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The Play-Element of City-Making –
A Cultural Perspective on Participation

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Abstract:

This thesis is taking a close look at the current understanding of participation in planning and city-making. The premise is that within the current debates, a conflation of participation and communicative planning theory is happening. In order to differentiate the two a theoretical framework was developed which is based on an understanding of culture as based in practice and play. Furthermore, three schemas, namely Rules, Play and Culture, are derived from game design and are being made appropriate for planning discourses. After an analysis of participation in communicative planning, several historical examples of different problematisations of participation in the field of city-making are highlighted to show a landscape of different approaches. The thesis ends with an interpretation of the findings which provides new practical approaches that see communicative planning as only one of many different choices. This allows for new debates beyond a communicative paradigm in participation.

Kurzfassung:

Diese Arbeit widmet sich dem derzeitigen Verständnis von Partizipation in Planung und anderen stadtgestaltenden Disziplinen. Die Annahme ist, dass in den aktuellen Debatten zu dem Thema eine Gleichsetzung von Partizipation und kommunikativer Planungstheorie stattfindet. Um zukünftig besser differenzieren zu können wird ein theoretisches Gerüst erarbeitet, welches auf einem Verständnis von Kultur als Praxis oder Spiel ausgeht. In Folge wurden drei Schemata, nämlich Regeln, Spiel und Kultur aus dem Game Design abgeleitet und für die Planung nutzbar gemacht. Nach einer Analyse der kommunikativen Planungsansätze wird ein Abriss verschiedener Partizipationsbegriffe im Bereich des City-Makings erarbeitet. Dieser liefert eine Vielzahl historischer Problematisierungen von Partizipation. Die Arbeit endet mit einer Interpretation, die neue Ansätze aufzeigt und kommunikative Planung als nur eine von vielen Optionen definiert. Dadurch soll eine neue Diskussion abseits eines kommunikativen Beteiligungsparadigmas ermöglicht werden.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Significance of the Topic

You can't find the answers [to the current growth of cities] within your quiet little room [...]. You have to negotiate those in public. And we have to develop formats which can excite people and that are more persuasive to them. Which are not just endless, boring exchanges of blows between politics, administrations and citizens, but formats that illustrate [the developments] and where we can learn something together. And maybe some planning processes might turn into ‚happenings‘, where we try to use a different language. And where deliberation happens on a different scale. And if that leads to situations where people dance tango, after a year of discussion on a „Parkstadt", which is about 100 hectares of land in the middle of the city, then I think there is hope. There is hope that even under today's circumstances, with all the political problems and all the „Wutbürger", which might upset us, that this still can be fun. And I think for that to happen we need a new understanding of the [societal] roles of citizens, planners and politicians alike.

(Franz-Josef Höing, 2017, panel discussion, 2017: minute 49:40- 50:53; translation by made the author)

This statement was at the core of a presentation given by Franz-Josef Höing at the Architecture Centre Vienna (AzW) in early 2017. This is not the statement of an artist, an architect, planner or social scientist but of the former Head Councillor for Urban Design and Planning in Cologne, Germany. While certainly inspirational, the quote given above might leave one puzzled. What is participation, or rather, what is it supposed to be? Are fun happenings integral to the democratic potential that many planners and scholars alike proclaim to be at the heart of participation? And given that many western countries are currently undergoing times of great political upheaval, can tango really be an answer to the rise of „Wutbürger" and increasing populism? Or, in other words: Can participation be an answer those questions at all?

Many societies are currently undergoing social, cultural and political transitions that we are not yet able to grasp. One important factor in this is without a doubt the current digitalisation and the shifts in the way we communicate and interact.

In his Manifesto for a Ludic Century, game designer Eric Zimmerman formulates a theory for how our modes of communication have changed. He argues that moving image media defined the 20th century as a dominant cultural medium. Through this also the modes of communicating information were fixed as linear, non-interactive processes, dividing people into active per-

formers and passive viewers or consumers (Zimmerman, 2014: p.20). This changed through the rise of digital technology as our information networks became „organic and flexible" and, even more importantly, interactive. Zimmerman further argues that „[t]he ways we work and communicate, research and learn, socialize and romance, conduct our finances and communicate with our governments are all intimately intertwined with complex systems of information". Therefore the 21st century is „increasingly systemic, modular, customizable, and participatory", which leads him to the conclusion that we are in the middle of a transformation towards a ludic or „gameful" (Deterding, Walz, 2014) century. For Zimmerman this means that „we cannot have a passive relationship to the systems that we inhabit. We must learn to be designers, to recognize how and why systems are constructed, and to try to make them better" (Zimmerman, 2014: p.21), and therefore the line between players and designers, active creators and passive consumers as well as between laymen and experts becomes more and more blurred.

This can be observed in cities as well. Rauterberg (2014) argues that through the rise of digital communication we see more and more urban collectives working together, for instance in the form of interventions and art in public spaces but also protests and activism. We see more and more people coming together for shared experiences, forming new communities on- and offline and creating fostering new urban cultures. But many cities and planning officials seem not to be able to keep up with this new flood of initiatives and ideas from citizens: „The result is frustration for both parties: the planning authorities dread ever-demanding citizens, the citizens feel that their cities are too sluggish, too unwilling and too intransparent". (Rauterberg, 2013: p.124; translation made by the author)

We also see it in the way many city-making processes work and how they have changed. In 2012 Stoik and Kirsch-Soriano da Silva published an article describing how the „Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung", a Viennese planning institution responsible for urban renewal since the 1970s, has recently started to change:

Now it can be observed that the focus of Gebietsbetreuung has shifted [...]. The renewal of small neighbourhoods, the design of public spaces, the revitalisation of ground floor shops and local economies as well as the initiation of impulses for art and culture are now at least as important as more traditional focus points of Gebietsbetreuung [...]. (Stoik, Kirsch-Soriano da Silva, 2012; translation made by the author)

However, since the 1990s and the communicative turn in planning, we are used to analysing participation from a political point of view (see Pissourios, 2014). As new modes of communication gain more and more influence, it seems necessary to also question our understanding of

communication and collaboration in planning. In my thesis I want to take a different approach and concentrate on cultural aspects of participation with a focus on what I call the play-element in city-making.

1.2. Aim

First, I want to address how I frame the term participation. Huxley explains that the concept of participation has a long and sometimes contradictory history (Huxley 2013). She argues that while there were very different definitions throughout different time periods, the current understanding seems to be „any sort of taking part in social, community or other forms of grouping; or experience of common identity" (Huxley, 2013: p.1531). In the context of city-making I therefore define participation as getting involved in or with a city.

The aim of this thesis is twofold. On the one hand, this thesis will deconstruct the current understanding of participation by applying a theoretical analysis through a conceptual lens based on play, rules and culture. On the other hand, this thesis provides a critical history of the current concept of participation as political decision-making or deliberation processes. In her article Historicizing Planning, Problematizing Participation, Huxley argues that „'[p]articipation' has become a taken-for-granted aspect of almost all liberal democratic planning systems, and a particularly enduring ideal in planning education and practice." (ibid., 2013: p.1528). But furthermore, in many strands of current planning there is a tendency to look at participation as something primarily concerning politics. Especially since the communicative turn, planners tend to focus heavily on decision-making and while this is of course one feasible approach, other possible understandings and problematisations might be relevant to the current situation as well. There has been a lot of writing on the democratic potential of participatory city-making and how it might help reduce the current political fatigue, however, with seemingly limited success. Huxley argues that the important question to ask when attempting to work on a critical history is: „What are the problems that these policies aim to solve?" (Huxley, 2013: p.1528). The rationale behind choosing a theoretical historic approach to the subject of participation can be summarised as follows:

The practice of critical historical work on ‚problems' is undertaken with a view to understanding whether these are the questions we still need to ask, and whether currently taken-for-granted rationales and practices still serve as adequate answers. (Huxley, 2013: p.1529)

In order to do so, a new conceptual framework is developed which defines participation as a cultural play-element in the wider field of city-making. This new analytical lens will be used to examine different histories of participatory thought, ideals and theories, providing different

problematisations of participation. Therefore, it is a conscious choice to use the term city-making rather than focusing just on planning. Ekim Tan argues that „[t]he term 'city-making' was born from the need to address that there are other skill[s] needed in enchanting cities than architecture, engineering and land-use planning." (Tan, 2014: p.32) Approaches to urban participation have always been adopted, or have been developed in a variety of fields, from urbanism and urban studies, to architecture, planning, art and the social sciences.

