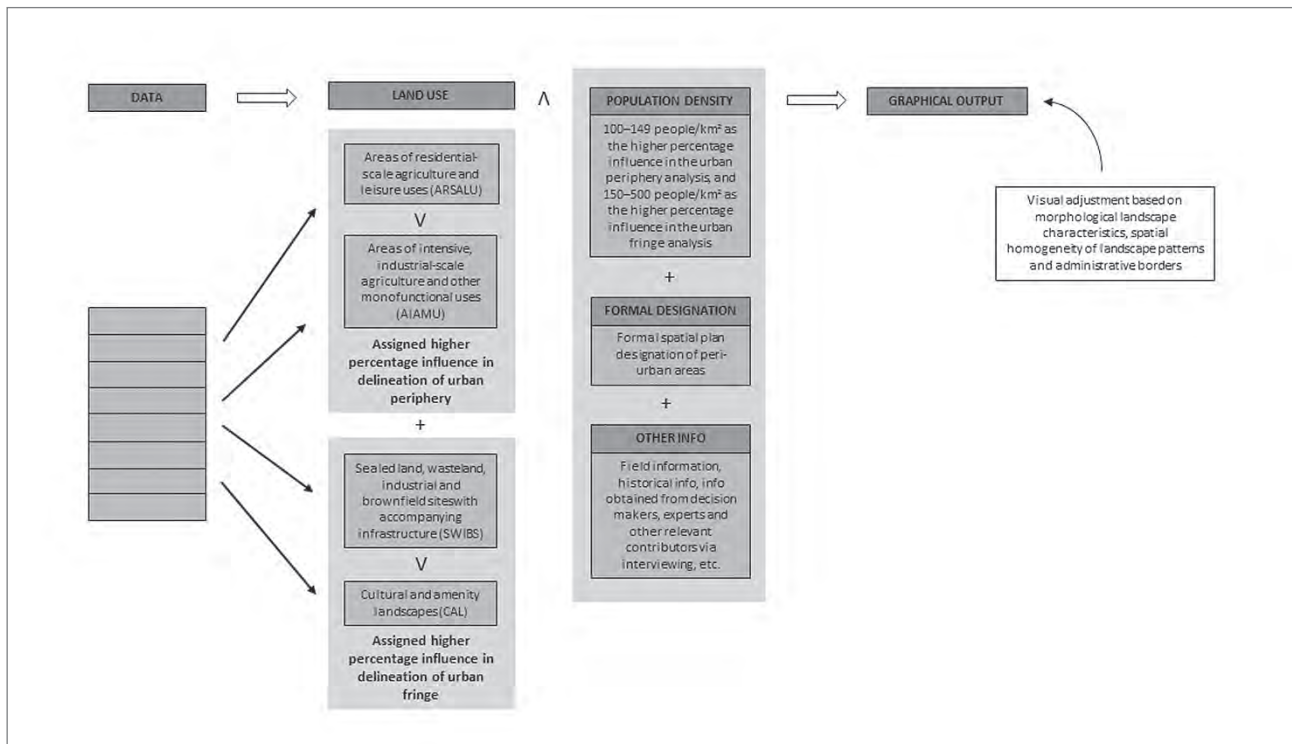


Figure 1: Graphic representation of peri-urban landscape delineation process (illustration: author).

value and use (Neuvonen et al., 2007; Qviström & Saltzman, 2008; Žlender, 2021). The urban fringe is characterised by more urban uses such as transport hubs and settlements of higher density than the periphery, as well as elements like large green spaces. In contrast, the urban periphery is more influenced by the rural milieu, including lower-density settlements and agricultural uses (Piorr et al., 2011). Accordingly, the two land use types that incorporate agricultural characteristics (ARSALU and AIAMU) were assigned a higher percentage of influence in the analysis of urban periphery, and areas of predominantly natural and sealed land (SWIBS and CAL) were assigned a higher percentage of influence in the analysis of urban fringe. In deciding how to value the datasets, we also drew on complementary field information, historical information about the development of both cities, and interviews with local authorities and experts in urban planning, architecture, landscape architecture, infrastructure and other disciplines to improve the accuracy of our results (for more details, see other research outputs: Žlender, 2014, 2021; Žlender & Ward Thompson, 2017; Žlender & Gemin, 2020). This additional information was especially helpful in identifying the appropriate scale for delineation and in the final manual delineation of the urban core, urban fringe and urban periphery.

The next step overlaid the population density variable using the logical OR command, along with information on peri-urban areas as designated in local development plans and/or other formal documents. Based on the literature review, we determined the most discriminative population densities as two

classes: 100–149 people/km² as the higher percentage of influence in the urban periphery analysis, and 150–500 people/km² as the higher percentage of influence in the urban fringe analysis (Perpar, 2009; Piorr et al., 2011). We then intersected with the logical AND command the land use cluster with the output variable that resulted from merging the population density and peri-urban area datasets from the published spatial plans.

In the final delineation, we also considered morphological landscape characteristics and spatial homogeneity of landscape patterns as defined in Marušič et al. (1998). Figure 1 presents a flow diagram showing the procedure of combining data in peri-urban landscape delineation. The final outcome of this procedure are delineated areas of urban fringe and urban periphery as shown in Figures 3 and 6. The commentary in Section 4 details each step of the procedure and the final outcome for each case city.

4 Results

4.1 Ljubljana

Instances of AIAMU were very dispersed and fragmented, reflecting the spatial characteristics of Slovenia's agrarian structure (Cunder, 2002). The few instances of ARSALU were mainly located in the city, and most of these were allotments. Instances of SWIBS were dispersed, and the size of these plots

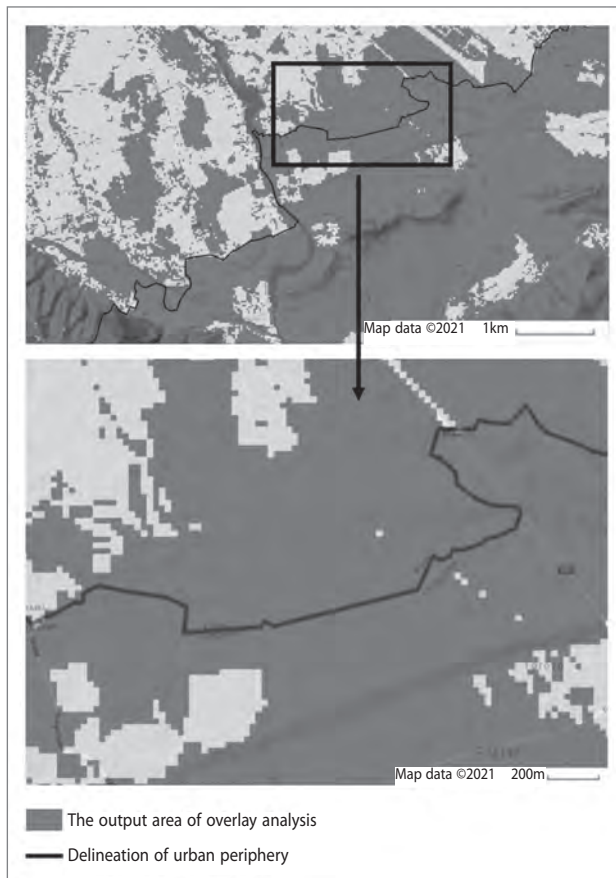


Figure 2: Close-up of the border of the urban periphery as delineated in Ljubljana (base map: ©2021 Google).

Note: Parts of the border were manually aligned with administrative borders to facilitate further analysis.

suggests that these largely degraded areas were individual parcels of land, probably for private use. Larger areas were located on the edges of the city, indicating typical abandoned areas previously used for industrial purposes. Instances of CAL accounted for the largest area because the analysis included all forested land; for that reason, stricter criteria may be needed to prioritize some forest designations and/or exclude others. However, because urban dwellers favour nearby forest for recreational and leisure activities (Neuvonen et al., 2007), all forest designations were included in the analysis.

For the settlements included in Ljubljana and its environs, a raster of 1 km² cells was used to measure densities of 100–149 people/km² and 150–500 people/km² (SURS, 2019). The areas were rather dispersed and randomly located, and the results show no readily discernible pattern other than dense cores of satellite bedroom communities that have emerged in the vicinity of Ljubljana over the past few decades. One would expect to find more peri-urban densities in the eastern part of the municipality, where urbanization is more dispersed, but the analysis shows that this is still a predominantly rural area when population densities are taken into account.

In the final overlaid image (Figure 3), the city's core is clearly segregated, and the boundary between the urban area and urban fringe was readily definable. On the north side, the urban fringe's outer edge is defined by individual settlements within larger open spaces. On the south side, the presence of marshland makes the edge less definable. This instance of CAL extends from Ljubljana into the wider region. Based on this analysis, the peri-urban landscape on the south side of Ljubljana cannot be defined. To facilitate further analysis, artificial peri-urban borders were aligned with administrative borders (see Figure 2). This delineation may be appropriate at the regional scale but should be revisited at the local scale to enhance precision.

Here, the delineated urban fringe reflects the model outcome, corrected and refined to align with morphological barriers (streams and land-use borders) and built structures (roads and settlement edges). For this reason, it may coincide with administrative borders, which often follow natural borders. In places where the edge of the peri-urban landscape was close to existing administrative borders, these were deliberately aligned to facilitate further analytical work.

4.2 Edinburgh

Instances of AIAMU were located outside the city of Edinburgh; compared to Ljubljana, these were much larger spaces. Instances of ARSALU typically included gardens and allotments inside the city, indicating that gardening activities are popular in Edinburgh. According to Edinburgh's Allotment Strategy (CEC, 2017), the City of Edinburgh Council (CEC) manages 1,488 allotment plots at forty-four sites across the city. The city has adopted a strategic approach to address demand and to ensure that the benefits of allotment gardening are properly recognized and available to all (CEC, 2017). Accordingly, allotments are located as close as possible to people's homes rather than on the edges of the city. In contrast, although the number of allotments in Ljubljana is relatively high (1,023), there are only nine sites (MOL, 2021; Figure 4). It should be noted that the backyards of Edinburgh flats, which were included in this category, are generally managed as grassy areas and not as allotments.

As in Ljubljana, SWIBS were scattered across the Edinburgh area, with larger areas concentrated on the west side of the city toward the airport. Pentland Hills Regional Park accounted for the largest proportion of CAL. On the south side, CAL extended into the city, linking the Braid Hills to the city's urban parks and semi-natural areas to form a green wedge connecting the city's core to its boundaries.

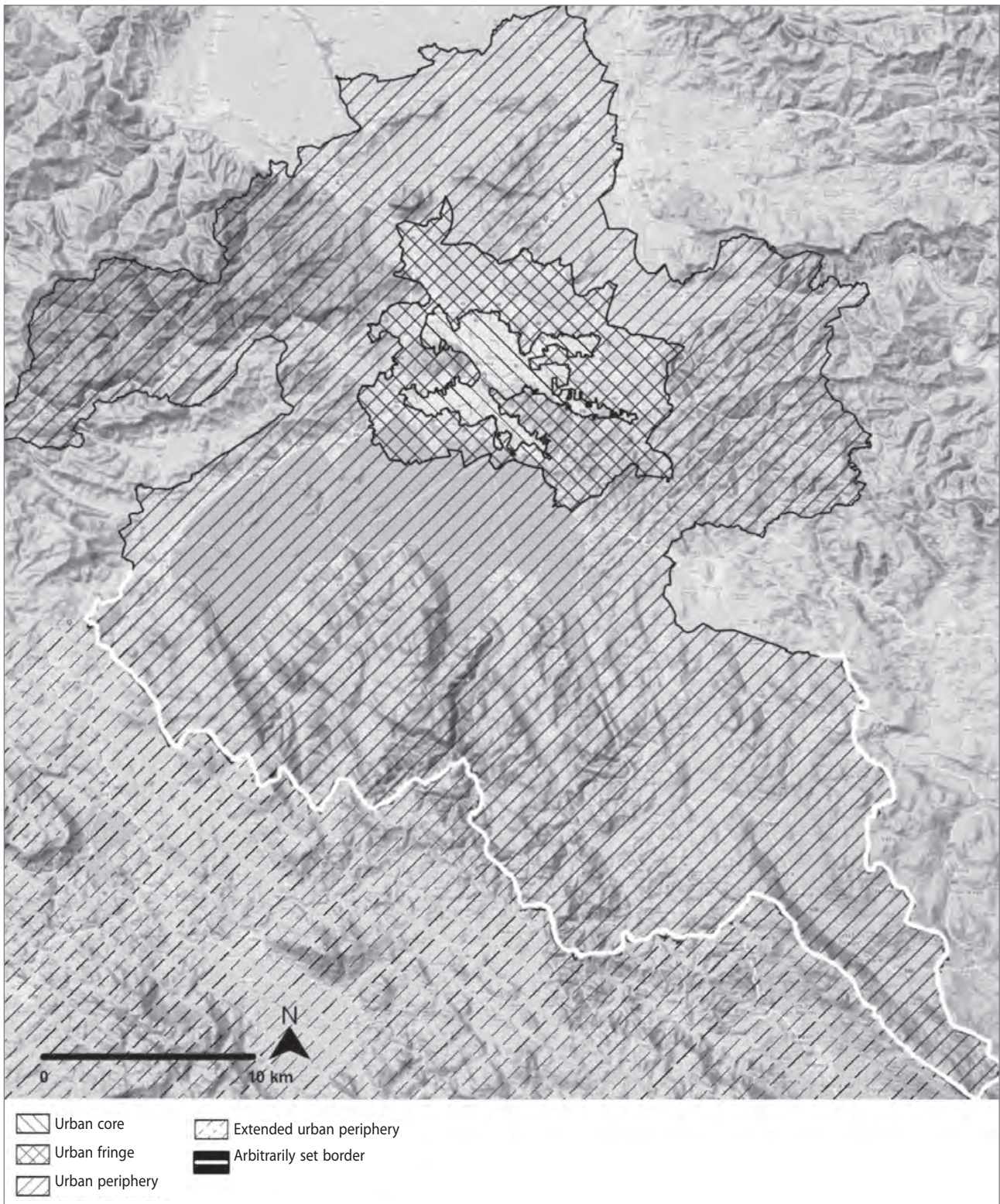


Figure 3: Peri-urban landscape of Ljubljana: outcome of the delineation process (base map: ©2021 Google).