Furthermore, I want to clarify the understanding of planning theory in this thesis. By working with a conceptual framework, it is already implied that the strand of theory used here is explanatory in nature and aims at reframing the subject. However, my personal understanding of the term 'theory' can be summarised as follows: „Theory as the invention of concepts to be used as tools for thought" (Dovey, 2014: p.1). So, while this thesis is still theoretical in nature the intention is to provide new interesting lenses for practice rather than to develop an ontology of participation.

1.3. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The aim of this master's thesis is therefore to deconstruct the current understanding of participation and a subsequent reconstruction of the term by means of elements taken from (various fields of) cultural studies. My research questions therefore are:

> **How can a cultural perspective on participation, in particular the play-element, help to reframe planning discourses and practices?**

> **How can the understanding of participation be expanded by analysing participatory thinking and practices of city-making over time?**

In order to answer the research questions, I provide three hypotheses to exemplify my focus:

I. Participation is a play-element within the field of city-making

There are many theories on the concept of play. The understanding of play utilised in this thesis is based on the work of anthropologist Johan Huizinga, which Duncan (2016) describes as follows:

In its most autonomous sense, play allows citizens to express themselves freely and come together for common and enjoyed activities. Through these play experiences, citizens create a culture that ultimately stimulates and binds the community. Community, in turn allows citizens to share with each other and participate actively together for the common good.

(Duncan, 2016: p.37)

A play-element therefore is an activity or routine that holds meaning for the people that engage in it, and which is capable of producing new communities. These communities in turn develop their own culture. Furthermore, a play-element not only serves as a basis for communities and culture via play, it is also affected by the expression of communities and culture via rules. Participation, meaning people getting involved in or with cities, can be seen as a play-element and be analysed and described in such a way. Further, guidelines for practice can be based on such a conceptual framework as well.

II. The communicative turn created a paradigm shift in participation

Huxley and Yftachel (2000: p.103) argue that although the communicative turn was highly influential it constitutes in no way a new paradigm for planning, at least not in a strictly Kuhnian sense. Some even argue for communicative planning to have had very little impact on planning practice at all (Pissourios, 2014; Allmendinger, 2002). However, others, like Gabauer (in Hou, Knierbein, 2017), argue that communicative planning theory in general and consensus-building in particular are a driving force in the restructuring of cities and institutions, driving the shift from government to governance (Swyngedouw, 2005).

While at first, these statements seem contradictory at least to a certain extent it will become apparent that both statements have some merit in their own ways. There is still an abundance of planning literature dedicated to planning theory, and besides, there is a plethora of different practices and methods of planning. Still, communicative planning has a high impact on the current situation.

As I will argue throughout this thesis, this seeming paradox is due to the fact that communicative planning theory is not necessarily a paradigm in planning; however, it managed to monopolise the discourses surrounding participation. Gabauer sums up the current understanding of participation in planning as follows:

> *Participatory planning instruments [...] are within planning theory summarized under the paradigm of communicative planning. Seeing how this body influenced by Jürgen Habermas's theory of communicative action, it largely revolves around consensus building procedures.*

(Gabauer, 2017: p.174)

Therefore, it seems that with communicative planning, a paradigm of participatory thinking and practices evolved. Kuhn (1970) argued that a paradigm is „a set of assumptions that frame what sort of questions can be asked and therefore determine what methods can be used to answer them, up to the point where new questions cannot be answered by the existing frameworks." (Huxley, Yftachel, 2000: p.103) Many pressing issues of our time, like the currently rampant frustration with democracy and politics in many, predominantly western countries during a phase where there are an ever increasing number of participatory practices based on consensus-building and communicative action, raise questions concerning the capacity of communicative planning to contribute solutions.

III. Participation can and has been problematised in different ways in different fields of city-making

While the current understanding of participation is largely framed within the communicative turn, emphasising expression through deliberation, consensus- and decision-making, other historical approaches focused more on aspects of play. By applying this conceptual framework, different problematisations are made visible, making it possible to reframe the current taken-for-granted understanding of participation.

This does not necessarily mean that people should not be engaged in consensus-building or decision-making processes. However, there is an abundance of different ideas and approaches which might better fit the current context and answer some of the more pressing issues in city-making.

1.4. Method

As outlined previously, my methodological approach follows Huxley's critical historical problematisation of participation. The methods utilised to answer the research questions are on the one hand an extensive review of transdisciplinary literature as well as a qualitative content analysis.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1. Self-Organisation and City-making

This chapter elaborates on my approach towards cities and participation. Human geographer Juval Portugali argues for cities to be „a text written by millions of unknown writers, unaware that they are writers, read by millions of readers, each reading his or her own personal and subjective story in this everchanging chaotic text, thus changing and recreating and further complicating it" (Portugali, 1977: p.354). Therefore, he argues that cities resemble what is known in the natural sciences as a self-organising system, which can be describes as followed:

> *Self-organization is a process where some form of global order or coordination arises out of the local interactions between the components of an initially disordered system. This process is spontaneous: it is not directed or controlled by any agent or subsystem inside or outside of the system; however, the laws followed by the process and its initial conditions may have been chosen or caused by an agent.*
>
> (Tan, 2014: p.32)

The premise of Portugali's concept of cities as self-organising systems is therefore that no matter what the input or the external force on a city or neighbourhood is, the reaction to it is 'self-organised' meaning that it arises out of local interactions. Therefore, while there might be an outside force or input, the reaction to this is always locally determined. Tan argues:

> *Some of these urban agents come into power for a given time, until the city changes its state, following a new set of rules, whose order is influenced by other active players until this too shifts into yet another state and a new balance emerges. The process is open-ended. Cyclical processes generate decisions by engaged agents for implementation in relation to urban dynamics.*
>
> (Tan, 2104: p.32)

Therefore, cities are developing in cycles and follow certain groups, agents or actors until circumstances change and new forms of order emerge. However, these are never fully enclosed processes and old and new methods, practices and ways of understanding the city tend to coexist, albeit in different relationships defined by the context. Therefore, different fields, practices and groups shape cities at any time. To express this understanding, Tan introduces the term 'city-making' which she describes as follows:

> *The term 'city-making' was born from the need to address that there are other skill [sic]*
> *needed in enchanting cities than architecture, engineering and land-use planning. [...] it*
> *is also a conscious choice to use the term to stress that cities as self-organizing systems*
> *are collaborative artifacts embracing both bottom-up and top-down processes of lear-*
> *ning, planning, designing and implementation.*
>
> <div align="right">(Tan, 2014: p.32)</div>

This understanding that there are more fields that influence urban developments is a central cornerstone of this thesis. A field in turn can be defined as follows:

> *Field refers to the organization of modern social life into different spheres of value and*
> *activity, each partially autonomous from others. At the same time, the term also refers to*
> *the field of play in which social interaction takes place [...].*
>
> <div align="right">(Calhoun, 2011: p.380).</div>

Since the 1950s there have been a plethora of ideas from different fields towards the question of how and why people should be able to participate in the design of their urban environments. Therefore, limiting the enquiry of this thesis by only looking at approaches in planning or architecture would dismiss or overlook all the efforts from other fields like urban social movements, art, social sciences, and so on. Given that all of these ideas also were influenced by each other would make any attempt at taking a closer look at the cultural aspects of urban participation even less effective.

2.2. Design Schemas

In order to further analyse different problematisations of participation, a conceptual framework is necessary. For this, parallels are being drawn between game design and participation as both can be understood as interactive systems that are specifically designed for users and that can change due to user interaction. The aim therefore is to draw from this knowledge and appropriate it for planning and participation. In Rules of Play–Game Design Fundamentals (2004), Zimmerman and Salen present the concept of design schemas which they define as „a way of framing and organizing knowledge. A game design schema is a way of understanding games, a conceptual lens that we can apply to the analysis or creation of a game." (ibid., chapter 1, p.4)

According to Zimmerman and Salen, the concept of schema goes a long way back and can be traced back to the works of different philosophers from Plato to Kant. However, the definition used here is more based on psychology and cognitive science as „schema refers to the way that the mind acquires, represents and transforms knowledge" (Zimmerman, Salen, 2004: chapter 2, p.2). One of the key characteristics of schemas is that they „are useful because they allow us to sort through the complex phenomena of games in a loose and intuitive fashion, highlighting particular features of games." (Zimmerman, Salen, 2004: chapter 10, p.3).

Therefore, Zimmerman and Salen argue that schemas represent knowledge rather than strict definitions. Instead of creating a strict taxonomy, the aim is to provide „conceptual design tools to help focus our thinking for particular design problems." (Zimmerman, Salen, 2004: chapter 1, p.4 f.). Schemas, however, have four central qualities according to the psychologists Rumelhart and Ortony (2017): Firstly, schemas have variables meaning that new contextual information can always be integrated. Secondly, schemas can embed information meaning that said variables can be combined under a certain schema. Thirdly, schemas help to represent knowledge at different levels of abstraction, therefore information can be put into relations and subsequently also the interplay between them can both contribute to analysis as well as inspire for new approaches in design. Lastly, as schemas represent knowledge rather than definitions, they tend to be more encyclopaedical which allows not only for knowledge to be accessed more easily but also for creating transparency and the option for many different actors to contribute their knowledge.

As such, schemas are also quite useful in planning since they can be adapted to fit different contexts while allowing for a wide array of different variables, methods, practices and so on to be included. They also allow for knowledge transfer between different planners and make debate and discourse on the subject more accessible.

Zimmerman and Salen present three main schemas for game design:

> *RULES contains formal game design schemas that focus on the essential logical and mathematical structures of a game.*
> *PLAY contains experiential, social, and representational game design schemas that foreground the player's participation with the game and with other players.*
> *CULTURE contains contextual game design schemas that investigate the larger cultural contexts within which games are designed and played.*
>
> <div align="right">(ibid., chapter 1, p.5)</div>

By organising their studies around these three schemas they argue that as a result they created „a system that frames and reframes games from a series of overlapping perspectives." (Zimmerman, Salen, 2004: chapter 10, p.2). In the context of design this is immensely helpful because if a certain phenomenon cannot be explained by a certain schema and the embedded variables within it, one can always switch to another schema and start referencing the phenomenon in relation to that. For example, if there is a rule within a game that does not make sense in context with the other rules and has little to no impact on play you could relate said rule to the schema of culture and its variables.

Zimmerman and Salen also argue for the applicability of these schemas to other design disciplines. 'Rules' can therefore be seen as the organisation of a designed system, 'play' focuses on the human experience of said system and 'culture' is seen as the larger context within which a designed system is embedded (ibid., chapter 1, p.5). Each of these schemas is both influenced by and influencing the other two.

The following sub-chapter will take a closer look at each of the presented schemas. First, a description from a game design perspective will be given and afterwards the schema will be made appropriate to be used in participation and planning.

2.3. Contextual Schemas: CULTURE

The first schema I will discuss is 'culture' which is defined as a contextual schema. Zimmerman and Salen (2004) write:

> *Games take place in definite locales of time and space. It is when we explore games within the realm of culture that the overlap between the game world and the world at large comes to light. [...] Once we begin to look beyond the internal, intrinsic qualities of games toward the qualities brought to the game from external contexts, the focus extends deep into the territory of CULTURE.*

> (ibid., chapter 10, p.5)

As mentioned, games are embedded in a certain time and space and therefore are influenced by a particular culture. This means that culture influences both the way rules are defined and how they are experienced through play. Looking back at the previous chapter, the concept of the play-element of culture shows how play can foster communities which then develop shared cultural practices. However, the aim of culture as a contextual schema is twofold. Firstly, it aims to define boundaries between the game and the surrounding world. Secondly, it can be used to

analyse the relationship and interdependency of the two:

> *In considering games from a cultural point of view, our goal is to understand how the design of a game, [...] engages shared systems of value and meaning. While taking into account both the formal and experiential qualities of games, these schemas look at the effects of culture on games, and the effects of games on culture.*
>
> (ibid., chapter 10, p.5)

Zimmerman and Salen further point out that the context, by describing the boundaries of a system, helps to define that system itself. Culture allows us both to ask about the culture of the community defined through the participation in a designed system as well as how its relationship to other cultures or society is seen and experienced.

In the context of planning, questions regarding contextual schemas can range from historicising problems or practices (see, for example, Huxley, 2013). It is about asking and understanding why things are done in certain ways or why certain practices have so much impact on a culture of a group, community or city. The definition of culture used in this thesis is intrinsically linked to practices and will be explained in the following chapter on Huizinga's theory of „the play-element of culture" (Huizinga, 1949).

2.3.1. The Play-element of Culture

„The play-element of culture" is one of the core concepts of the work of anthropologist Johan Huizinga (1949). In his book Homo Ludens – A study of the play-element in culture he argues for culture to be arising from specific human activities that are not directly contributing to the immediate survival of the individual or the group, which are defined as play. Huizinga describes this as the „twin-union of play and culture" (Huizinga, 1949: p.46). He argues that while both play and culture work in tandem, play is primary as it first needs people to come together for certain activities in order for a culture to develop from it. However, this does not mean that play later turns into culture but rather that culture forms around play activities. Or as Huizinga describes it:

> *It is through this playing that society expresses its interpretation of life and the world. By this we do not mean that play turns into culture, rather that in its early phases culture has the play-character, that it proceeds in the shape and mood of play.*
>
> (Huizinga, 1949: p.46)

The term 'play-character' refers back to Huizinga's definition of play as an activity that stands „quite consciously outside ‚ordinary' life as being ‚not serious,' but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly." (Huizinga, 1949: p.13). To Huizinga, culture develops not through everyday life but rather during the breaks of everyday routines. However, this does not mean that the two are completely separate entities but interrelated, as routines inform what activities might be seen as a break and vice versa. For example, a hunter and gatherer society might not have considered hunting as a pastime activity while enlightenment era aristocracy certainly did.

While we often see play merely as a pastime activity or a way of children to learn and comprehend their surroundings, it can transcend its meaning. Huizinga (1949) goes into great detail on the role of the ritual in society; however, this transcendence is not limited to religious or spiritual fields but also provides a foundation for other institutions. He gives several examples for this, ranging from law, to war, poetry, philosophy and art. A very good example is the way many countries handle trials at court, as here this playful sphere is very much still visible. This can be observed in form of special court rooms and the arrangements of different players, the uniforms and wigs that mean to symbolise that a person is present, not as his or her private self, but rather in his or her function, and the way trials are very ritualised processes and so on. And arguably to lawyers, trial at courts might still often be seen as a contest of wits or an agonistic activity which might also be a reason for their position within pop culture, literature, television and so on.

Caillois later criticised Huizinga's view on culture for ignoring aspects of politics and economy (Caillois, 1964: p.607). It is often argued that Huizinga might not have wanted to touch upon these topics due to the difficult circumstances of the time, as Homo Ludens was published during the Nazi Occupation of the Netherlands during which his work was censored. But this argument misses out on an important aspect of Huizinga's view on play, culture and politics:

> *However, Huizinga does not dismiss politics or the economy as unimportant or irrelevant. He merely rejects the argument that they create human behavioural characteristics […]. He sees the political field as a secondary part of human life, a result of the dominant ideals and principles of the time and the culture of the community. He dismisses the argument that community and culture arise in or through politics.*

(Duncan, 2016: p.52 f.)

Duncan (2016) combined theories of Huizinga and Bourdieu to analyse commodification processes in professional sports and develops a new analytical lens: „[A]pplying Bourdieu's the-

ories and key terms [...] to interpret Huizinga's observations provides them with a theoretical structure and rigour that may be lacking in Huizinga's work" (Duncan, 2016: p.47). Bourdieu relies heavily on the metaphor of the game to analyse social life (Calhoun, 2011) and further shares a similar notion towards politics, structures and rules as Huizinga since „[t]he most fundamental social changes have to appear not only as changes in formal structures but also as changes in habitual orientations to action." (Calhoun, 2011: p.379). Bourdieu also sought to overcome narrow distinctions of subjectivism and objectivism in social theory, arguing for them to be interrelated in a constant process of structuration (Calhoun, 2011). While Huizinga provides observations on how play relates to culture, Bourdieu brings in the concept of rules:

> *The rules of each game are both constraints on the players and the ways in which players get things done. Players usually have to treat them as fixed and unchanging, but in fact they are historically produced. They have origins, and they can change, but most of the time they are reproduced.*

> (Calhoun, 2011: p.364)