In Edinburgh, population density was calculated using postcodes and included the Edinburgh City Council area and surrounding settlements (Internet 2). Because postcode areas can differ greatly in size, the dataset was complemented by Global Human Settlement Layer data, which is based on a 250 m² cell

(European Commission, 2015). The resulting peri-urban densities coincided with the Green Belt and Countryside Policy areas, adding another layer to the delineation of the peri-urban landscape. Based on the overlay analysis, the inner edge of Edinburgh's urban fringe is marked by the Edinburgh City

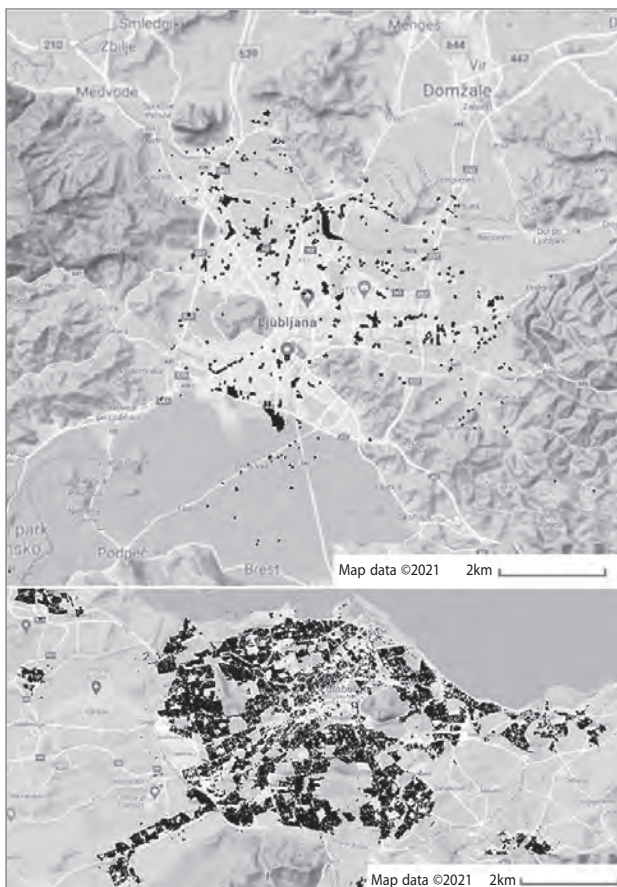


Figure 4: Excerpts showing input data for ARSALU in Ljubljana (top) and Edinburgh (bottom). (Source: Municipalities of Ljubljana, Medvode, Dobrova–Polhov Gradec, Brezovica, Ig, Škofljica, Grosuplje, Šmartno pri Litiji, Litija, Dol pri Ljubljani, Domžale, Trzin, Mengeš, and Vodice; CEC, Greenspace Scotland; base map: ©2021 Google).

Bypass (Figure 5). On the southeast side, the edge no longer follows the bypass but extends into the city, encompassing the Braid Hills and an area on the city side of the bypass between Gilmerton and Musselburgh.

Edinburgh’s urban fringe roughly corresponds to the area of the former Rural West Edinburgh Local Plan (CEC, 2006) and the Green Belt and Countryside Policy areas in the new Edinburgh Local Development Plan (CEC, 2016). Like the two previous plans, this includes policies and proposals to guide development and land use across Edinburgh. Beyond the stereotypical industrial sites, landfills, retail centres and green spaces, Edinburgh’s urban fringe incorporates large predominantly agricultural areas governed by landscape policy. While urban fringes are generally perceived as low-value land use, Edinburgh’s might instead be characterized as accessible countryside on the edge of the city. Nevertheless, there are also some typical fringe uses, including Edinburgh Airport, the Gyle shopping centre and the Heriot-Watt University campus. To the south and southeast, the urban periphery mainly consists of agricultural, forestry and recreational uses

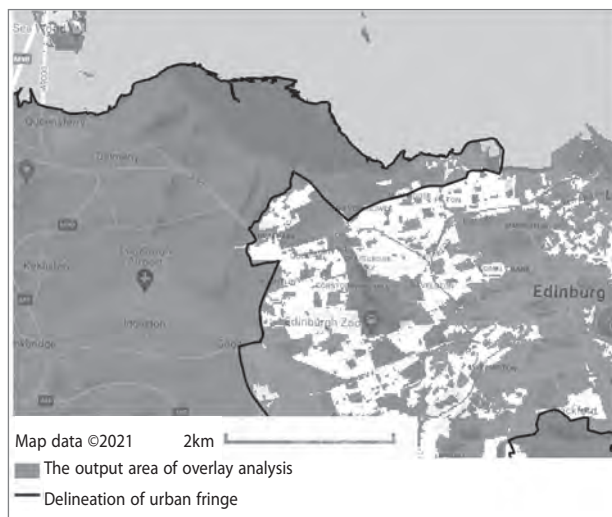


Figure 5: Close-up of the delineated border of Edinburgh’s urban fringe (base map: ©2021 Google).

Note: Parts of the border were manually aligned with the city bypass.

(e.g., Pentland Hills Regional Park, golf courses). With two distinct segments on the southwest and northwest sides, the periphery is not continuous, but land uses remain similar to those in the main peripheral area (Figure 6).

In this final representation of Edinburgh’s peri-urban landscape, the urban core is well defined. Rather than stereotypical land uses, the peri-urban landscape can be characterized as accessible countryside. It also includes settlements, but these are more rural and self-contained in character than the peri-urban bedroom communities that were almost the rule in Ljubljana.

5 Discussion

5.1 The importance of recognizing peri-urban landscape

In general, our results support existing descriptions of peri-urban landscape in the literature. In Ljubljana, the peri-urban landscape includes a relatively narrow urban fringe and a large urban periphery characterized by semi-natural and natural areas that people value and use for recreation rather than industrial and other typical peri-urban land uses (Žlender & Ward Thompson, 2017; Žlender, 2021). However, this area is located further from the city and is less easily accessible, for these activities, than the urban fringe. Interestingly, population density alone did not reveal any significant gradient from urban to rural in Ljubljana, unlike some other studies that emphasize this variable as a starting point (or the only one that matters) for analysis (see for example van Vliet et al., 2012; White et al., 2012; Wandl et al., 2014). The present findings suggest that an

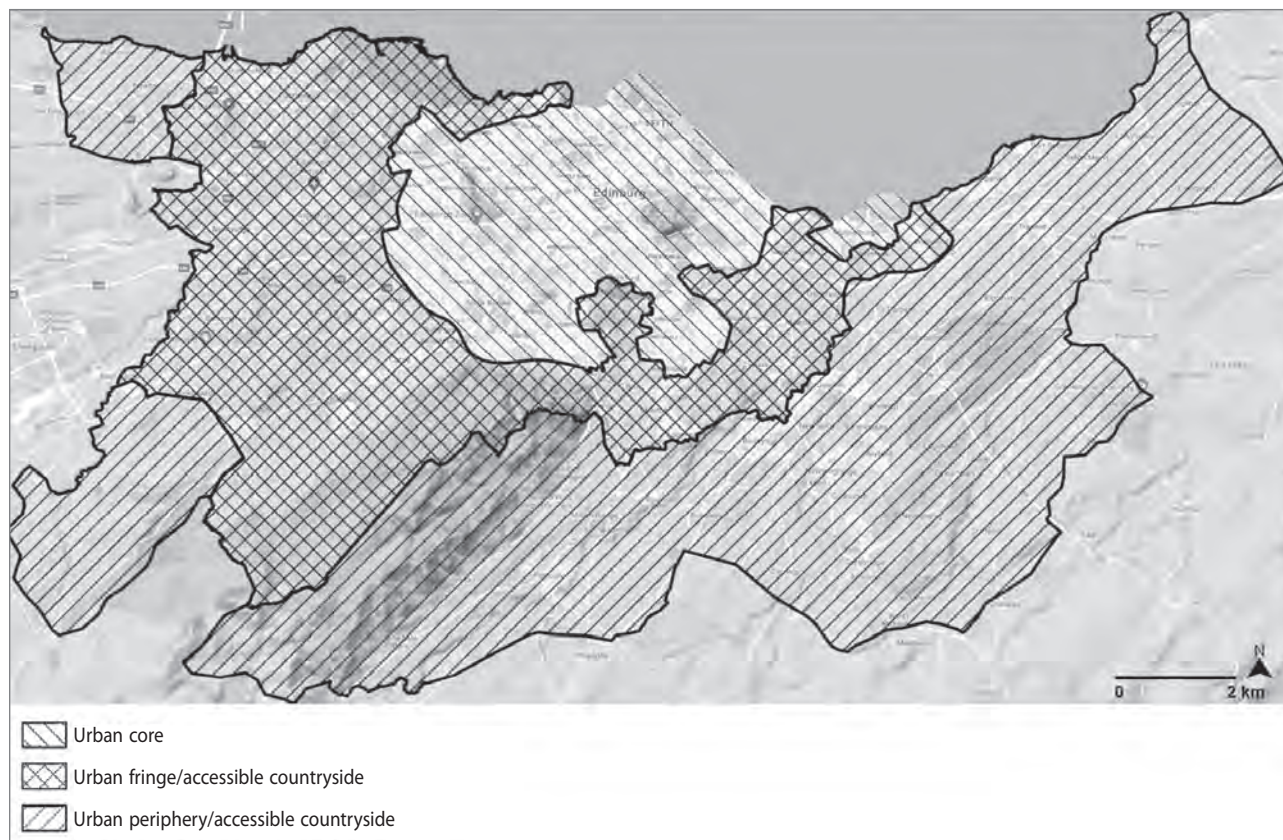


Figure 6: Delineation of Edinburgh's peri-urban landscape (base map: ©2021 Google).

account of peri-urbanization based entirely on demographics cannot be generalized to other geographic settings.

In Edinburgh, the overlay analysis indicates an urban–rural dichotomy rather than a peri-urban landscape, which is also typical of UK cities in general (Bryant et al., 1982; Ambrose, 1992; Gallent et al., 2006). In this sense, it would be more appropriate to characterize these areas of Edinburgh as “accessible countryside”. Indeed, the distinction between urban fringe and urban periphery may be largely irrelevant here, as land uses are very similar in both. This differs from Ljubljana, which is surrounded by multiple satellite settlements, with high levels of daily commuter traffic into and out of the city. While land uses in Ljubljana are less coherent than in Edinburgh, they are sufficiently differentiated to allow a clear distinction to be drawn between urban fringe and urban periphery.

5.2 Directions for future planning and policy development

The overlay analysis revealed that, although similar in size and population, the two case cities differ in spatial planning approach and in the existence and spatial extent of peri-urban landscape. Although these differences may relate to biophysical characteristics and purely operational decisions (such as choice

of datasets), we contend that planning and policy decisions probably account for differences in urban growth (Hersperger et al., 2018; van Vliet et al., 2019). This is especially clear in Edinburgh, where a strict green belt strategy has prevented the city from spreading west and has increased densities within the urban envelope. However, the main purpose of the Edinburgh Green Belt is not to prevent the coalescence of settlements but to direct planned growth, protect landscape settings and ensure access to open space (CEC, 2016). This approach has remained largely unchanged since its introduction in 1957, although the new LDP has taken some areas out of the green belt, mostly to satisfy strategic housing requirements, possibly indicating the strategy's failure to counter the pressures of urbanization (Bunker & Houston, 2003). The LDP controls the types of development allowed in the green belt and promotes opportunities to enhance countryside appearance and access (CEC, 2016). Along with the Countryside Policy, the Green Belt Policy defines in detail what development, if any, will be permitted in the interest of protecting landscape quality and/or rural character. Despite evidence of the inadequacy of planning policies in combating urban encroachment (see for example Silva, 2019), the LDP draws a clear distinction between urban and rural areas and makes no mention of peri-urban landscape, urban fringe or other terms referring to the territory between rural and urban. Our analysis also confirmed that

non-urban areas of Edinburgh are rural rather than peri-urban in character.

In Ljubljana, the OPN explicitly acknowledges peri-urban areas and defines basic criteria and guidelines for planning them. These provisions mainly pertain to the judicious use of space, promoting settlement concentration in existing built-up areas (infill and restoration) and mixed uses while preventing uncontrolled new construction. The OPN also provides for green spaces of different sizes and types and the future preservation of ecological and recreational assets. At the regional level, however, existing documents (both formally binding and non-binding) refer only generally or not at all to the peri-urban landscape (e.g., RRA LUR, 2020), let alone the goals and priorities of national-level legislation (e.g., *Odlok o strategiji*, 2004), which are deemed too broad and insufficiently quantified (MOP, 2016). It should be noted here that peri-urban areas are mentioned in the newly revised proposal for a national spatial development strategy (MOP, 2020), but this again fails to address the specifics of the peri-urban landscape.

As our analysis shows, peri-urban landscape may extend beyond municipal boundaries and should therefore be strategically addressed at sub-regional or regional level. Accordingly, there is a clear need to acknowledge peri-urban landscape in the future regional spatial plans as provided for in the state Spatial Management Act (*ZUreP-2; Zakon o urejanju prostora*, 2017). In this regard, the sub-regional to local level seems most appropriate for the adequate identification and handling of peri-urban areas in the relevant implementation documents. We argue that action plans based on smaller units (e.g., spatial planning units) are urgently needed to specify the existing and future state of individual peri-urban areas. Although we are conscious that the method described here is in need of further refinement, we believe it can assist legislators in defining peri-urban landscape and providing for its development and management.

Clearly, institutional differences of approach in managing rural–urban relationships can explain some of the variance in the extent and pattern of peri-urban development (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012). For now, the prevailing view is that current planning tools and policies fail to address the present state and drivers of peri-urban spatial development, and that plans based on an urban–rural dichotomy can only regulate urban and rural areas (Wandl et al., 2014; Bajracharya & Hastings, 2018; Cattivelli, 2021a). With regard to scale, our analysis indicates that it is not enough to address peri-urban landscape issues in municipal plans. Instead, it is important to promote joint regulation of neighbouring areas with high levels of cross-sectoral cooperation in pursuit of integrated spatial planning and institutional governance (Nared et al., 2019; Cattivelli, 2021a;

Žlender, 2021). We are confident that the proposed approach can help to ensure more accurate characterization of peri-urban landscapes and thus improve the links between spatial planning and policy and the reality of development in these areas.

5.3 Some critical reflections on the proposed method

The method proposed here involves the detailed description and analysis of spatial data at the regional or sub-regional level. The selected case studies facilitated comparison of results, and the selected variables reflect land use and some sociodemographic aspects of the peri-urban landscape. Like any method, its utility depends on the context and objectives and is therefore subjective in nature. This is also true of the criteria for mapping the data, such as unit of population density or classes of nature preservation. Different criteria and classifications for data collection and merging would undoubtedly alter the delineation of the peri-urban landscape in both cases.

In addition, land use data do not always reflect functional or socioeconomic issues, and a major limitation of our method is the absence of other relevant data that are more difficult to map and therefore less commonly available as spatial datasets. Other relevant data would include the connecting and separating effects of infrastructure and elements that underpin the connectivity of places with different functions and intensities. These datasets would support more precise delineation of peri-urban landscape and, possibly, the particular characteristics of peri-urban sub-areas. As an attempt to shed light on territories that are neither urban or rural, we believe that the method described here is sufficiently flexible to accommodate additional datasets and different geographical settings. One important proviso is that adding further variables will inevitably increase the method's complexity, making it less attractive for potential users.

6 Conclusion

In this study, we described a spatial method for delineating peri-urban landscape that can be applied in different geographic settings and at different spatial scales. We argue that this spatially explicit approach can help to identify peri-urban areas and assess their quality, so enabling policy makers to optimize resources to facilitate spatially balanced and coherent urban growth while preserving peri-urban green spaces, which are currently neglected by planners and decision makers (Gant et al., 2011; Žlender & Ward Thompson, 2017; Mortoja et al., 2020). This spatial delineation should be based on variables that reflect peri-urban land use as well as other relevant variables like population density. In the present case, we decided

to use readily available datasets. To facilitate future peri-urban planning and policy formulation and for comparison of different spatial settings, the proposed method describes spatial characteristics as precisely as possible but is also applicable to other spatial settings. Clearly, the results would be improved and possibly altered by more and different data that are more accurate and by changing the thresholds that define classes. Nevertheless, we believe that this more explicit spatial framework serves as a useful starting point for scientific analysis and peri-urban policy development.

Vita Žlender

Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana, Slovenia

E-mail: vita.zlender@uirsi.si

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Dina ŠAMIĆ-MUSEMIĆ
Nermina ZAGORA

The right to urban public spaces in Sarajevo: Everybody's, somebody's, anybody's, or nobody's spaces?