These rules or social structures therefore are not just pure limitations but are based on values and cultural norms. They structure human activity based on a given cultural context. Combining Huizinga's observations on play with Bourdieu's observations on rules, a simple model of the play-element of culture can be developed (see figure 1).
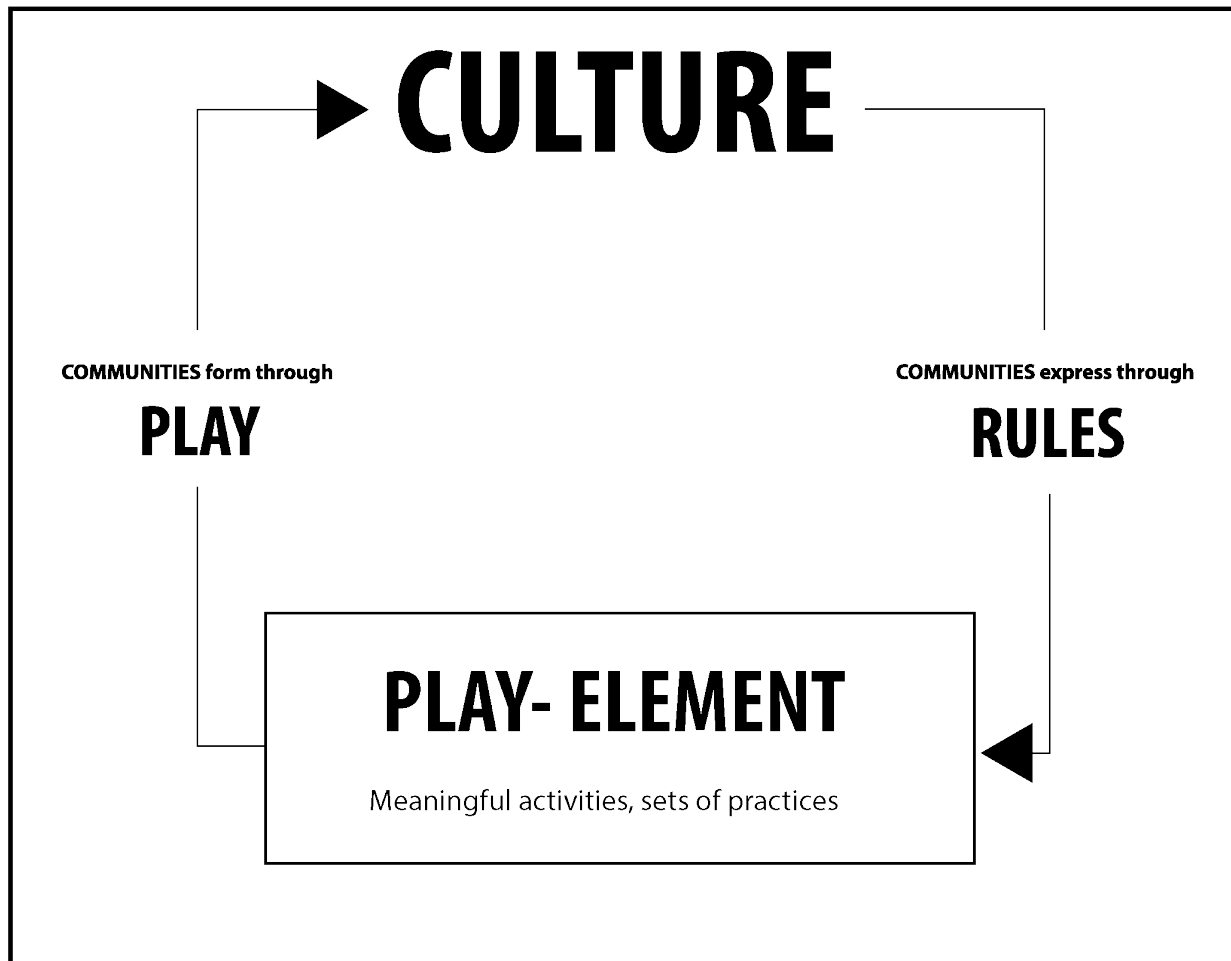
Figure 1: The play-element of culture, diagram made by the author

In this model there is a cyclical relationship between culture and a play-element, i.e. meaningful activities. Engaging with this can lead to the formation of new groups and communities, which in turn develop their own cultural norms and behaviours. Subsequently, a certain culture expresses itself by developing specific rules or codes, which shape the way in which „players get things done" (Calhoun, 2011: p.364), meaning they shape the play-element itself. Power can be located on both sides; however, it is not exerted in the same way. While enforcing values, beliefs and rules upon something might be seen as the classic way in which power is enacted, power in play lies in the capacity to rally a critical mass of people who in turn influence or shape the culture of a certain field (in turn being able to enforce their own rules). This second mode of power however is usually more indirect and subversive and is in general more atypical.

Paidia and Ludus

While we now have a framework for culture, this chapter expands upon the play-element by introducing different types or ways of understanding practices. Sociologist Roger Caillois built on the foundations of Huizinga's work to categorise, what he called, „the universe of play" (Caillois, 2001: p.13), by dividing it into four distinct categories of play: agôn, meaning competitive play, alea, which refers to games of chance, mimicry, referring to make-believe play and acting and lastly ilinx, which loosely summarises forms of play that revolve around rapid movement, dizziness, disorder or ecstasy.

These four categories could be combined to categorise every sort of play. For example, a game of Backgammon combines agôn and alea, since it is played competitively while also incorporating elements of chance. Without going too deep into these categories, what is more relevant in the context of this thesis is that Caillois observed that every form of human play activity can be located in between two polar opposite types of play.

The first of those two opposites, paidia, can be seen in all forms of open, spontaneous play, from child's pretend-play to improvisational art. Stevens (2007) wrote a helpful summary on Caillois' ideas on paidia:

> *[P]aidia is characterized by diversion, destruction, spontaneity, caprice, turbulence and exuberance. Paidia is human will acting without ethical deliberation. This enhances one's awareness of being a cause, a free and active force, which shapes reality. Paidia is both a refusal to accept limits and a wilful transgression of them. It has no civilizing 'function'. Paidia is improvisatory action, an escape from routine which explores other possibilities of social experience and which develops new social forms.*
>
> (Stevens, 2007: p.33)

Ludus is the exact opposite of that. While paidia is always extreme expression, ludus can be found in all sorts of organised play. Again, Stevens provides a solid definition:

Ludus is play institutionalized as a game. It follows rules and routines, which are purposely contrived to be tedious and arbitrary. [...] Subordination of individual will to the rules of ludus is imperative. It requires effort, patience and skill. The pleasure of ludus lies in the development and mastery of technique, the psychological satisfaction which comes from discovering solutions within a set framework which is external to the demands of instrumental function.

(Stevens, 2007: p.33)

These two polar opposites again help to situate a given activity or practice on a spectrum. After all, a child pretending to be a pirate is very much different from an actor or an opera singer performing as one. Of course, this is not to say that one thing is superior to the other; after all, many actors might feel nostalgic to go back to make-believe play, while many children wish to one day become actors.

Caillois does not define paidia and ludus as static opposites but rather argues that they are in a dynamic relationship. Most play activities start as paidic and over time evolve into ludic ones. The idea, according to Caillois (2001) is that a group or an individual starts by spontaneously engaging in an activity which in one form or another is captivating. After it is over there is a desire to repeat said activity. However, due to its spontaneous nature, the repetition of the activity might provide a different experience. So, as this might lead to frustration, rules might be implemented to keep the spirit of the original activity alive in further iterations. But through the implementation of rules, the spontaneity of the paidic activity is lost. However, now the goal might be to get as close to that original intention as possible. Here we can see the introduction of ludus to a formerly paidic activity. While Caillois only described this process, it can easily be argued that the reverse is just as likely. Ludus, if it is becoming too rule-heavy and regulated, incites the desire to approach an activity with a more paidic attitude in many people. The intention then is not to master the activity but to see and try how it can be approached in other ways or how it can be twisted and altered, sometimes even creating something entirely new. This process can be showcased by the ever-changing styles of art. Consider for a moment the development of artists like Picasso, who grew up learning all the rules and codes for realistic painting only to progress to an entirely new way of painting which was much more paidic and experimental. Therefore, paidia and ludus are less polar opposites on different ends of a spectrum but rather have a cyclical relationship. In the context of analysis, paidia and ludus are never absolutes, meaning a certain activity is never just one or the other. Rather they can be seen as trajectories.

Similar processes can be seen in the developments of cities. A recent conference organised by

the interdisciplinary centre for urban Culture and Public Space (SKuOR) in 2017 called „Unsettled–Urban routines, temporalities and contestations" revolved around the process of cities being in a constant flux of being settled and unsettled. Interestingly, one of the conclusions was that these processes and the respective states can vary not only from different scales but also in regard to different systems, environments or groups. Sara Al-Nassir presented a case study on the Zaatari refugee camp which was opened in 2012 in Jordan. The aim of her work was to analyse everyday practices and to show how certain routines became too manifest, not only in a social sense but how over time the camp was structured by its inhabitants forming „Souqs" or markets and informal systems of trade and commerce. Al-Nassir worked with a narrative approach which showed how improvised actions of a few vendors turned into an organised system. A clear trajectory can be seen from activities resembling paidia, disrupting the current organisation of goods in the camp and improvising new forms of play which over time developed into an organised system, closer to ludus.

Therefore, play-elements are in a constant state of change. They fluctuate between paidia, which through regimentation develops towards ludus. Disruption of a ludic system, however, causes it to be redirected towards a paidic state. If a culture produces more rules than new experiences, the play-element develops in a ludic direction, incentivising competition, the mastery of certain skills and a refinement or progression of said activity. On the other hand, a paidic play-element inspires the formation of a variety of different communities and cultures, enables a diversity of different ‚playstyles' and nurtures innovation in order to drive and develop new cultures and cultural practices. Therefore, the diagram shown earlier can be expanded by another cycle, which deals with the nature of a play-element or practice. This is shown in Figure 2:
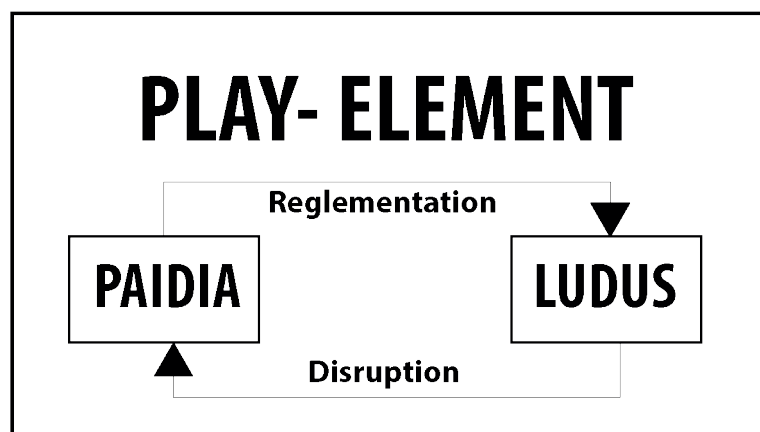
Loss of play-element

Figure 2: The cycle of paidia and ludus within a play-element, diagram made by the author

Huizinga ends his book Homo Ludens – The playelement in culture with questioning the state of „The play-element in contemporary civilization". He argues that there are two other developments through which the play-element can get lost. Firstly, he sees that „increasing systematization and regimentation" lead to a loss of play-elements leading to dehumanisation. The example he gives is professional sports:

> *We see this very clearly in the official distinction between amateurs and professionals [...] It means that the play-group marks out those for whom playing is no longer play [...] The spirit of the professional is no longer the true play-spirit; it is lacking in spontaneity and carelessness.*
>
> (Huizinga, 1949: p. 203)

This dehumanisation is therefore twofold; it both takes away the fun aspects in favour of extreme „technical organisation and scientific thoroughness", and on the other hand it creates exclusion and a degrading of amateurs and laymen (Huizinga, 1949: p.199). While the example of professional sports shows that play can stiffen and ultimately lose its play-elements, with all the encompassing side-effects described above, Huizinga also describes the opposite: „[S]erious business degenerating into play but still being called serious." (Huizinga, 1949: p.199) While Huizinga argued that throughout the 19th century, the accompanying industrialisation led to a loss of play-elements in western civilisation, he writes in length about capitalism in the 20th century. As new methods of communication and statistics arose, he argues that:

> *The statistics of trade and production could not fail to introduce a sporting element into economic life. In consequence, there is now a sporting side to almost every triumph of commerce or technology: the highest turnover, the biggest tonnage, the fastest crossing, the greatest altitude, etc. Here a purely ludic element has, for once, got the better of utilitarian considerations [...] Business becomes play. This process goes so far that some of the great business concerns deliberately instil the play-spirit into their workers so as to step up production.*
>
> (Huizinga, 1949: p.200)

So, while Huizinga pleads for the necessity of play-elements in culture and bemoans a certain lack thereof, there are also cases in which this can be abused for other interests.
Caillois (2001) and Duncan (2016) both add the observation that commodification is also a factor in the loss of play-elements in culture. In general, if play activities lose their cultural value

once too many external interests take hold. However, „[p]lay [...] lies outside morals. In itself it is neither good nor bad" (Huizinga, 1949: p.213]. Therefore, play is an important factor for human activity and is key in generating new cultural practices. In the same way that children or young animals play to learn new things, humanity, Huizinga claims, needs play to develop new forms, regardless if that are predatory business practices or new urban cultures of participation and integration.

Another possibility for the loss of cultural play-elements is through a prolonged dominance of paidia over ludus or vice versa. Practices that stay in one or the other form for too long tend to produce negative consequences. Paidia can produce entropy, chaos and extreme uncertainty, while Ludus can become oppressive, exclusive and frustrating. Once this happens, the play-element is lost as in both cases no community and in turn no new cultural practices can be developed from an activity.

Another parallel between Bourdieu and play-theorists like Huizinga and Caillois is their evaluation of capitalism and its impact on societies. For his study on the effects of commodification of the Australian Football League, Duncan also combines ideas from Huizinga with Bourdieu's theories since „[b]oth men believe that something fundamentally important to the relationships formed between citizens, their cultures, and their communities was lost when economics began to dominate other areas of society" (Duncan, 2016: p.47) As discussed previously, both Huizinga and Caillois argue that the play-element of culture can get lost due to external influences, most prominently commodification. They argue that the result is a dehumanisation of a given system or games as the cultural aspects, i.e. the things that foster and encourage community, are being pushed to the back. Bourdieu, in contrast, sees fields as autonomous from each other; however, it is possible that one field becomes dominant, or as Duncan describes it: „[I]f the economic field merges with any other field, that field and the struggle within it will begin to mirror the economic field. Thus, as the economic field merges with other fields, all the fields will mirror each other." (Duncan, 2016: p.46)

2.4. Formal Schemas: RULES

To Zimmerman and Salen (2004), 'rules' constitute the forms of a game in two ways: firstly, they define the „inner form or organization of games" (ibid., chapter 10, p.4). This makes it so that by looking at the rules an identification of a game is possible, even though variables and context might change. As an example, they refer to the game 'Go'. In essence, it does not matter whether you play the game with pebbles on a cheap wooden board or on your phone. Also, motivations,

outcome, as well as the spatial and temporal or cultural context might change but in any circumstance a game of Go can always be identified as such by its rules (ibid., chapter 10, p.4). By articulating the systems and inner workings of a game, it can be set apart from other games or activities. In essence, rules as a formal schema define the identity of a game.

Secondly, Zimmerman and Salen see rules as formal schemas as „analytical tools“. As both play and culture tend to be fuzzier, rules are always formalised and follow a specific method or logic that can be dissected and analysed rationally. This is the place where a game can be tested for its logical consistency and also where the intentions of the designer can be made transparent. By relating the rules schema to either play or culture, one can understand why design decisions were made as they can either be traced to cultural influences or to an intention to shape the experience of a system in a certain way.

While the definitions given above cover a more abstract level, at their core, rules shape the play experience and are influenced by the cultural context. However, play can change rules. Players might use house rules or reach out to developers for fixing rules that have a negative impact on their experience. Rules can also influence culture. While there probably are few cases where a certain game influenced the culture of larger groups, ethnicities or even nations, they can however impact the players or the audience of a game by incentivising new cultural practices, like visiting a stadium or holding private tournaments and the like.

In the context of planning, the first immediate associations are legal codes and regulations but also methods and practices of participation. While these are all variables that can be put in a formal schema, it is also possible to embed more abstract concepts such as Bourdieu's theory of structuration within it. Therefore, his idea of social struggles and the ways in which actors can accumulate capital can be analysed as part of this schema as the next section will illustrate.

2.4.1. Structuration

As argued previously, Bourdieu uses games as a metaphor for social life. He does so in a way that is much more tangible and operational than Huizinga's or Caillois' work, namely by providing a better understanding of the interrelated relationship of rules or structure and experience or habitus. Calhoun describes Bourdieu's view on games and social life as follows:

> *A former rugby player, Bourdieu was drawn to the metaphor of games to convey his sense of social life. But by 'game' he did not mean mere diversions or entertainments. He meant the serious athlete's sense of being passionately involved in play, engaged in a*

struggle with others and with our own limits, over stakes to which we are (at least for the moment) deeply committed. [...] Social life is like this, Bourdieu suggested, except that the stakes are bigger. It is always a struggle; it requires constant improvisation; yet it is organized according to an enduring structure.