Multiple socio-political and economic factors have gradually led to widespread neglect, decline, misuse, and loss of public spaces in Sarajevo. The clash between private and public interests has left physical traces in the city, recalling the importance of Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city. In the context of the contemporary urban development of Sarajevo, this is translated into the right to shape, use, recycle, and reactivate the city's neglected shared spaces. As implied by the title of this article, the key question addressed is to whom public space really belongs. This research proceeds from the identification of the key issues of degradation of public spaces, followed by

the valorization of mainstream planning approaches and occasional bottom-up initiatives. It is argued that one of the key origins of the problem lies in dispersal and the lack of pertinent geospatial data on public spaces, as well as in the dissonance between all the relevant stakeholders. This article establishes a methodology for introducing a comprehensive, open, and interactive geospatial database as a platform for strategic planning, design, development, and maintenance of urban public spaces.

Keywords: urban public spaces, Sarajevo, strategic planning, geospatial database, digital place making

1 Introduction

The topography of Sarajevo, a city in a narrow valley with mountains to the north and south, has limited expansion and influenced its morphology. In addition, due to historical and cultural factors, the strategic development of large squares, parks, or other public spaces did not receive adequate attention in theoretical discourse, practice, or public activism in the past. Today, the city of Sarajevo (an administrative unit within the Canton of Sarajevo) has an area of 142 square kilometres and an estimated population of 413,593. It is composed of four municipalities: Stari Grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo, and Novi Grad.

The architectural image of contemporary Sarajevo reflects its rich and complex history (Figure 1), in which public urban and architectural typologies stand as a memory of past political and ideological systems (Figure 2). The religious buildings echo the Ottoman period, the civic palaces and urban blocks epitomize Austro-Hungarian rule, and the cultural and sports centres symbolize communist Yugoslav ideology, in the same way as the shopping centres have become the “places of worship” of the contemporary age (Zagora & Šamić, 2014).

As a result of the radical political and socioeconomic shifts in the 1990s, the subsequent privately led urban developments and transformations have mostly overlooked the common, collective values in the city. The urban identity of contemporary Sarajevo can be associated with post-war developments, which are mostly indifferent to the layers of previous epochs, lacking a general strategy or site-specificity. They thus result in discontinuities in urban form (Husukić & Zejnilović, 2017). A similar situation was detected in the other countries of the western Balkans. Neoliberal economic and political forces in the post-communist countries have appropriated public assets and expended them solely for private interests. According to



Figure 1: Aerial view of Sarajevo, showing its topography, urban morphology, and cultural history (source: Internet 2).



Figure 2: a) religious buildings (source: Internet 2); b) civic buildings and urban infrastructure (source: Internet 2); c) cultural and sports centres (source: Internet 3); d) shopping centres (source: Internet 2).



Figure 3: Examples of private appropriation and neglect of public spaces: physical obstacles in the streets and squares of Sarajevo (photo: authors).

Seferagić, the originators of these social shifts manifested in public space are the neoliberal economic actors, sometimes referred to as the *nouveau-riche* or tycoons. Unlike the tycoons of the nineteenth century, who contributed to the development of civil society and the cultural scene through endowments for parks, museums, theatres, and so on, the new economic elites only care about privatizing and often destroying the commons (Seferagić, 2007). Parallel activities and processes have yielded similar results in the urban environment in many post-communist cities, such as Belgrade, Zagreb, and

Budapest. The transition from the top-down planning of the communist era to capitalism was uncritical and uncontrolled, resulting in increased urban density in central areas, negative effects of gentrification, commercialization and homogenization of the urban environment, and marginal public participation. Another common feature that can be encountered in all post-communist cities is the discrepancy between plans and developments in the urban environment, which is often manifested only in formal acknowledgment of the public interest, but is not accompanied by actual construction (Zlatar Gamberozić, 2019). Transition has affected not only the society of the post-conflict, post-communist, and post-modern era, but it has also left physical and spatial traces and led to a crisis of public spaces in Sarajevo. This description refers to the deteriorated physical condition in which many public spaces can be found today, as well as their vague programmatic, accessibility, and ownership status or a lack of correlation with the context, and, finally, detachment from the local communities. As a result of the absence of a strategic approach or vision, the public spaces of Sarajevo have been discarded in a transitional limbo, passively standing between the past, present, and future, disengaged from their context. To reclaim the precedence of the topic of public spaces and its relevance for Sarajevo among the local authorities, researchers, professionals, and the general public, this article proposes a methodology and tools that may facilitate systematic urban development and maintenance of the shared spaces in the city.

2 Focus on public spaces

This article analyses the public spaces in Sarajevo, identifies key issues, and proposes innovative possibilities for their improvement. The classic and yet idealistic concept of public spaces as democratic, open, and accessible to everyone has changed over the last decades due to globalization and technological shifts. Some theorists claim that commercialization has challenged the very publicness of public spaces, and that we are witnessing the loss of public space (Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1995; Koolhaas, 1997; Putnam, 2001; Sennett, 2002), whereas others regard this transformation as its evolutive phase (Carr et al., 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998). Instead of proposing a new definition, this research concentrates on essential attributes of public spaces, based on theoretical insight into various typological classifications (Carr et al., 1992; Carmona, 2010); namely, 1) function/typology, 2) scale, 3) enclosure, 4) accessibility, and (5) urban atmosphere.

This article consists of four sections. The introduction, presentation of research objectives, methodology, and hypothesis formulation under the header "Focus on public spaces" are followed by the section "Status quo", which presents the key

economic, political, ideological, economic, technical, and organizational issues that have caused the decline of public spaces in Sarajevo. The third section analyses a range of reference cases of geospatial databases of public spaces and positive international practices of merging urban planning and information technologies. The fourth section, "Mapping urban public spaces", provides a methodological outline for creating a future digital platform, explains the roles of the potential stakeholders, and illustrates the analytical possibilities of such a digital tool in selected locations of public spaces in Sarajevo. The research is based on the premise that one of the key prerequisites for developing open public spaces is publicity and open access to information. Most of the urban issues identified in Sarajevo have emerged, directly or implicitly, as a result of the dispersion of information and relevant data on the history, ownership status, accessibility, function, management, physical conditions, and context of public spaces. It is hypothesized that the technological advancement and evolution of digital media can enhance collaboration of professionals, the public sector, the private sector, and the community through creation of an open, democratic, and comprehensive platform focusing on the vision, development, and management of urban public spaces in the city. Application of such methodology together with other tools of digital place-making is anticipated to improve the quality of public spaces and to regenerate urban voids in Sarajevo.

2.1 Status quo

The latest social, political, and economic transition at the turn of the millennium has challenged the public sphere and shared values in general, leaving the public initiative behind (Ibelings, 2010). Consequently, urban public spaces were left at the margins of theory and criticism, practice, and civic engagement. Some of the most frequently recurring issues include private appropriation of public spaces, vague ownership status and accessibility, low maintenance and neglect, inactivity and fragmentation, and a lack of relation to the urban context or community (Figure 3). Reflecting their historical and socio-political context, the current status of public spaces may be defined as unstable and transitory (Zagora & Šamić, 2021). Similarly, the residents and institutions of the city are in a state of in-betweenness, living between the past and recent memories, the present day, and awaited life (Harrington et al., 2017).

Furthermore, within the last few years, as some local governments are starting to notice the importance of creating public and community spaces, there is a noticeable phenomenon of ad hoc public interventions, some which did not involve professional or public consultation, competitions, or discussion (Figure 4). A number of interventions have emerged without prior strategy or correlation with their context, and they most-

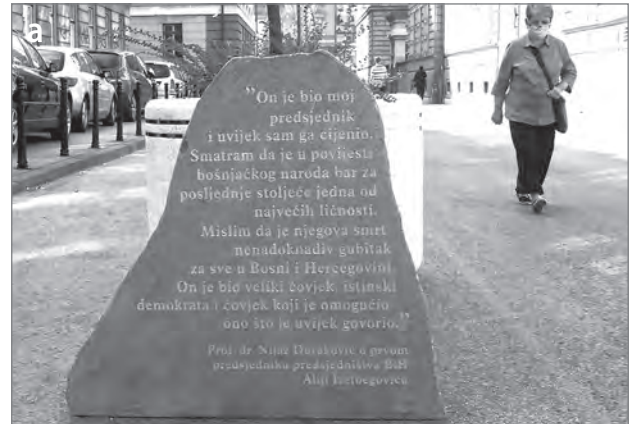


Figure 4: a) random granite monoliths lacking relation to their urban context (source: Internet 4); b) a tourist kiosk criticized for being overpriced and never opened (source: Internet 8); c) a promenade lacking a programmatic definition, aesthetic identity, or urban atmosphere (source: Internet 5).

ly remain as monuments to political figures or systems, struggling to find their real purpose. On the other hand, local communities long for purposeful small-scale public interventions, such as playgrounds for various age groups and infrastructure for the elderly. However, there seems to be a lack of efficient communication channels to link community inputs with planners and the municipality, city, and canton administrations.

In the past decade, municipalities have launched urban design competitions at selected public sites in Sarajevo, such as small

plazas or parks, mostly for memorials to victims of the 1990s war. However, due to tender procedures, in most cases the winning concepts either are not completed or are only partly implemented without due consultation with the designers of the winning projects. In most cases, the programme of these competitions focused on designing monuments and memorials, whereas the solution for the public space was of secondary importance. For instance, in 2020, a memorial design competition was launched for one of the most prominent locations in Sarajevo, Alija Izetbegović Liberation Square (*Trg oslobođenja – Alija Izetbegović*). The winning design entries were never publicly presented, and the governing municipality recently announced the construction of underground parking in 2021, which subsequently caused public debate. This case demonstrates the absence of a strategic approach and synchronization between the processes and actions designated for a particular site. Regarding non-institutional initiatives targeting urban public spaces in the country, there have been several auspicious activities in Sarajevo and Banja Luka in the past decade. In 2013 the Crvena Association and LIFT Spatial Initiative launched the Gradology Project, an online activist platform that helps residents of Sarajevo discover and map urban open spaces such as parks, squares, abandoned buildings, and unused spaces (LIFT, 2015). Another group of activists organized under name Dobre Kote (Good Spots) has carried out several informal urban intervention projects since 2015, transforming discarded urban spots into gathering places for the local community. Some of the instances outside of Sarajevo that demonstrate a distinctive bottom-up approach in reactivating public spaces can be found in Banja Luka, where a group of professionals and activists gathered in the Small SCALE Team–Centre for Spatial Research have been holding workshops, creating and implementing concepts of small-scale interventions in the city (Karan et al., 2017).

The title of this article is inspired by Lefebvre's 1968 right to the city (Lefebvre, 1968), and it focuses on the issue of public spaces in terms of rights and responsibilities, identifying the key stakeholders: who owns, accesses, designs, develops, maintains, uses, activates, and transforms public spaces in Sarajevo. The dominance of private interests over public ones in the recent history of the city has distorted the perception of the local population toward its heritage, caused an aversion toward the communist legacy, and ultimately generated a discrepancy between the individual and the collective (Zagora & Šamić, 2021). Recalling the communist ideology of shared and collective values, some public spaces have even turned into grey areas of the city or urban voids (de Solà Morales, 2003), and they generally represent low-priority goals in official planning policies. In response to the identified problems of neglect, fragmentation, and appropriation of public spaces by private interests, this article explores the prerequisites for

creating a strategic approach to planning, designing, developing, and maintaining shared spaces by bringing together all the stakeholders, assigning responsibilities, and raising awareness among the general public.

3 Methodology and analysis

3.1 Geospatial database of public spaces

The problem of increased urbanization complemented by a disregard for public spaces has been recognized at the global level. For this reason, one of the sustainable development goals set by the United Nations is as follows: "By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities." To this end, UN-Habitat (2018) has issued recommendations on the desired percentage of urban land allocated to open public spaces, according to which 45 to 50% of urban land should be allocated to streets and open public spaces, which includes 30 to 35% for streets and pavements and 15 to 20% for open public space "The value of public spaces is often overlooked or underestimated by policy makers, leaders, citizens and urban developers. There are several reasons for this, such as the lack of resources, or understanding or capacity to use public space as a complete, multi-functional urban system. Often the lack of appropriate enabling frameworks, weak political will and the absence of the means of public engagement compound the situation. Nevertheless, fundamentally, the lack of a global measurement indicator has hindered the local and global appreciation of the value of the public spaces" (United Nations Statistics Division, 2020).

When it comes to planning and management policies, one of the methods proposed by UN-Habitat for local governments is adopting a systemic approach that includes collecting accurate, timely, disaggregated data and information. The sources for collecting data mainly rely on satellite imagery (open sources), documentation outlining publicly owned land, and community-based maps. The major step forward proposed by the project is the methodology of mapping available and potential public spaces all over the globe. In like manner, the Jan Gehl Institute together with its partners – the Municipality of Copenhagen, City of San Francisco, and Seattle Department of Transportation – has introduced the Public Life Data Protocol (Gehl Architects, 2020). It is an open protocol created to make public space data collecting more comprehensible, compatible, and scalable across urban planning departments all over the world. The Public Life Data Protocol proposes several surveys and monitoring tools such as People Moving Count or Stationary Activity Mapping, which are easy to implement and follow. Similarly, the KTH team led by Setha Low created the Public

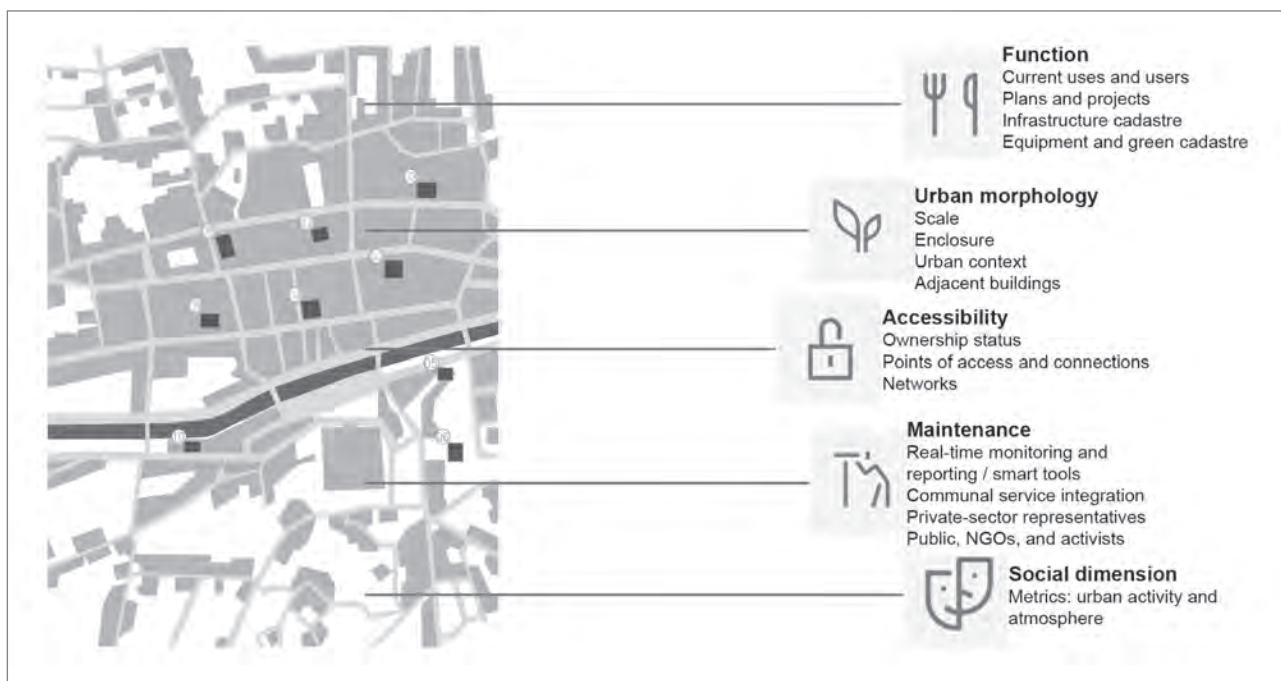


Figure 5: Structure of the interactive digital platform of urban public spaces in Sarajevo (illustration: authors).

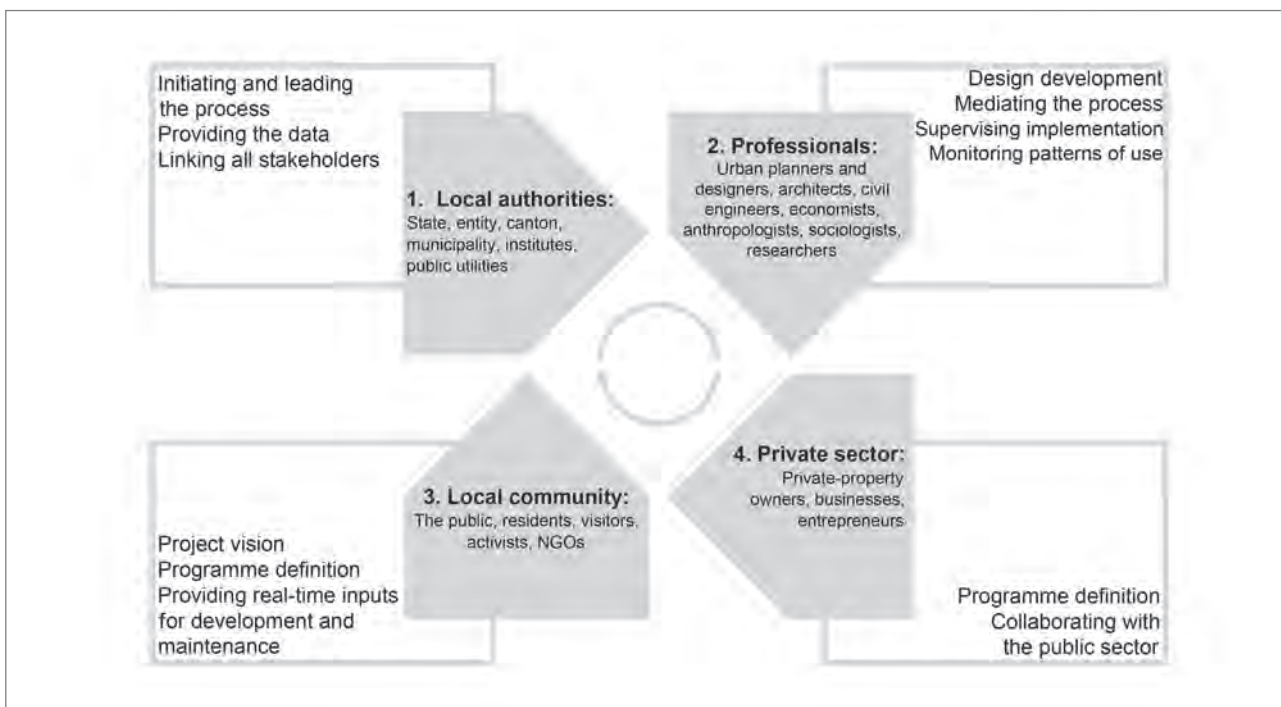


Figure 6: Potential groups of users of the open-source database of public spaces in Sarajevo (illustration: authors).

Space Database Project (Centre for the Future of Places, 2020) to collect relevant research data from various fields and merge them into one body of knowledge with common terminology, accessible and comprehensible to the general public.

The analysis of cases presented reveals an unambiguous conclusion: a multidisciplinary approach and access to all relevant data is the prerequisite for realizing more sustainable and in-

clusive public spaces. Hence, for Sarajevo to have more quality shared spaces for public use, the first step would be creating and implementing a framework for classifying urban public spaces in Sarajevo, comprising multiple layers of (real-time) information or metadata, such as history, function (hybridity), ownership, management, infrastructure, adjacent facilities and spaces, involved stakeholders, and metrics (patterns of use and performance of public spaces), as well as allowing performance

and maintenance monitoring and reporting on technical and safety issues, thus facilitating public participation (Figure 5).

Such a comprehensive open-source database would gather all the relevant data from disparate bodies, such as municipalities, spatial planning institutes, local community councils, NGOs, and activist groups engaged in public space topics, and make the data open and available. The collected data would be systematically classified according to typological criteria (functional, spatial, and social sets of data) and subsequently divided into different layers with the possibility of activating and overlapping them to better understand the specific site. Moreover, the database should perform as an interactive platform designated at the same time for collecting and sharing data. One of the most important benefits that such digital tools can provide is a unique meeting place for all the stakeholders willing to create better public spaces. This involves bringing together the four key stakeholders whose interaction is crucial for the future of public spaces: the economic sector (industries, landowners, and banks), the political sector (political leaders and parties), spatial development experts (urban planners, architects, and engineers), and the civic sector (the general public, NGOs, and urban social movements; Seferagić, 2007). This open platform would encourage and inspire public participation, social cohesion, and trust in community, developing values that seem long forgotten in the post-transitional society.

Public participation will not only signify democratization of all processes related to urban space, but will also change current mindsets. It is important to emphasize that community participation in decision-making via digital tools should go beyond the formal level, and the voice of the public should be acknowledged from the very beginning of the process: "Therefore, in the future it is very important that citizens' participation begins at early stages of urban planning as they are the key players in all urban revitalization efforts" (Zlatar Gamberozić, 2019). In this way, "nobody's spaces" may ultimately be replaced by "everybody's spaces". In this process, the data gathered would be converted into a tool for intervention and guidance for the local authorities. It would also provide real-time monitoring of the physical state of public spaces and urban equipment in the city.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the platform users are different, ranging from urban planners, architects, researchers, developers, and other professionals to private investors, communal companies and funds, NGOs, activists, the general public, and tourists, each looking for and sharing different types of data (Figure 6). Therefore, it is extremely important that common terminology be used, although the platform itself would be structured into various sections according to user requirements, knowledge, and skills.

3.2 Mapping urban public spaces

Public spaces in Sarajevo were mapped to obtain overall insight into their distribution. This process was channelled by using a selection of relevant criteria that define the character of public spaces, such as typology, scale, enclosure, urban activity, accessibility, and urban atmosphere (Table 1).

A similar methodological approach may be applied in the case of developing an interactive database of public spaces of Sarajevo. The resulting geospatial platform would allow grouping, overlapping, or decomposing multiple layers of data, either showing the distribution of the public spaces within the city or expounding the correlation between all spatial and social aspects of a particular site.

In urban mapping, each public space was associated with a particular spatial or social attribute, within the predefined set of criteria. Therefore, the essential part of the process consisted of collecting all the available geospatial data and their association with the surveyed land and official planning documents. In this way, urban mapping was used as a methodological research tool to classify public spaces in Sarajevo. Developing a future digital geospatial platform or database can be structured on a set of predefined criteria to be used for urban mapping, and the data layers may subsequently be grouped into categories or overlapped or intersected. The criteria for urban mapping discussed below are 1) function and accessibility, 2) urban morphology, and 3) the social dimension. Following the elaboration of each of the groups of criteria listed, the functionality of the potential digital platform is simulated by showing the maps or excerpts for four empirically selected locations in the city, each depicting the relevant urban and social topic.

4 Results and discussion

4.1 Function and accessibility

The function or use of space is the fundamental criterion for classifying types of public spaces. In other words, the typology of public spaces is generally determined by the social activities they accommodate and generate. Traditionally, public space provides a zone for social interaction as well as a stage for cultural and political proliferation. However, in contemporary society, as individualism and social media grow stronger, the traditional role of public spaces has been challenged. "Active presence, participation, and experience can now be substituted with passive picture watching, seeing what others have experienced elsewhere. The automobile has made it possible to replace active participation in spontaneous local social activities with a drive to see selected friends and attractions" (Gehl, 2011).

Table 1: Criteria for mapping public spaces in Sarajevo.

Criterion	Attributes
Typology	Green, civic, communal, transportation, public interiors, undefined
Scale	Large and extra-large, medium scale, small and extra-small
Enclosure	Open, semi-open, enclosed
Urban activity	Active and seasonally active, passive
Accessibility	Accessible, conditionally accessible
Urban atmosphere	Extroverted, introverted

Pursuing the functional classifications of public spaces provided by Carr et al. (1992), Oldenburg (1997), and Carmona (2010), the mapping method was used to record the distribution of the six functional types of public spaces in Sarajevo: 1) green spaces, 2) civic spaces, 3) communal spaces, 4) transportation/circulation spaces, 5) public interiors, facilities, and other places, and 6) undefined spaces. Physical and psychological accessibility are one of the most important aspects that define the public dimension of city spaces. The topic of accessibility underlies the title of this article, and it addresses the entitlement and utilization of public spaces. Levels of accessibility, together with ownership, determine the privacy or publicness of urban areas. In contemporary cities, the boundaries between public and private spaces are often blurred. This phenomenon is often criticized for causing the erosion of public spaces (Sennett, 2002), whereas the hybridization described may be regarded as an evolutionary state of public spaces (de Solà Morales, 1992; Kohn, 2004). Considering the variations of accessibility in the city, urban mapping has identified two categories of public spaces in Sarajevo, 1) accessible and 2) conditionally accessible public spaces. The correlation of function and accessibility is a fundamental aspect of analysis of the existing status and potential of public spaces in a city.

Hence, the primary role of the digital platform of urban public spaces is to provide access to information regarding the functions, accessibility, and ownership status of public spaces as underpinnings for further analysis of potential urban transformations. Furthermore, the platform will allow better insight into the wider urban context and the relationship between different typologies, open up perspectives on creating networks of public spaces, adjacent sites, and facilities, and enhance interactions between all stakeholders. For instance, mapping public spaces in central Sarajevo has revealed the heterogeneity and hybridity of functions, with Susan Sontag Theatre Square (*Pozorišni trg – Susan Sontag*) as the focal point and Jurislav Korenić Culture Square (*Trg kulture Jurislav Korenić*) as secondary civic space, yet both of them lack the sufficient functional articulation they actually merit (Figure 7). The main theatre plaza is surrounded by three rather inactive public areas, characterized by unclear functionality and accessibility: an archaeological site to the west, private parking to

the east, and a vacant early-twentieth-century hotel building to the north. In fact, due to years-long controversies, the Kalin hadži-Alija Mosque archaeological site has been converted into a veritable urban void, an undefined and physically inaccessible and neglected space, unrelated to its urban context, and it has deteriorated over the course of years of prolonged incompletion. Another adjacent potential public space is the privately owned parking area east of the theatre square. According to the multiple media announcements, this area has been awaiting development of an underground parking for decades. If, on the other hand, the site were converted into a pedestrian zone, it could have potentially acted as a lateral extension of the theatre square, opening up a new perspective to and from the site and creating an area for numerous urban activities. The origins of this fragmentation, the conflicts in urban space, and the oscillations in the patterns of its use lie in the vague programmatic and accessibility status of the zone analysed. One way to overcome these problems and reconnect the disparate urban sites into a potential network of vibrant public spaces is through systematic and transparent collection and mapping of all the relevant data as a basis for a vision of the urban transformation of the entire zone.

4.2 Urban morphology

Geometrical and physical properties, such as scale, configuration, and the three-dimensional enclosure of public spaces, are important aspects of any urban analysis. In the case of Sarajevo, the urban morphology of the built environment, including open public spaces, was largely affected by its natural topography. The hills north and south of the city guided urban development in an east–west direction, along the Miljacka Valley. In the early stage of its development, dating back to medieval and Ottoman times, the scale of the urban matrix was intuitively affected by the human scale, corresponding to the range of intimate urban public spaces as defined in urban theory (Lynch, 1971; Gehl, 2011). Moving from east to west, matching the chronological timeline of the development of the city during the Austro-Hungarian, royal Yugoslav, and communist Yugoslav eras, the scale of the urban matrix increases from the human to vehicular scale (Figure 8). Mapping public spaces by the criteria of urban morphology distinguishes three scalar



Figure 7: Mapping central Sarajevo: 1) theatre square, 2) youth theatre square, 3) archaeological site, 4) parking area, 5) park, 6) vacant building (illustration: authors).



Figure 8: Mapping public spaces by scale in the old town of Sarajevo (illustration: authors).

categories, 1) large and extra-large, 2) medium-sized, and 3) small and extra-small public spaces and zones. The urban configuration and its three-dimensional form is another important geometrical feature of public space. Even though public spaces have traditionally been perceived as spatial negatives, they are in fact contained to a certain degree within their urban ma-

trix, and defined by the “edges”, planes, and volumes of the surrounding buildings and blocks. Depending on their level of enclosure, in mapping Sarajevo three categories were found: 1) open public spaces, 2) enclosed public spaces, and 3) semi-open public spaces.

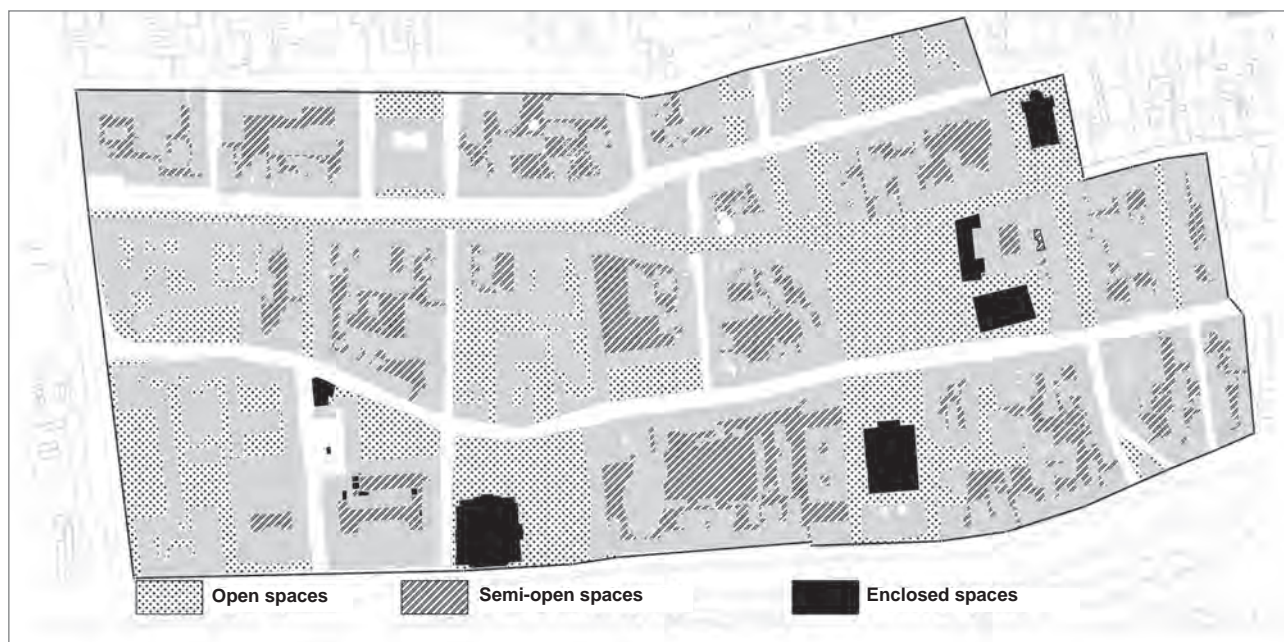


Figure 9: Mapping public spaces in downtown Sarajevo by level of enclosure (illustration: authors).