(Calhoun, 2011: p.362)

This understanding of social live as something in between objective structures and their subjective experience and individual action is deeply engrained in Bourdieu's works as he "shows action to be always shaped by learning (habitus), social contexts (including fields), and structural conditions (including distributions of capital) as well as choice and creativity" (Calhoun, 2011: p.364). However, structure and practice are interdependent, as structure always has a historical origin based on action while actions either reproduce or sometimes change existing structures. Bourdieu sees structures as always incomplete, arguing that they are all „more or less advanced processes of structuration" (Calhoun, 2011: p.365)

Therefore, structures are both external to us and at the same time we have internalised them as „they are part of the knowledge that enables us to play well, improvise actions effectively, and maintain our commitment to the stakes of the game." (Calhoun, 2011: p.364). For Bourdieu these arrangements are just like games and can be read as such. Therefore, in order to „understand any social situation or interaction, [...] we should ask what game (or games) the actors are playing." (Calhoun, 2011: p.363). By taking a closer look at the rules of a given social game, one can derive how they constrain the players and shape in which ways they can get things done, so Bourdieu.

For Bourdieu, social life is separated into different fields in which each individual struggles and competes for capital that is inherent to that field, or to exchange one type of capital for another. Bourdieu defines fields as relational arrangements of actors. However, in the context of this thesis it is argued that fields are rather defined by play-elements. Each field has specific play-elements; however, there are always a multitude of different play-elements present within a field which represent different activities or different struggles in connection to said activity. Specifically, the field of city-making can be broken up into different play-elements around which different groups form. For example, designing urban environments, whether these are buildings, parks, squares or streets, might be one play-element, while policy discourses, participation or protesting might represent different other play-elements.

In the context of Bourdieu's theories, capital means resources that equate to the possibilities

an actor has available to engage in a certain field in order to gain more of said capital. As he differentiates between different forms of capital, he argues that each field has corresponding forms of capital which are intrinsic to it.

Social capital means all „resources based on group memberships, relationships, and networks or influence and support" (Duncan, 2016: p.45). It basically equates to the quantity and quality of connections an actor has. Cultural capital is defined as the skills, education and knowledge that a person possesses ,giving them an advantage or allowing for „social mobility beyond economic means" (Duncan, 2016: p.45). Symbolic capital refers to the status of an actor. It refers to things like prestige, honour, recognition, or in the case of digital media, 'likes'. Lastly, there is economic capital which is basically the amount of money or financial assets which are available to someone.

Bourdieu argues that „capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field" (Bourdieu, Wacquant, 1992: p.101). Social capital in the form of a network of avant-garde artists might not help someone to become a successful businessman. This is even applicable to only one type of capital. Your cultural capital in the form of woodworking skills will not be of any help in pursuing an academic career as, for example, a lawyer. Capital needs to be accredited by all other players in a field in order to unfold its potential: "Bourdieu also believes that the struggle between citizens for power is constrained by the limited characteristics of the field in which they participate and serves to augment and reproduce the existing, dominant structure of the field." (Duncan, 2016: p.46)

For example, there are cases where people use their economic capital to gain influence in the field of politics, either by corruption or simply by financing campaigns for themselves. Another example would be parents who invest economic capital in order to obtain cultural capital for their children which they can later use to acquire better jobs, therefore creating economic capital for themselves. Here it becomes clear what is meant when Bourdieu argues that social life „is always a struggle; it requires constant improvisation; yet it is organized according to an enduring structure." (Calhoun 2011: p.362).

2.5. Experiential Schemas: PLAY

The schema of play subsumes all experiential aspects of a designed system. While rules only cover the rationales and logical structures, play is where the actual impact on the people participating can be made visible. Zimmerman and Salen (2004) define this schema by contrasting

it with the schema of rules:

> *It is possible to consider the logic of a rule system [...] without understanding how that rule-system will be experienced. However, in framing games as PLAY, we must consider [...] the rule-system as a context designed to deliver a particular experience of play for the game's participants. [...] Looking at games as experiential systems means looking at them as participation, as observation, as a mental state, as bodily sensation, as emotion, as something lived.*

> (ibid., chapter 10, p.4)

Before venturing deeper on the topic of play itself, it is necessary to first consider different aspects of experience. First, there is the affective side of experience which is generally covered by the quote above. It encompasses bodily sensation, the capacity to be affected by something and to affect your surroundings. Therefore, it is linked to specific moments in time and the emotions connected to that. However, there is another side to experience as well, one that represents a form of learning. This form of experience, for example, is what we refer to when we talk about job experience. It does not refer to one's emotional reaction to work situations but rather is intended to highlight that a person went through a wide array of different experiences related to their field of work and therefore knows how to handle different situations. This connects back to Bourdieu's concept of habitus which he defines as being" formed through a learning process by which experience comes to be embodied so that it shapes our action unconsciously" (Calhoun: p.378). Therefore, the momentarily experiences we have in a given situation shape our learning experiences and what we take away from it.

After covering the different aspects of experience, I will now focus on play itself. To play means to lose oneself in an activity not connected to immediate survival and ideally not to any material interest (Huizinga, 1949). Also, as defined in chapter 2, play does not necessarily mean that it is just for fun. In the moment, play can or should be as serious as other activities and consuming the players' attention. McGonigal (2011) also adds that play creates flow which is akin to hard work. Play is often directed at achieving something, whether that means winning a game or putting on a good performance, and it inspires us by creating a challenge. As play is something that one chooses to do voluntarily it incites „ an optimistic sense of our own capabilities and an invigorating rush of activity" (McGonigal, 2011: p.28).

So how can this schema be adopted in planning and participation? First, designing for play does not necessarily mean to make things just more fun or creating grand exciting moments. Rather it forces us to consider participation as both an experience and an activity meant to

challenge participants in a way that conveys that a struggle towards a goal is possible and is being perceived as such. The experiential aspects force us to consider how the rules we design impact participants. This, however, does not just mean that we need to create situations where everyone feels good. Rather we need to also think about what experience participants can take away from a participatory process for their lives. As will be described in the following chapter on contextual schemas, the question of what people take away from an interaction with a designed system is crucial for understanding the concept of the play-element of culture. This is so because through play and experience, new forms of culture and community can emerge which subsequently impact social life and other cultures. Focusing on play provides opportunities for emancipation, and having in mind that experience can shape the habitus of participants it becomes clear that designing for experience and play is not just a matter of creating mere entertainment, or as Selle (2011) once put it 'Participainment'.

While the game design schema presented here covers aspects of play which relate to design and creation, the schema of play can also help to fill an analytical gap in current planning theories. Especially in the context of planning projects or processes that are formally solid but incite civil outcries and protests it seems worthwhile to also consider looking at it from the perspective of play.

2.5.1. Relevance of Play

'Play', and subsequently 'games' as concepts are highly elusive and there is a vast amount of literature in which every publication comes with its own definition. Depending on the context of said literature these definitions often even contradict each other.

It can be argued that play understood as an odd behavioural pattern is so fundamental to life itself that pinpointing it down is often very difficult. There is a big number of theories on why we play, ranging from concepts of play as a method of learning, play as a way to deal with excess energy, to play as mere escapism. The problem lies in the fact that all of those conceptions are equally accurate and wrong as play can take so many different forms. A toddler who is playing with a toy phone is quite unlikely to do so to escape from its existential angst, and a teenager playing video games all day is probably not just getting rid of excess energy. To complicate matters even further, play is not even remotely exclusive to humans: many animals show some kind of play behaviour which is also far from homogenous considering that play behaviour of carnivores differs from that of potential prey.

In order to arrive at a meaningful working definition, I want to start by going with what most theories can agree upon. Play is often seen as a form of social learning which is done mostly through trial and error. It is often argued that play is something solely children or young animals perform in order to learn different patterns of social life or means of survival. However, this would not explain phenomena like sports, professional games like poker or arts like music or theatre. Play can be found in all areas of human activity, ranging through all ages. Anthropologist Johan Huizinga defines play as follows:

> *[A] free activity standing quite consciously outside ‚ordinary' life as being ‚not serious,'*
> *but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected*
> *with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own*
> *proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner.*
> *It promotes the formation of social groupings, which tend to surround themselves with*
> *secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means.*
>
> (Huizinga, 1949: p.13)

Despite the fact that this definition was later critiqued for being „both too broad and too narrow" (Caillois, 2001: p.4), it sets the stage very well. First it shows the position of play as something that happens „outside ‚ordinary' life" . For Huizinga, play is something „supra-biological" which means that it does not contribute to the immediate survival of an individual. It also shows that games or play are not necessarily just fun. Huizinga argues for them to be „not serious, but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly" (Huizinga, 1949: p.13).

Play is often contrasted with work, as we seemingly can draw a clear separation between the serious work hours and leisurely play activities. But this oversimplification creates a false dichotomy that work is always serious and play always fun. People can enjoy or have fun while working and at the same time take play or games extremely seriously. An athlete or an artist, be it amateurs or professionals, might disagree with the sentiment that he or she performs „just for fun". We often associate work with the single contributing factor to creating meaning in life. But as play-theorist Brian Sutton-Smith points out: „The opposite of play isn't work. It's depression" (Sutton-Smith, 2009: p.198). A similar approach can be found in positive psychology and the current gamification movement. In her book Reality is broken, game designer and author Jane McGonigal (2011) elaborates this further:

When we're depressed, according to the clinical definition, we suffer from two things: a pessimistic sense of inadequacy and a despondent lack of activity. If we were to reverse these two traits, we'd get something like this: an optimistic sense of our own capabilities and an invigorating rush of activity.

(McGonigal 2011: p.28)

Therefore, McGonigal and many other people in the gamification movement argue that play is more akin to hard work. What is different, at least to most types of work, is that the obstacles to be overcome, the objectives to be achieved and the struggle to get there are voluntarily chosen. By playing we either test our limits or transgress them, which gives us a feeling of being self-dependent and in charge. This is a contributing factor to happiness, McGonigal argues, which in turn makes life meaningful (2011: p.29). This is in contrast to modern or even post-modern working conditions which fail to do so. McGonigal argues:

When we don't choose hard work for ourselves, it's usually not the right work, at the right time, for the right person. […] we're not in control of the work flow, we don't have a clear picture of what we're contributing to, and we never see how it all pays off in the end.

(McGonigal, 2011: p.29)

McGonigal grounds her work in positive psychology, especially drawing on the works of Csíkszentmihályis who defined the aforementioned 'rush of activity' as 'flow'. McGonigal especially highlights Csíkszentmihályis' claim that understanding flow and how it could be incorporated more into the everyday lives of many people might be key for tackling many social issues: „Our most pressing problems – depression, helplessness, social alienation, and the sense that nothing we do truly matters – could be effectively addressed by integrating more gameful work into our everyday lives." (McGonigal, 2011: p.36).

In summary, play is engrained deeply into psychology. It creates meaning via a struggle to either overcome obstacles or achieve objectives that we choose for ourselves, which in turn gives us a feeling of empowerment and ultimately fosters happiness. In the context of the play-element model presented here, both analysing and designing for play means understanding the experience created by an activity. Game designer Jesse Schell sums this up in a very descriptive way:

Ultimately, a game designer does not care about games. Games are merely a means to an end. On their own, games are just artifacts – clumps of cardboard, or bags of bits. […] Why is this? […] When people play games, they have an experience. It is this experience

that the designer cares about. Without the experience, the game is worthless."

<div align="right">(Schell, 2014: p.10)</div>

The same can be argued for participation processes or even planning in general. As argued previously, experience in the context of this thesis is understood as both the experience of a moment as well as embodied forms of learning through being active. Therefore, the argument surrounding play as a concept does not mean that participation has to be fun or entertaining. Rather it means differentiating between the social impact and the ‚clumps of cardboard' which would be part of the formal schema.

2.5.2. Habitus

This enduring structure is constantly produced and reproduced by the habitus of actors and connects to Bourdieu's theories on structures and their subjective experience. From birth we internalise certain rules or worldviews, which enable us to participate in social games. Once we are engaged in a field our habitus informs us on our options, it gives us a feel for the game and helps us improvise in new situations. However, once we start acting in a field, we externalise our habitus, which in turn shapes the field, either by reinforcing the given rules or by augmenting and developing them further. However, much of this is outside of an actor's immediate control since „[h]abitus [...] refers to the way we intuitively, unconsciously position ourselves in the world and relate to the world. It is formed through a learning process by which experience co-mes to be embodied so that it shapes our action unconsciously". (Calhoun 2011: p.378)

Therefore, habitus is based on the bodily experiences and actions of an actor, and for Bourdieu this is the reason why factors like class, gender and ethnicity, etc. are so important to under-stand and analyse as they heavily impact the experiences from which we learn how to act, react and improvise our moves (Calhoun, 2011: p.378).

In the context of this thesis, Bourdieu's concept of habitus serves to reinforce the point that experience is not just the perception or bodily reaction to a situation but also encompasses and informs embodied forms of knowledge. Experiencing a situation will inform us how to deal with similar situations in the future. In the context of participation, this opens up a new perspective as questions of how participants experience a given process are not just a matter of pleasing or upsetting people. Rather it can be understood as a way for people to learn new ways of getting involved in or with the city.

2.6. Summary

In summary, the conceptual framework of this thesis is based on an understanding of culture that originates from practices and used to shape those practices in turn. Practices are defined as play-elements, which means that they are not just arbitrary activities but activities that hold meaning for the people participating or can be seen as a canvas for cultural values or ideals to be projected onto. A play-element fluctuates between more paidic states and ludic states. This means that an activity is either perceived as a way to experience oneself as a driving force and immediate impact (paidia) or as a learning process and mastery of specific skills (ludus). A play-element can be lost due to a loss of meaning of said activity, which in turn disables the ability of that practice to develop community or culture or serve as a projection area for values and ideals.

In line with this theoretical framework, an understanding of cities as self-organising systems of cyclical change and shifting power relations was chosen. In addition, the term city-making is utilised to frame participation as something that is not inherent to planning, or communicative planning theory, but rather as a concept for which there are many different understandings in related fields. City-making therefore serves as an umbrella term or a meta-field within which different disciplines, communities or cultures, like architects, activists, artists can be located.

The three schemas defined in this chapter can be used for both the analysis as well as the creation of designed systems. The schema of play allows us to ask how people experience said system, whether or not this experience is capable of drawing in more people and what can be taken away afterwards. The schema of rules allows us to identify different systems and look at the logical structures of and reasons for how and why they were designed in that way. Lastly, the contextual schema of culture allows us to draw a line between a designed system and the surrounding world. In turn, it allows us to explore how the two are related and can inform us on the other two schemas.
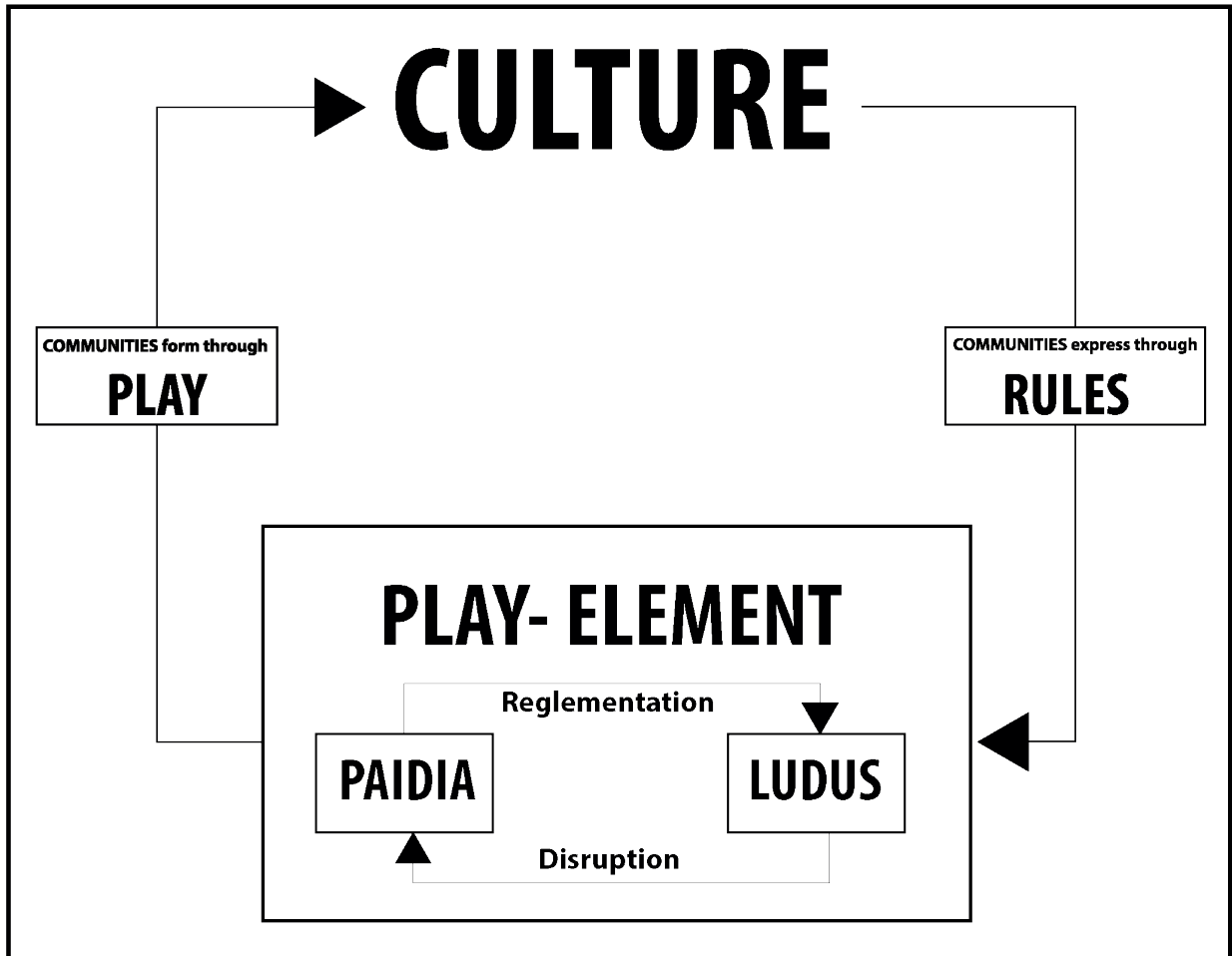
CULTURE