The prevalent scale in the Ottoman parts of the city is the intimate, human scale, consisting of extra-small and small interior courtyards and streets. The scale increases along the chronological line of development, toward the west, ranging from medium-scale public spaces in the Austro-Hungarian and early Yugoslav neighbourhoods to the large-scale urban areas in the neighbourhoods developed during the communist Yugoslav and contemporary era. Mapping the historical and central parts of Sarajevo by urban morphology yielded particular small- to medium-scale categories of semi-open public spaces (Figure 9). The areas correspond to interior courtyards within Ottoman-era public facilities in the old bazaar, or Baščaršija, as well as with the atriums of Austro-Hungarian buildings. The function and accessibility of some of these spaces are vague and undefined, but at the same time they hold significant potential for urban transformation and possible reclaiming of public spaces in Sarajevo. Taking a systematic approach, and recording, mapping, and correlating all the relevant data associated with the indicated typology of spaces would lead to a strategic vision for urban redefinition and transformation of these sites and their urban context.

4.3 Social dimension

According to major urban theorists, social activity, quality of public life, and an urban atmosphere are the key value of public spaces (Carr et al., 1992; Varna & Tiesdell, 2010; Gehl, 2011). Beyond their physical dimension, public spaces are truly defined by their social value, or the types and levels of social activities and interactions they induce: “Public space affords common ground – for social interaction, inter-

mingling and communication: it is a site of sociability. It is a stage for information exchange, personal development and social learning (i.e. about ‘the other’) and for the development of tolerance” (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010). According to Jan Gehl, on-site observation and measurement of social activities, such as walking/cycling, standing/staying, sitting, seeing, hearing/talking, and playing/exercising/entertaining, provides the basis for improving and developing public spaces (Gehl Institute, 2017). The study of urban activity in public spaces in Sarajevo yielded the following two categories: 1) active and seasonally active public spaces, and 2) passive public spaces. Mapping the Marijin Dvor downtown area of Sarajevo revealed unbalanced levels of social activities (Figure 10). The observation of the area revealed that public activities mainly gravitate around business and commercial facilities. Passive zones are associated with institutional buildings such as the parliament or residential blocks due to physical and mental barriers in accessibility. Other passive zones include the urban voids along the Miljacka River designated as future construction sites, as well as numerous atriums in Austro-Hungarian buildings, with limited public accessibility and vaguely defined ownership status. On the other hand, the enclosure and intimacy of these semi-enclosed public spaces and their urban atmosphere may be regarded as advantages in potential urban transformation projects.

This leads to another important aspect that is closely related to users’ response to certain urban spaces; namely, urban atmosphere. The phenomenological approach in architecture advocates spatial concepts that transcend visual perception, in which the atmospheric qualities of architectural and urban

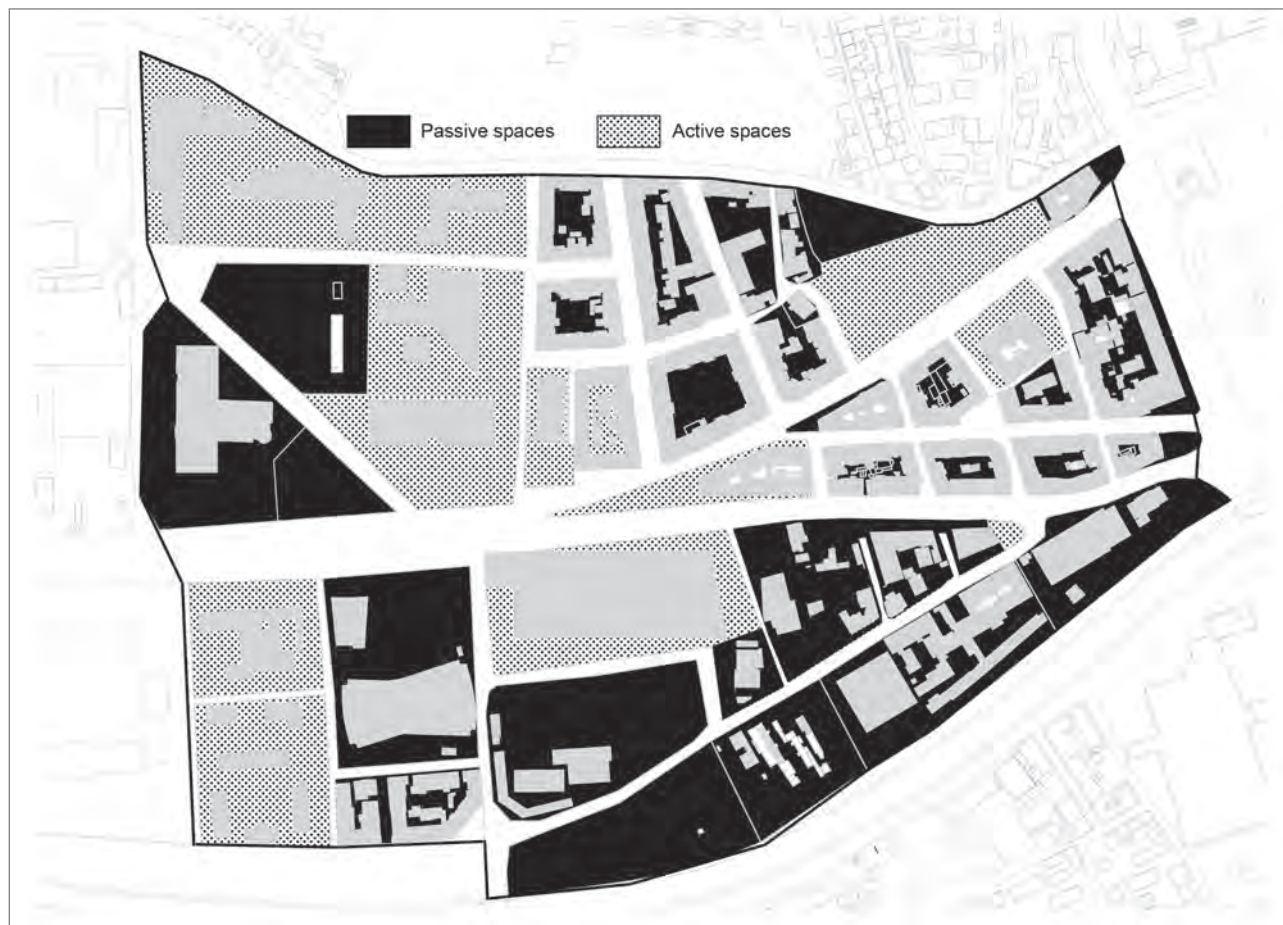


Figure 10: Mapping the Marijin Dvor area of Sarajevo (illustration: authors).

public spaces trigger the entire perceptive apparatus, including touch, smell, and hearing (as discussed by Gaston Bachelard, Martin Heidegger, Christian Norberg-Schulz, Juhani Pallasmaa, Peter Zumthor, and others). Proceeding from the study of urban atmosphere in public spaces in Sarajevo (Zagora & Šamić, 2021), the potential of public spaces to generate multi-sensory atmospheric experience is closely connected with their scale and enclosure, and can be categorized as 1) extroverted public spaces, characterized by their formal atmosphere and urbanity character, and 2) introverted public spaces, characterized by their intimate atmosphere and sense of interiority. The social dimension of public spaces may be regarded as the software, and the physical space as its hardware. Interpretation and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data on urban activity and the urban atmosphere in a real-time interactive geospatial database of public spaces can cast a new light on the understanding and potential transformation of selected sites, together with their larger urban context.

5 Conclusion

One of the effects of the prolonged transition in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its post-conflict, post-communist, and

post-modern society is the crisis of urban public spaces in Sarajevo. The effects are manifested in physical deterioration, negligence, and dysfunctionality of public spaces, along with pending issues regarding accessibility and ownership, and detachment of shared urban sites from their local context and the community. In this regard, the essential rights of people to shape, use, maintain, recycle, and reactivate the city's shared spaces have been highly contested. The most recurrent cases include the degradation and loss of public spaces, as well as illegal or dubious private appropriations of common property. The spatial manifestations of the latest political and socio-economic shifts are accompanied by an acquired aversion of people toward communist values, even with ambiguity toward the notion of shared space.

The current problems in the urban environment of contemporary Sarajevo can be associated with a lack of collaboration between professionals, the public sector, the private sector, and the community, as well as the scarcity of publicly available data and debate focusing solely on public spaces. This study hypothesizes that one of the key prerequisites for developing successful public spaces is the availability of information. Most of the urban issues identified in Sarajevo have emerged, direct-

ly or implicitly, as a result of the dispersion of information and relevant data on history, ownership status, accessibility, function, management, physical conditions, and the context of public spaces. In response to the problems identified, this article proposes a methodology for developing a digital geo-spatial database of public spaces in Sarajevo. Learning from successful projects that have employed digital tools and proactive management of public spaces, the proposed platform is anticipated to be comprehensive, open-source, and interactive. The continuous process of collecting and disclosing all relevant and up-to-date information on public spaces in the city should serve the purpose of sharing gains, responsibilities, and rights between the local authorities, professionals, the private sector, and the local community in a transparent and democratic manner. As the title of this article suggests, this research aims to ultimately substitute the ambiguous concept of “nobody’s/anybody’s/somebody’s spaces” with a democratic and genuine designation: “everybody’s spaces”. One way of attaining this standard is using the methodology of urban mapping: systematically harvesting and geolocating various layers of data on public spaces. The mapping proceeds from essential clusters of data related to function and accessibility, urban morphology, and the social dimension of public spaces, allowing the possibility of adding more categories and layers. An important utility of the platform is to allow overlapping and combining different types of information on public spaces, opening up new multidisciplinary perspectives on how they can be improved, transformed, reactivated, and, ultimately, reclaimed by the public.

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Dina Šamić-Musemić

Općina Centar Sarajevo, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina
E-mail: dina.samic@centar.ba

Nermina Zagora

University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architectural Design, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina
E-mail: nerminaz@af.unsa.ba

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Pablo CAMPOS

Inclusive campuses: Contributions from urban planning, architectural composition, and functional profile

The international university context is generating multiple dynamics of innovation. A relevant issue is the creation of inclusive campuses. This text studies keys to spatial planning on the urban and architectural scales and offers functional recommendations to create campuses that promote wellbeing and cognitive accessibility for people with intellectual disabilities. The goal is to inspire inclusive environments, promote an appropriation of the space, and reinforce a sense of belonging, emphasizing aspects such as the psychological and emotional perception of university environments. Based on this exploration, the text discusses a set of planning guidelines and architectural typologies with an inclusive scope. It begins by studying paradigms taken from the historical university

legacy: the cloister and the campus. After this, the article focuses on aspects that inspire the integral planning of campuses to reinforce social inclusion: communities of learning, typologies of spatial composition, the human scale, edges, nature, the aesthetic component, and functional strategies. The text finishes by presenting a range of conclusions on how to supply those criteria and types so that campuses can be planned with higher quality with the goal of transforming them into inclusive environments, providing guidelines that can optimize them for all kinds of users.

Keywords: urban planning, architecture, university campus, social inclusion, intellectual disabilities

1 Introduction

1.1 Social inclusion and the university

Any exploration of innovative strategies in terms of social inclusion must begin with a review of the theoretical background, focusing on the foundations of education. Delors et al. (1996) advocated the essential features of learning: knowing, doing, living, and being. Thus, the qualities that make campuses inclusive should integrate these four features. Transferring the plane of reflection to the universities, they must fulfil their three essential missions: education, research, and contribution to society. The third mission fully connects with social inclusion. Within the goals of higher education, personal development stands out (Bergan & Damian, 2010). This fundamental objective must integrate all types of groups, addressing the most vulnerable ones with singular sensitivity. Moreover, social inclusion in university spaces aims to increase the presence of those with intellectual disabilities. Given that their characteristics limit that incorporation, inclusion encourages their active participation; because they enjoy the training that the institutions can provide them, one of the significant consequences is the opportunity to access the labour market. There are numerous social and educational initiatives that promote this mission, but the contributions of urban architectural solutions must be properly valued. Therefore, this text examines the built environment because it is called upon to enrich social inclusion and collaborate in creating academic environments that reinforce universal accessibility. Social inclusion requires a consistent educational effort that promotes the implementation of teaching and learning modalities and adequate training resources. Likewise, it is necessary to design welcoming protocols that favour the integration of students; the spatial dimension must also be added to the configuration of these “embracing protocols” through the composition of their shapes. Recently, valuable dynamics have been promoted, such as the “inclusive campus” or “campus without limits,” together with public policies for social inclusion (Gorjón, 2020). As a result of increased awareness of this issue, various manuals and recommendations have been produced (Kleinert et al., 2012; Agarwal et al., 2015). Within the university landscape, the social inclusion of groups with intellectual disabilities suggests promoting participation and eliminating the multiple barriers that can generate exclusion. In parallel, training actions are needed so that professors can learn about inclusive educational strategies (Pijl et al., 1997).

1.2 Social inclusion and human interaction with physical space

Human behaviour can be internalized as the outcome of a dialogue between a person’s personality and the environment. Social inclusion in education affects not only human attitudes, but also the built environment (Foreman, 2008; Mishchenko, 2013). Its growing dynamic in the international sphere is benefiting groups with disabilities (Molina & Ríos, 2010). Starting from these dynamics, this text explores criteria and urban architectural solutions that promote social inclusion; in the case of university campuses, they constitute an essential factor for crystallizing learning communities (Harrington, 2014), thus helping their own academic success (Bogue, 2002). This issue is closely related to the experience of the environment of people with intellectual disabilities, linked to the creation of “places” (counting on the affective component) instead of “spaces” (mere built areas; Whitmer, 2009). It should be appreciated that people achieve wellbeing when they interact positively with the environment. Thus, people can be reflected in the environment, activating feelings of identity protection, control, and affection connected with space (Sommer, 1969; Proshansky et al., 1983). There is also the transcendence of the place: to promote social inclusion, it becomes vital to analyse the potential contributions of the physical space because it welcomes human contact, which fosters the true formation of a learning community. The place is thus claimed as a triggering factor for progress in knowledge.

1.3 Perception and experience of urban architectural spaces

Social inclusion affects the interaction between people and their constructed context, which influences their physical and mental wellbeing; it is based on the mechanisms of perception, both sensory and psychological. Sensory perceptions are channelled through the five senses, the most common being sight, hearing, and touch. From this, the interaction is conditioned by psychological perception, which shapes the sensations; environmental psychology deals with this specific matter (Canter & Stringer, 1975). The context comes to mind translated into shapes, and on an urban and architectural scale there is a relationship between the design of a place and the mood of those that live in it: “buildings mold behavior” (Arnheim, 1977: 268). This introduces the emotional experience as a dimension that, transcending the strict perceptual sphere, awakens feelings; investigating these feelings uncovers ideation keys for educational venues. There is abundant literature on the importance of feeling when it comes to enjoying university complexes, and in planning itself through history (Giedion,



Figure 1: Cloister of the Minor Schools (Span. *Escuelas Menores*) in 2011, University of Salamanca, Spain (photo: author).

1982; Campos et al., 2020). Other studies have analysed the influence of the environment on people: Canter and Stringer (1975) proposed character, coherence, acceptability, flexibility, and security as important qualities; Kasmir (1970) referred to other qualities: aesthetic appeal, physical organization, or size. In people with intellectual disabilities, the perception and experience of physical spaces becomes an essential axis for devising design criteria that promote emotional wellbeing. Some evaluations have shown that users found more value in places that caused pleasant sensations; responses such as activation, excitement, liking, and relaxation were considered (according to the eight variables of the affective meaning of the environment; Russell & Pratt, 1980). Such parameters are important for the social inclusion of these vulnerable groups because they have a sensitivity that is as valid as, or superior to, that of other groups. Having established essential bases for the perceptive and affective interaction between people and their urban architectural context, it is necessary to explore those characteristics that may suggest planning guidelines. Methodologically, in addition to a bibliographic investigation, this begins by analysing two historical university paradigms to extract readings that can inspire the ideation of inclusive campuses for people with intellectual disabilities today. Other contemporary strategies are added to these to set out a comprehensive list of planning criteria.

2 Methods

2.1 The cloister as an architectural inspiration for social inclusion

The cloister was born in a vocation of isolation with respect to its environment, aspiring to establish an intimate community. Starting from its genesis in monasteries and cathedrals, it was used as an architectural pattern in medieval European universities. Today extraordinary testimonies of its legacy remain at Oxford, Bologna, Cambridge, Salamanca, and Alcalá, among other institutions.

The concept of utopia has been an inexhaustible source of innovation at higher education institutions. Utopian attitudes can inspire the configuration of spaces for people with mental disabilities, fostering the search for a better society with social sensitivity. The concept of utopia promoted educational and spatial paradigms such as the cloister, which was consolidated as a place of hospitality, offering integration to foreign groups (O’Gorman & MacPhee, 2006). It could thus be understood as an embryo of social inclusion. Functionally (as a consequence of the autonomous orientation of its monastic antecedents), the cloister represents the intention of self-sufficiency, although on campuses other facilities were added.



Figure 2: Campus of the University of Virginia in 2012 (photo: author).

In its composition, the cloister responds to a centripetal pattern, whose centre of gravity is an interstitial void. The built shape preserves a neat interior place, transmitting the sensation of spatial welcome and embrace. This perceptual consequence has led to various interpretations, such as psychologically considering the cloister as a “fostering mother” (Painter, 2003). In line with this intention to welcome, this spatial pattern reflects a commitment to the human scale (Coomans, 2018). It is also narrowly connected with the phenomenology of habitation and the poetics of space (Bachelard, 1958) Its architectural configuration is based on morphological solutions such as rhythmic arches of moderate height, as well as the use of the arch (semi-circular, lowered, or mixtilinear, among other models), which introduces a concave gesture into the vertical plane. The elegance of the simple shafts of the columns is offered as a sample of small scale, supporting a sequence of modulated arcades that delicately outlines the place where teachers and students wander around. The intimate vocation of the cloister is born from its own architectural apparatus, as a built framework that performs two concordant functions: isolation from the external context and protection of a self-absorbed interior, which favours the human encounter. Buildings and limits merge into a single reality: a delimiting volume that generates perceptual sensations of protection and shelter, underlining its inclusive vocation. Regarding the natural component, the cloister must be interpreted as a wisely conceived reality because it combines architecture and nature. The contributions of nature are of great value for social inclusion because certain elements are accommodated between the heavy walls and the delicate arches: a small meadow with grass, a tree, and water, whose delicate spring creates a landscape sound that favours concentration. Thus valued, nature increases the embrace that architecture itself provides with other resources.

As a result of a coherent compositional foundation, the cloister acquires a valuable aesthetic dimension. Evoking the historian Pevsner, Quaroni explains that the architectural structure evokes aesthetic perceptions in three concordant ways (which can be seen in these spatial solutions’ structures): two-dimensional projection, where the facades are presented as vertical planes “in the manner of the painter”; three-dimensional projection, as a set of interlocking volumes, “in the manner of the sculptor”; and spatial projection, an exclusive feature of architecture because it concerns sequences of environments, expansions, or contractions of spaces, “in the manner of the architect” (Quaroni, 1977: 93). In all these projections, the user enjoys an immediate visual domain, which underlines their inclusive vocation.

In short, the cloister offers a historical lesson of suitability between the educational function and the planning of its built body, where people feel welcomed and embraced. It could even be understood that the delicate and rhythmic interior architecture is a kind of metaphor for the movement of those that inhabit it, on an intimate scale, reinforcing the feeling of social inclusion: “Bodies themselves generate spaces Consider, for example, the cloister, and the solemn pace of the monks who walk there” (Lefebvre, 1991: 216). Thus understood, the architectural composition of this outstanding typology would be the reflection of human walking, and the columns that flank the central void could be interpreted as its built echoes.

2.2 The campus as urban inspiration for social inclusion

If the cloister can be interpreted as the result of a utopian impulse translated into architecture, the campus is a translation

into urban planning. Since its birth as an inheritance of the Oxonian colleges after they travelled to the New World, it has been historically consolidated as a model where education, living experience, and space converge. Its evolution has left emblematic samples in North American universities, such as Harvard University, the University of Virginia, Union College, or Stanford University, as well as in other locations, such as Otaniemi, Mexico City, Caracas, or the University City of Madrid.

In contrast to the European trend of university buildings integrated within urban cores, the campus emerged as a result of a segregating propensity, establishing itself as an “island of knowledge” in the territory. For this reason, the paradigm of the transoceanic cradle shares with the cloister the “utopia of insularity”, whose origin is connected with the work of Saint Thomas More (Surtz, 1953). Regarding social inclusion, certain features of campus planning are apt to inspire it because the campus was a pioneer in the formation of an integral learning community (inclusive vocation orientation). The incorporation into the urban precinct of multiple functional facilities and equipment (those corresponding to the residential one being a highlight) confers a full experiential character, a habitat in itself. Certain plans have favoured the sense of welcoming and embracement, such as concentric designs, polarization around nuclei, green pedestrian areas, and a human scale. The arrangement around the quadrangle (a legacy of the British college) stands out as the centre of social gravity, which is a tributary of inclusion. The most relevant examples expressly highlight this cardinal element as an architectural symbol of institutional legitimacy and quality. The evolution in the planning of the campus entailed a progressive rupture of its primitive closure; at the heart of this gesture was the inclusive vocation for opening up to the social context. The quadrangle has always taken care of the human scale, resolving itself in accordance with these ordering guidelines: predominance of the central void as a natural environment that welcomes a human relationship, proportion between the dimensions of the architectural pieces and their distances, clarity of pedestrian paths, and the visual domain of the context, sometimes projected into broad perspectives.

Regarding the precinct edges, the campus has adopted various solutions, from rigid boundaries to diffuse ones. Rigid boundaries create two simultaneous sensations: on the one hand, visual and experiential containment, which transmits embracement and favours orientation, and, on the other, difficulty in expanding the terrain. Diffuse boundaries are usually justified by the adjacent presence of urban contexts, which favours interaction and – in a way – social inclusion itself. Painter highlights that the campus generates intellectual well-being through two positive emotions: “Humans sought a place

that provided ‘prospect’ (the view over a long distance) and ‘refuge’ (a place to take shelter)” (Painter, 2003: 9). One component that permeates the personality of a campus is nature. Apart from providing a passive context of contemplation, it activates positive interactions with people (Kaplan, 1993). The experience of nature and green spaces offers mental benefits and affective responses (Houlden et al., 2018). This is related to walking as an activity that increases social inclusion because of the personal enjoyment that this experience of green areas implies (Speake et al., 2013). Nature provides great aesthetic energy, also influencing health and ecology. Its composition coordinated with architecture builds up an integral landscape that awakens positive emotions (Dober, 2003). It is important that green areas be accessible and close to teaching areas (Giles-Corti et al., 2005); this is also valued as a linking factor with the urban fabric.

In all this, planning is an inescapable quality. Its significance is such that it has been classified as a “work of art”, endowed with its own aesthetic charge (Gaines, 1991). There are numerous testimonies regarding the transoceanic scenario, but it has also left brilliant examples on other continents, such as the Helsinki University of Technology, which Alvar Aalto designed in Otaniemi: “The quality of the scheme would have been evident in the preservation of the topography and vegetation to as great an extent as possible” (Hipeli, 2008: 19). Planning an organism as alive and changing as a campus requires paying special attention to the ideation of the general structure because it will transcend time: it is not a single object that is designed, but an entire process.

3 Results and discussion

3.1 Social inclusion and urban architectural spaces: planning criteria and compositional typologies

3.1.1 Learning communities and utopian inspiration in planning

The concept of utopia has always served as the energy of human progress since ancient times (Gray, 2012). In relation to social inclusion, its enormous potential must be used to illuminate the idea of inclusive campuses because secular values are fully in force today. The urban layout of a campus must respond to an intentional planning action that translates the ideals of the institution into tangible realities; this has happened especially in the North American scenario, where they reflected and transmitted these ideals, including how to configure true inclusive learning communities (Turner, 1984). In general, it has been shown that the quality in the planning of a campus has

an impact on teaching quality itself and on the reinforcement of the sense of belonging in students (Coulson et al., 2010); all of this can be extrapolated to groups with intellectual disabilities. Social inclusion can be supported by the crystallization of experiential communities on university campuses, which create positive emotions and places of human closeness. The goal is to create welcoming, embracing, and friendly environments, which will foster feelings of psychological wellbeing, protection, and physical comfort.

3.1.2 Typologies of formal composition

Taking up the legacy left by the cloister and the campus in this matter, in the design of inclusive campuses those typologies of composition of a more centripetal nature should be chosen because they will favour the sense of welcoming and embracement on an urban and architectural scale. These will help groups with intellectual disabilities enjoy readability, in the sense of facilitating how each formal solution can be easily recognized, learned, and remembered. The goal is to plan inclusive campuses so that their shapes induce cognitive accessibility, a sense of protection, and intellectual wellbeing (Steel & Janeslätt, 2017). Those centripetal solutions foster isolation, which aids social inclusion, as long as it creates an atmosphere of intimacy, activating experiences of spatial relations between people and the built environment taken as architectural objects.

Planning inclusive campuses must be done at various scales. This text essentially focuses on the urban and architectural scales, but the scale of the classroom should also be the object of this methodological approach. As pointed out by Jebril and Chen (2021: 1): “Studying the physical and psychological characteristics of children with mental disabilities reveals that there are architectural methods that must be considered before and during the architectural design of the classroom space, such as a U-shape in furniture arrangement, flooring, toilets, transition areas, foldable chairs, ceiling height, soft music, architectural insulation, ventilation, natural lighting, colors, and sunspace”.

Certain planning guidelines have perceptual consequences that are relevant for social inclusion. Orthogonal grids establish a regular and proportionate order, although, to avoid disorientation in people with intellectual disabilities, it is appropriate to add codes of spatial differentiation through the use of singular places, colour or furniture. Likewise, the introduction of some iconic architectural elements helps fix references (the case of the Free University of Berlin, designed in 1963 by Candilis, Josic, and Woods, and the construction of the library by Norman Foster are interesting in this regard). The central configuration model responds to this quality of estab-

lishing experiential and perceptual nuclei that activate feelings of integration. In terms of architectural composition types, the shapes that most promote cognitive accessibility, and the sense of protection and wellbeing are, in fact, centripetal; the ensembles inherited from the cloister and the quadrangle have given ample evidence of this over the centuries.

3.1.3 The human scale

People with intellectual disabilities are more comfortable in environments with a moderate scale and an intimate atmosphere because they promote feelings of embracement. When planning an inclusive campus, it is advisable to introduce the human scale as a general philosophy, whose value is demonstrated by paradigms such as the cloister (Masullo et al., 2020); this is also appreciated in the case of the campus. It fosters two convergent sensations that are suitable for reinforcing the social inclusion of vulnerable groups: refuge and perspective. According to research, both sensations have an ancestral origin (Winerman, 2004). In the situation at hand, a proactive analysis of a cloistered structure is quite useful because it is an outstanding pattern in terms of the connection between architectural shape and formative thought. Another strategy that is apt to promote social inclusion is the incorporation of informal common spaces that induce human interaction, transcending those of regulated education (Crook & Mitchel, 2012).

Planning a campus with the intention of being sensitive to the human scale is a recommended resource for social inclusion, fostering individual identity. A basic aspect is the pedestrian profile. As lauded by scientists and even philosophers and poets, the experience of walking increases sensory enjoyment (a highly beneficial aspect for vulnerable groups; Giles-Corti et al., 2005). In *Die Spatziergänge oder die Kunst spazieren zu gehen* (The Art of Walking, 1802), Schelle praised walking as an experience that unifies a merely mechanical action with another of an almost spiritual dimension. Walking evokes feelings of domesticity, and this enriches social inclusion. Pedestrian paths on campus guide and orient people with intellectual disabilities. The wellbeing they offer is also due to the fact that they treasure prehistoric evocations: some authors have argued that they are related to primitive human settlements (where following paths had finding food, water, or protection as a reward), and for this reason they activate positive psychological perceptions (Mithen, 1996). If these vulnerable people can make use of an organized signage system, along with coherent spatial sequences, they will access satisfactory space control. Among other things, the following elements that contribute to spatial orientation can be cited: facility layout, space differentiation, landmarks, signs, maps, and lighting (Carpman & Grant, 2002).

3.1.4 Elements of the edge

A limit is an element that must be expressly considered when designing inclusive campuses. Given the perceptual impact it can have on groups with intellectual disabilities, alternatives have to be weighed. In large complexes isolated from the city, the material clarity in the definition of the edge generates feelings of protection and reinforcement of the community. If a site is located adjacent to urban areas, permeable edges induce interaction with the environment, favouring integration and social synergies, as well as feelings of human and spatial inclusion. The manner of planning limits influences the social inclusion of these vulnerable groups because it evokes emotional responses. Planning should aim to eliminate physical barriers: they harm the level of participation because they hinder human interaction, the basis for such inclusion (Booth & Ainscow, 1998). In small-scale areas or partial sectors of the campus, an edge should help the understanding of space and orientation, and not act as a physical barrier that causes isolation. The absence of impervious limits can be cognitively assimilated as a “spatial invitation” to entry. As a specific matter, it is advisable to plan entrances to the campus for people with disabilities that are not separated from the general entrance but together with it because this is in accordance with the principles of universal design and accessibility.

3.1.5 Contributions of nature for social inclusion

The presence of natural elements constitutes a very positive factor in the construction of campuses that favour the social inclusion of people with intellectual disabilities. Based on what has been learned from the cloister and the campus, it is easy to extrapolate the benefits derived from the enjoyment of nature because it contributes to the health and wellbeing of users (Thompson, 2010).

In an inclusive university campus, green areas play an important role in the crystallization of communities because they provide opportunities for relaxation, leisure, and social interaction. On the one hand, the works of various researchers indicate that the enjoyment of natural areas is beneficial for stress reduction (Ulrich et al., 1991). On the other, in group studies, students expressed that this enjoyment fostered social relationships, created places on campus as nuclei of integration, and prevented feelings of loneliness (Bell & Dymont, 2008). When planning a campus that aims at the integration of people with intellectual disabilities, it is critical to include elements that foster a compositional dialogue with the architectural elements. In practice, such planning has to organize green areas, trees, other vegetation, and even water elements because they provide perceptual enjoyment based on aesthetic and emotional experience and are introduced into the university’s everyday

reality as symbols of the presence of life. One natural element that can increase the wellbeing of vulnerable groups on campus is the garden, in its various meanings (including curative; Lau & Yang, 2009). It should be added that open spaces serve to guide people with intellectual disabilities because they link some buildings with others (Lau et al., 2014: 453; Garling et al., 1986). The aforementioned open spaces within campuses offer areas for human interaction and closeness (Chou et al., 2016). The use of central areas of quadrangles or gardens help people with intellectual disabilities integrate themselves in daily university life. There is a close relationship between architecture, nature, and people, for which it is necessary to devise inclusive campuses based on that nexus. Giedion (1982: 874) pointed out the following regarding architecture and its affinities with people and nature: “It exists to serve man, who is perishable as a plant. Thus, architecture also bears certain human and plant-like traits”.

3.1.6 The aesthetic component

For a campus to reach levels of quality in terms of social inclusion, its built dimension must be the result of comprehensive planning work, which leads the design to its aesthetic culmination. This virtue should always be applied because it generates kind perceptions, mental wellbeing, and even feelings of happiness and calm (Weinberger et al., 2021). The planning process must consider the nuances of this topic, applicable to groups with intellectual disabilities, like all those that have been present in the paradigms analysed: the cloister and the campus. Two theoretical references illustrate the aesthetic relevance inherited from both formats. Lefebvre (1991: 217) added a suggestive vision of the cloister, associating it conceptually with feelings of individual happiness: “A space in which a life balanced between the contemplation of the self in its finiteness and that of a transcendent infinity may experience a happiness composed of quietude and a fully accepted lack of fulfilment”. Le Corbusier, enamoured with the excellence of the American campus, described it as follows in *When the Cathedrals Were White*: “Everything is for the sake of calm and serenity. Each college or university is an urban unit in itself, a small or large city. But a green city. Lawns, parks, and a whole complex of comfortable quarters. . . . The American university is a world in itself, a temporary paradise” (Le Corbusier, 1947: 135). Reviewing theories of architectural trends of the last century such as Art Nouveau or Expressionism, the shapes, textures, and colours of the material elements that surround human experience (such as architecture and nature) generate positive emotions in the people that experience them because they project their feelings onto objects of aesthetic potential. This is linked to the *Einführung* theory of subjective preferences (Worringer, 1959). Nature, already discussed above, adds another considerable aesthetic load as well.

3.2 Social inclusion: functional strategies in university campuses

The previous sections examined the legacy left by the cloister and campus in terms of planning and spatial composition as an inspiring stimulus to design inclusive campuses today. However, there is a complementary plane of analysis that must be observed because it also provides guidelines for conceptualization: the functional profile. Functional aspects are addressed in this text because they have a component that affects the constructed dimension, and therefore they deserve to be considered as part of the university dynamics that promote social inclusion.

3.2.1 Functional profiles for social inclusion

If a campus has those facilities that give it the rank of a learning community (where residence plays an essential role), it enhances the social inclusion of all types of groups, including those with intellectual disabilities: “The ability of individuals to see their identity reflected in their surroundings is essential to creating an inclusive environment. Whether implicit or direct, aesthetics and campus history connote meaning and influence each individual’s perceptions of welcome and belonging” (Clauson & McKnight, 2018: 43).

A campus must have a comprehensive functional profile to host a learning community. Thus, it will be able to consolidate itself as a true habitat, where, in addition to academic activities, research, residence, leisure, sports, and social activities are housed. If this full experience is achieved, it will be easier to incorporate groups with disabilities because they will feel like true participants in student life. To achieve this goal, it is advisable to implement certain unique facilities specifically aimed at social inclusion. Some of them are meeting places or centres for vulnerable groups, as well as spaces for advice, guidance, and mentoring. Many international institutions have opted for these strategies, establishing the incorporation of new spaces to serve students with disabilities, so that they feel that they are not the object of discriminatory treatment within the community and that, on the contrary, their identity can be reinforced and recognized. Globally, these are spaces to promote human solidarity.

3.2.2 Heritage contributions

A valid strategy for social inclusion on campus that can be incorporated into urban and architectural planning is to enhance heritage. If planning aims to reinforce this aspect, it will enrich its educational and experiential potential because heritage is an effective transmitter of historical, artistic, and symbolic values. In terms of social inclusion, heritage elements help set

guidelines for orientation and fix memory, both direct (arising from spatial experience) and cultural. The urban, architectural, or other modalities of heritage within a university complex become factors that contribute to the “place making”; that is, in building “places” instead of mere “spaces” as an effective quality to promote the wellbeing of people with intellectual disabilities.

3.2.3 Participation in planning

Experience shows the usefulness of planning through participation dynamics, which has very positive consequences both in the quality of planning itself and in the commitment of the members of the group, which ultimately implies a reinforcement of social inclusion: “When customers and citizens are openly enfranchised early in the design process and invited to assume creative and responsible roles, planners and architects suddenly find available to them undreamed of resources of local perception and wisdom, and the reinforcement of the community” (Sanoff, 1994: 4). Participation implies the involvement of groups interested in the university campus, and very singularly of vulnerable people and their relatives and friends, who will increase their feeling of belonging to the institution.

3.2.4 Virtuality and social inclusion on campuses

The current trend toward virtual teaching (increased as a consequence of COVID-19) should awaken certain reflections that are singularly important for the social inclusion of people with intellectual disabilities. Information and communication technologies (ICTs) can be great allies because they make possible the online delivery of academic content and activate places (previously inert) for alternative teaching/learning modalities (Méndez & Cataldi, 2012). However, these virtual systems can never become a new educational paradigm. If this were the case, the human dimension that is inherent to integral training would be at risk. Likewise, it would damage the effective integration of vulnerable groups, for whom personal contact is an unavoidable value. A sound education cannot be achieved without counting on affective closeness between teachers and students, who must exercise empathy to build emotional bonds that reinforce cognitive ones. Interaction enriches social inclusion. As many education specialists have concluded, when learning in a group, higher levels of knowledge than the sum of the individual ones are reached; neuroscientists have also justified this, referring to the release of oxytocin and the activation of “mirror neurons” (Guastella et al., 2008). Sharing the university experience boosts the dopamine motivation system, fostering altruistic feelings (Rilling, 2002). Consequently, planning inclusive campuses must be sensitive to the risks that the abuse of the virtual can entail,

but also insist on a reasonable proportion between virtuality and human contact (Chapman, 2006). Nevertheless, it must be never forgotten that the backbone of human education and social inclusion lies in human contact.

4 Conclusion

The essential purpose of this text is to provide guidelines for creativity related to planning inclusive campuses, where a human, formative, and spatial integration of people with intellectual disabilities is promoted. One of the most relevant conclusions is that, when devising them, one must start from a premise: spatial shapes condition behaviour (Burlage & Brase, 1997). If every university complex must attain high levels of sensitivity toward the community that will inhabit it, this sensitivity becomes especially important when it comes to these vulnerable groups.

After the historical and conceptual journey carried out, a set of proactive readings can be extracted. In the first place, and because the methodology started by exploring past paradigms (the cloister and the campus), one conclusion is that, despite not having been devised with the purpose of social inclusion, the sensitivity and spatial validity of both models make them bearers of valid teachings for this mission. Designing inclusive campuses must be based on argumentative bases and concrete guidelines, but it also benefits from investigating the qualities that the cloister and campus have been shown to possess, as complexes that embrace formative human relationships. Second, these arguments are valid for devising spaces that generate mental wellbeing in people with intellectual disabilities, but they are also recommended for any group (Grigal et al., 2012; Bumble et al., 2018). In promoting social inclusion, special attention must be paid to the quality of the built environment, in the sense of recognizing how people emotionally respond to a given place, which becomes critical in vulnerable groups.

Finally, it is worth recalling the following reflection by Giedion (1982: 880): “All talk about organizing and planning is in vain unless we first create again the whole man, unfractured in his methods of thinking and feeling”. Based on this, it can be affirmed (after carrying out a historical, proactive, and sensitive reading of criteria to reinforce social inclusion) that campus planning must always start from the human being, as the centre and axis of all thought and action.

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Pablo Campos

CEU San Pablo University, Institute of Technology, Department of Architecture and Design, Madrid, Spain
E-mail: utoplan@telefonica.net

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Iva LUKAN

Feminist City

Title: *Feminist City: Claiming Space in a Man-Made World*

Author: Leslie Kern

Publisher: Verso

Place and year of publication: London, 2020

Number of pages: 225

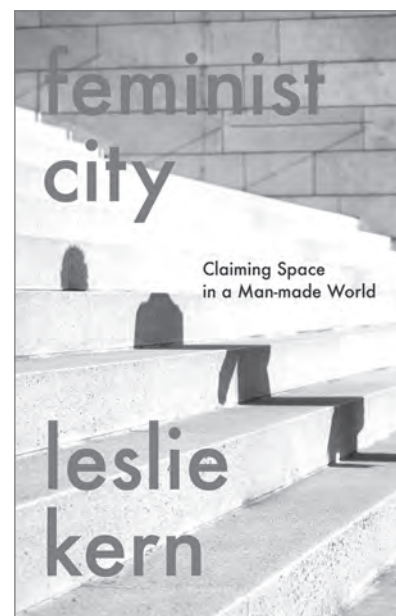
Leslie Kern, an urban geographer, researcher of the cities, and lecturer at Mount Allison University in Canada, looks at the city through feminist theoretical lenses in her book *Feminist City*. She describes the city as a place of care, friendship, personal space, protest, fear, and hope. The author combines two theoretical streams, urban geography and intersectional feminism, and offers an original view on gender inequality in practice, or, in the author's words, "on the ground". The second sex is not an abstract category created by even more abstract structures. The second sex is created by actual, material geography, which is reflected in women's limited access to (urban) space. "Any settlement is an inscription in space of the social relations in the society that built them . . . our cities are patriarchy written in stone, brick, glass and concrete" (p. 13).

Built environments reflect the relationships between the people that made them. It is no wonder, then, that in cities, as in other spheres of society, half the world's population is overlooked and invisible. However, not only does the city reflect social relationships, but it also creates them. In addition to creating relationships, the city also influences power relations and reproduces inequality. Thus, urban design shapes and determines opportunities for individuals and social groups. Kern illustrates the dialectic of depicting and shaping social

relations using concrete examples such as suburban settlements, public transport, the right to personal space, and the issue of urban fear.

Today, suburban settlements are taken for granted, even though they are a child of their time, an urban symptom of power relations after the Second World War. The suburbs were a ready-made solution to re-establish normative gender roles between men and women shaken by war and the growing presence of women in the public sphere. The overly empowered women that occupied (male) factory jobs during the war had to be re-pacified and domesticated. This domestication, however, succeeded precisely with suburban houses, which placed women back in the private sphere of unpaid care work. In parallel with the expansion of the suburbium, skyscrapers were growing in the cities, which Kern understands as "monuments to male corporate economic power" (p. 27).

The number of suburban housewives has been declining for a long time, but data still show that women do 75% of the world's unpaid care work. This fact is reflected in the mode of daily travel in the city. Men commute from home to work and back, primarily by car. Women are more likely to use public transport to commute, and their routes are complex because they consist of trip chains between preschool, school, the



workplace, and shopping. Therefore, women pay the "pink tax" on public transport. They pay much more for the same service as men because their commute comprises trip chaining, but tickets are for one-time use. Kern finds that in New York women, as primary caregivers, pay a substantial pink tax monthly estimated at one hundred dollars. The issue of public transport does not end with the pink tax. Kern draws attention to sexual harassment and the difference in body language between the sexes on public transportation. Men sit with their legs spread wide, thus occupying more than only their seats. By doing so, they force and socialize others to occupy as little public space as possible. It is similar on playgrounds. Have you ever seen a group of girls occupy an entire sports field?

"The most that women in public spaces can wish for is that no one will notice, address, or whistle at them" (p. 164), observes Kern. Namely, the right to personal space is violated in cities. Hence, women in the city engage in all sorts of self-restraint to avoid unwanted attention and control over their bodies and behaviour. Every city is also a city of (women's) fear of the "dangerous stranger". Therefore, women adjust their

clothing and travel habits to avoid dark areas of the city. However, the author warns that “no amount of lighting is going to abolish the patriarchy” (p. 157). Gender equality will require much more than feminist urban planning. Human relations, cultural patterns, social interactions, and economic determinants must also be changed.

Despite all the problems presented, Kern sees the city as a place of liberation. The anonymity of urban space offers women a different and free life compared to suburban enclaves and small towns. The city provides education, work, and political engagement. The city expands the horizons of the possible and, even though it is tailored for men, represents hope for radical social change. This is where the book’s main shortcoming emerges because the author remains only at an abstract and critical level and does not say what radical social change means and how to actually achieve a feminist city in practice and “on the ground”. The book thus lacks examples of good practice, which the author repeatedly mentions have existed for centuries.

Undoubtedly, Kern successfully navigates among the traps posed by identity politics. In the book, she rejects feminism, which measures its success in terms of improving the status of white, economically successful women. According to the author, such feminism introduces only aesthetic interventions into the city, which are nothing but gentrification and the removal of other, different, and deprived social groups. The book points out that a feminist city is not feminist without the poor, workers, and migrants. The author suggests that any feminist urban planning should consider not a white middle-class woman but the needs and perspectives of the most vulnerable members of society. In doing so, she moves away from her own position. As a white woman and mother, she advocates for the accessibility of

wheelchair spaces; she also fights for physically challenged or older people. When she advocates for more public spaces, she also has other races, nationalities, and classes in mind. This, in turn, requires a lot of self-reflection on one’s own position and privileges.

Physical spaces reflect and create relationships between people. We rarely talk about the urban landscape as a contributor to gender inequality. Hence the book is a welcome and must-read for all stakeholders in urban planning. In times of the #metoo movement, it is vital to consider gender inequalities in architecture and urban planning. However, as Kern points out, we need to be careful about this; all too often, this means that we understand an economically successful white woman as a typical user of the city. Such an understanding, however, brings gentrification. Feminist urban planning must therefore operate intersectionally, taking into account marginalized social groups and unpredictable social life. It must take into account all the residents of the city. “Planning from below, where the margin becomes the centre” is the future of urban planning.

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Iva Lukan
Faculty of Architecture
University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia
E-mail: iva.lukan@gmail.com

Biography

Leslie Kern is an associate professor of geography and environment, and the director of women’s and gender studies at Mount Allison University. She is the author of *Sex and the Revitalized City: Gender, Condominium Development, and Urban Citizenship*.

Information about the book

<https://www.versobooks.com/books/3227-feminist-city>

Anja ILENIČ
 Alenka MAUKO PRANJIČ
 Darko KOKOT
 Ana MLADENVIČ
 Mateja KOŠIR

The EIT Urban Mobility Knowledge and Innovation Community: More pleasant and sustainable living in European cities through innovative mobility solutions

The demand for sustainable transport systems increases every year. Therefore, urban areas require targeted and strategically oriented action plans that will improve the accessibility, quality, and use of transport networks while simultaneously contributing to less congestion, fewer accidents, and less pollution in urban areas. EIT (European Institute of Innovation and Technology) Urban Mobility focuses its activities on the challenges of European mobility. It aims to strengthen and connect various stakeholders in the ecosystem, which will continue to have a positive impact on sustainable mobility, accessibility of urban services, more efficient urban logistics, waste reduction, a more integrated transport system, increased active mobility, and public transportation use, consequently resulting in less dependence on cars. The main objective of EIT Urban Mobility is to transform cities into greener and more environmentally friendly places to live.

People are at the heart of sustainable development. Global demographic trends, population growth, ageing, migration, and urbanization all have a significant impact on the transition to a more

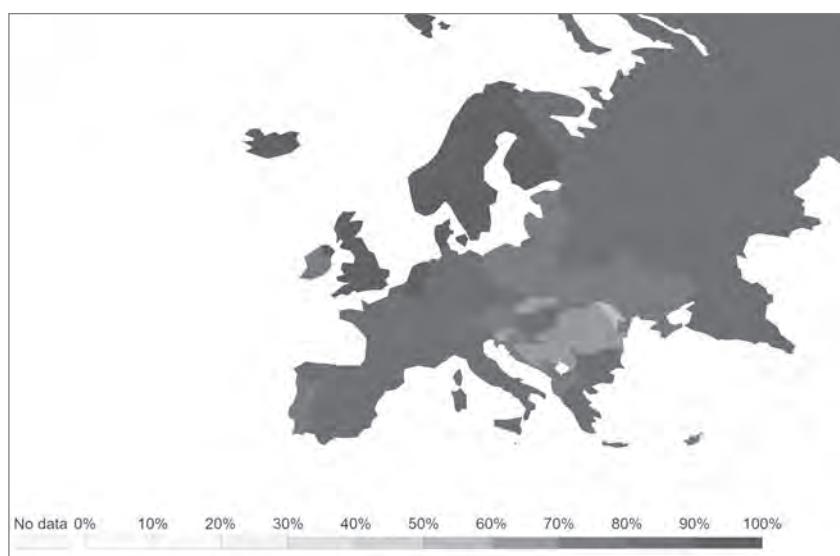


Figure 1: Urbanization forecast for 2050: percentage of the population that will live in urban areas (source: OWID, 2021 based on United Nations, 2019b).

sustainable society, environment, and economy, consistent with the principles of the circular economy (United Nations, 2019b). In 2019, the world population reached 7.7 billion, and

statistical trends show that this number will reach 9.7 billion in 2050 (Figure 1; OWID, 2021 based on United Nations, 2019b; United Nations, 2019a).

In addition to population growth itself, the number of people living in urban areas is also increasing. In 1950, about 30% of people lived in urban areas and in 2018 about 55%. The United Nations predicts that 68% of the world's population will live in cities by 2050, and in some parts more than 80% (UN-Habitat, 2011; United Nations, 2019b).

Population growth in urban areas can have extremely negative effects on the environment and society. Globally, cities (urban areas) occupy only 2% of the world's territory, but they contribute 70% of all greenhouse gases produced (Vandecasteele et al., 2019). In the European Union, the transport sector contributes to 27% of total greenhouse gas emissions (Eurostat, 2020). The challenges for people in urban areas include affordable housing, challenges related to (over)pollution of transport networks (air, water, and soil pollution from car exhaust, congestion, related longer travel times, etc.), accessibility of urban public services (e.g., public health and transport, and waste collection), ageing of the population, and climate change (Vandecasteele et al., 2019).

Despite the many challenges posed by urbanization, urban areas have many opportunities to reduce their impact on the environment and society, also due to a certain degree of autonomy and willingness to adapt to new technological advances. In urban areas, there is a need to make public and commercial urban services more sustainable and efficient in the future; for example, in ways that make them reusable, shareable, modular, and based on new ways of using data. Public spaces in urban areas occupy 2 to 15% of the total land. Therefore, well-designed public space policies with greener and more open spaces can have a significant impact on improved air quality, better microclimatic conditions in urban areas, increased safety, and better public health. Moreover, new technolo-

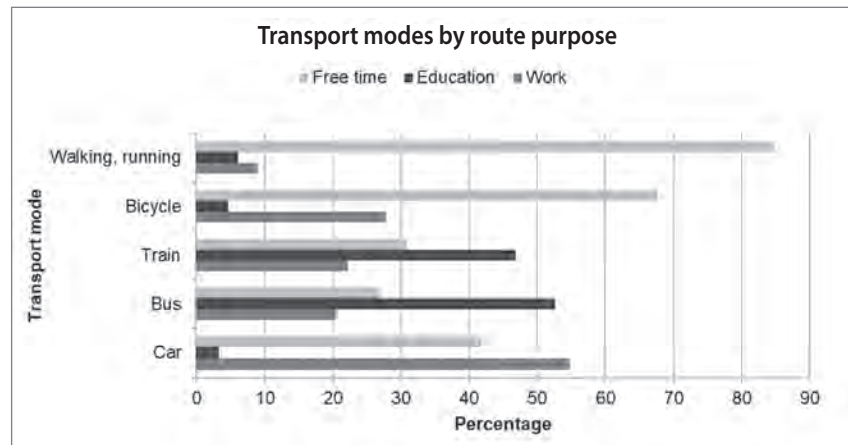


Figure 2: Share of passenger kilometres by mode of transport and route purpose (source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2017).

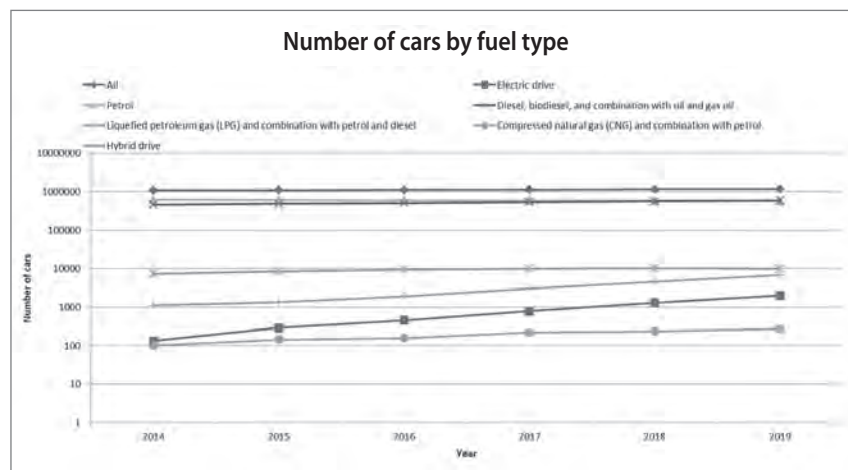


Figure 3: Number of cars by fuel type (source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2020).

gies can contribute to better public services to solve sustainable and environmental challenges, and to improve the productivity of individuals and society as a whole (Vandecasteele et al., 2019).

Traffic congestion, and air and noise pollution are just some of the challenges facing European urban areas. In Slovenia, the predominant mode of transport is cars (Figure 2), in which people spend an average of fourteen days a year (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2017). Over the last decade, there has been a trend toward an increasing number of cars in transport, although there is an increasing trend of hybrid or electric cars (Figure 3).

Motorized traffic is one of the main sources of particulate matter in the air (e.g., PM_{10} and $PM_{2.5}$), along with fireplaces, industrial exhaust, construction sites, and other contributors (Thunis et al., 2017). In addition to the environmental impact, higher levels of PM particles can also have negative effects on human health: on the development of Alzheimer's disease, increased risk of heart failure, a tendency toward higher blood pressure, and so on (VFA Solutions, 2021). Over the last decade, PM_{10} and $PM_{2.5}$ levels in Slovenia have been continuously higher than the European average (Figure 4). The joint development of urban strategies and action plans in synergy with urban residents is therefore important for the preservation of urban areas and associated sys-

tematic progress (Vandecasteele et al., 2019). EIT Urban Mobility addresses urban issues and challenges.

In 2019, the EIT established EIT Urban Mobility as one of nine EIT Knowledge and Innovation Communities (Figure 5). One of the main objectives of the EIT is to increase the competitiveness of European companies, including by systematically accelerating the transfer of innovations and innovative solutions to the market. In addition to fostering competitiveness, particularly in the automotive industry, EIT Urban Mobility identified seven other major challenges: relieving congestion on transport networks in urban areas, promoting interdisciplinarity, transporting people and goods (including waste) in an environmentally efficient and safe way, new uses of data, creating a framework for changes in legislation and human behaviour, sustainable urban growth, and urban management.

In 2021, the community included more than eighty-five various city and government institutions, research and educational institutions, and industrial partners involved in mobility.

All activities are designed to achieve three key social goals: 1) to mitigate and adapt to climate change, 2) to create better living conditions in urban areas, and 3) to create jobs and strengthen the European automotive sector (EIT Urban Mobility Strategic Agenda, 2021). The strategic objectives developed to achieve social and mobility impacts are creating liveable urban spaces; closing the knowledge gap; providing green, safe, and inclusive mobility solutions for people, goods, and waste; accelerating market opportunities; and promoting effective policies and behavioural change (EIT Urban Mobility Strategic Agenda, 2021).

Furthermore, all EIT Urban Mobility activities are in synergy with the 2030

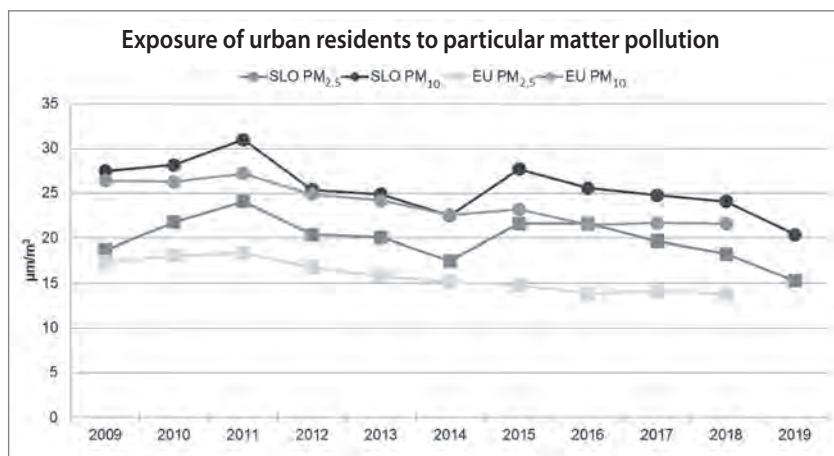


Figure 4: Average annual exposure of urban residents to particulate matter pollution in Slovenia and the EU (source: Eurostat, 2020).

Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by the United Nations in 2015. Great emphasis is placed on healthy lifestyles and promoting overall wellbeing at all stages of life, as well as reducing energy consumption and ensuring sustainable and economically accessible supply. Despite the noticeable downward trend, in 2019 3% of households in Slovenia still could not afford sufficient heating, and the share of energy obtained from renewable sources was only 21% in the same year (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2020). One of the objectives of the sustainable mobility indicators is to improve the quality of life in cities and towns, as well as to promote progress in developing more sustainable transport with less harmful effects on the environment, promote responsible use of primary resources, and create more sustainable cities and towns (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2020). EIT Urban Mobility introduces changes in all the eight challenge areas mentioned above through five different programmes: City Club, Academy, Business Creation, Innovation, and Factory.

City Club is a programme of activities in which European cities cooperate and exchange information on challenges, opportunities, and good practices. Information and experience from different European cities serve as a basis for



Figure 5: EIT Knowledge and Innovation Communities.

other programmes as well as annual calls in various thematic areas of innovation development, science, business creation, regional innovation schemes (RIS), factories, and citizen engagement. In the 2021 call, the challenge areas focused on possible transitions to active modes of transport (walking and cycling), addressing the negative impacts of transport in urban areas, improving urban logistics with a focus on the last mile, and so on.

The Academy programme includes master's and doctoral programmes, as well as other educational programmes, such as lifelong learning. The programme aims to close the knowledge gap in sustainable mobility in urban areas by collecting and analysing data on smart mobility, alternative forms of mobility, public space transformation, new trends

in urban logistics, challenges posed by autonomous vehicles, active mobility, and so on. Great emphasis is also placed on the development of critical abilities of the individual as well as the interdisciplinarity of all programmes.

The Business Creation and Innovation programmes are committed to accelerating the market introduction of innovative services and products, particularly in active mobility, intermodality, infrastructure, pollution reduction, sustainable urban logistics, creation of public spaces, future mobility, and energy. The Business Creation programme implements its activities in three sub-programmes:

- Accelerator targets start-ups, and micro and small enterprises that can receive grants, mentoring, access to living labs, testing fields, technology, and market verification options;
- ScaleTHENGlobal is an ongoing programme aimed at bringing innovative solutions to international markets; and
- Finance2Move is a programme under which companies can receive financial support to continue their entrepreneurial careers and a vast variety of networking opportunities.

The main focus of the Factory programme is to leverage solutions around the world. Its activities include matching relevant products to specific needs through a digital marketplace and physical matching activities, promoting good practices, and scouting relevant opportunities in order to support innovations.

In 2020, the Slovenian National Building and Civil Engineering Institute (ZAG) became the national contact point for the EIT Urban Mobility Knowledge and Innovation Community.

The main objectives of EIT Urban Mobility RIS Hub Slovenia are:

- To connect different stakeholders into an integrated and multidisciplinary ecosystem (focused on the representatives of the Knowledge Triangle: education and research institutions, cities, decision- and policymakers, and industry partners in urban mobility);
- To increase the visibility of EIT Urban Mobility in Slovenia;
- To inform the general public about activities and upcoming calls for proposals;
- To actively support start-ups, students, and researchers in developing their innovative ideas; and
- To improve business creation conditions at the local level in general.

Therefore, EIT Urban Mobility RIS Hub Slovenia organized various activities in 2021. They were divided into six different segments: mandatory activities; communication and information activities; activities supporting the local innovation ecosystem; activities supporting local business creation; educational activities; and local community building, knowledge triangle integration, and strengthening the local innovation ecosystem.

In 2021, the international EIT Urban Mobility Conference was organized, focusing on strengthening the partnership community in Slovenia. In addition, various training sessions (project proposal writing, intellectual property rights, information on upcoming calls, and public and private funding) and a winter school for students were held to reduce the knowledge gap in this field. Part of the activities focused on start-ups and micro-enterprises, and others focused on the local community and improving active mobility. In cooperation with the Maribor Cycling Association (MKM), two cycling events were

held during the autumn months: a cycling treasure hunt and the two-month Strava cycling challenge "Cycle with me to the spa". As part of the challenge, people could borrow free PM_{2.5} sensors to assess air pollution levels on their cycling route.

EIT Urban Mobility Knowledge and Innovation Community is an ecosystem of sustainable mobility stakeholders that provides numerous opportunities for entrepreneurs and researchers to contribute to better living conditions in urban areas.

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Anja Ilenič
Slovenian National Building and Civil Engineering Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia
E-mail: anja.ilenic@zag.si

Alenka Mauko Pranjič
Slovenian National Building and Civil Engineering Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia
E-mail: alenka.mauko@zag.si

Darko Kokot
Slovenian National Building and Civil Engineering Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia
E-mail: darko.kokot@zag.si

Ana Mladenovič
Slovenian National Building and Civil Engineering Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia
E-mail: ana.mladenovic@zag.si

Mateja Košir
Slovenian National Building and Civil Engineering Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia
E-mail: mateja.kosir@zag.si

Information about other project events:
<https://www.hubum.si>

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družbena in prostorska segregacija **socio-spatial segregation**
 vključujoči univerzitetni kampusi inclusive campuses
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strah pred kriminalom fear of crime