COMMUNITIES form through
PLAY

COMMUNITIES express through
RULES

PLAY- ELEMENT

Reglementation

PAIDIA

LUDUS

Disruption

Figure 3: The conceptual framework, diagram made by the author

3. The Communicative Paradigm in Participation

3.1. Contextual Aspects

During the 1980s many western countries experienced roll-back Neoliberalisation and accompanying austerity politics (Mayer, 2013), which not only induced new protests but also gave rise to new strategies of planning and local government. As many municipalities lacked financial resources new approaches were developed:

> *This led to municipalities opening up towards some of the successful ways with which movement organizations had tended to problems of [...] social and neighborhood problems. This opening process dramatically reconfigured the relations between movements and local states: what used to be a rather antagonistic relationship transformed into a more cooperative one, as newly installed innovative comprehensive urban revitalization programs encouraged movement organizations to move 'from protest to program'.*
>
> (Mayer, 2013: p. 7)

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Cold War ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union and with it a new political and intellectual environment emerged. Most importantly, Third Way politics developed which, driven by the works of Fukuyama (1992), Giddens (1994) and others, aimed at transitioning politics from forms of government to governance. The aim was to find liberal centrist politics which were thought be beyond ideology. Also, a shift towards decentralised politics and the participation of civil actors, often in the form of public private partnerships, was incentivised.

This transformation coincides with the advent of communicative planning theory (CPT) which took place in the late 1980s and early 90s. Back then, there was a lot of discontent, especially among planners, when it came to questions of planning, the corresponding education and training programs and the general process of decision-making in municipalities (Innes, 1995, Healey, 1992). This led to a formation of planners and planning theorists that wanted to break free from the rational model, which can be defined as follows:

> *In this model, planning was supposed to proceed somewhat like a science, [...] in that it would use logic and focus on the measurable and on what could be verified through hypothesis testing and data. It would start with goals and proceed to generate alternatives, evaluating them, choosing solutions, and implementing them.*
>
> (ibid., p.197)

As such, it was deeply engrained in planning education, theory and practice, and even though some planners argued that planning might not be as straightforward (see Rittel, 1972), this paradigm dominated the field roughly between the 1950s up until the 1980s. Being based in the ideas and principles of enlightenment era thinking, the understanding was that planning should aim to promote development and progress, creating a better world for everybody. As science was understood to be always objective, it „offered little or nothing about politics, ambiguity, or conflict because these are supposed to be outside the scientific process" (Innes, Booher, 2015: p.197).

Communicative planning and its theory developed out of an in-depth analysis and critique not only of planning practices but of the unquestioned image what a planner ought to be. In her article Planning Theory's Emerging Paradigm: Communicative Action and Interactive Practice (1995), Innes describes not only her personal „odyssey" but also the struggles that many other planners seem to face:

> *As a group they are uncertain about what authority or knowledge gives them the legitimacy to act as they do. They are uneasy about the capacity of elected bodies to represent the public or to make morally acceptable decisions. They are uncomfortable with the expert role for themselves, recognizing that they have their own biases and that expertise has its limits. They have strong beliefs about the kind of society that is desirable, but they do not know how to work toward this within their professional roles.*

(ibid., p.56)

Therefore, the image of the planner as „a man operating at arm's length from the messy world of politics" (Innes, 1992, p.52 f.,) was not only rejected. Instead, many planning theorists and practitioners began to enquire about practice and started researching the role of planners, decision-making and urban institutions. During the 1980s, more and more people started to gather under this new umbrella term of communicative planning. This new generation, which many communicative planning theory practitioners considered themselves part of, brought forward a new planning paradigm and with it a new type of planner. Innes (1992) describes these new planners, and to a certain extent herself as follows:

The long bemoaned gap between theory and practice in planning is closing as a new type of planning theorist is beginning to dominate the field. These theorists [...] take practice as the raw material of their inquiry. In this they differ from their predecessors, who did primarily armchair theorizing and systemic thinking about planning.

<div align="right">(ibid., 2005: p.51)</div>

The way forward for planning was to bring in new perspectives and lenses for planners to use. Most influential was Habermas' theory of communicative action as well as ethnography, regional economic geography, and sociology. In short, the aim of communicative planning theory was to provide „a direction for the invention of forms and practices of a planning behaviour appropriate for societies who seek progressive ways of collectively ‚making sense together while living differently'" (Healey, 1992: p.31). The way to do so for many was to apply a Habermasian concept of communicative action to foster discourses and inter-subjective reasoning. Innes (1995) argues that socially constructed knowledge in the forms of stories and narratives is key in impacting not only decision making but also action, since „[a]ction often simply occurred once there was an agreement on the indicator and a shared understanding of the problem it reflected" (ibid., p.55). Therefore, the focus of many communicative planning theorists is to facilitate processes that can induce action based on consensus-building.

The impact and reception of this new community of planners and theorists was quite mixed. Many planners, and additionally political economists and neo-Marxists, reacted to this proclaimed new paradigm with heavy critique, bordering, according to Innes, on „incivility" (ibid., 2015: p.198). While many intellectual and academic debates erupted, communicative planning theory was fitting very well into the political „zeitgeist" of Third Way politics (Allmendinger, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005: p.216) and also introduced some change in planning education. Especially in the context of education communicative planning theory introduced more qualitative research and fostered new ideals and more hands-on approaches to planning. (Huxley, 2013)

More progressive movements such as the Occupy movement and the like only represent one side of the coin. The other would without a doubt be right-wing populism and movements like Pegida in Germany who are also unsatisfied with the current state of our societies. While these movements still act locally, many investors, real estate owners, and also municipalities are operating or competing on global or international levels, hence the interest in local issues is also decreasing.

While there is communicative planning theory, which is considered to be a theory of practice and not a grand unifying theory, there are also a vast number of different approaches ranging

from communicative planning (Healey, 1993; Innes, 1995), to deliberative planning (Forester, 1993) to collaborative planning (Healey, 1997) and many others in between. All of those approaches have their differences, special focal points and techniques, many of which are tailored to specific problems or contexts. This makes problematising the communicative turn certainly more difficult. While some might argue that "there is not one turn but a multitude of approaches that focus on such a level of generality as to preclude detailed analysis and practical application" (Allmendinger, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005: p.207), I would argue that in fact there are underlying formal and experiential aspects that are shared and can be analysed together.

There seem to be three major problematisations of participation within the communicative turn. First, participation and getting involved in or with the city as an answer to the problem of planning theorists conducting their work away from the seemingly „messy field of politics" (Innes, 1992: p.52). However, in our case it is the planner or expert that is meant to participate, not the user. The aim of this endeavour was to disrupt the field of planning theory, which back then was dominated by the concept of instrumental rationality and planning as a scientific endeavour. Secondly, participation was considered to improve or fix democratic deficits in politics, and to advance a normative agenda of deliberative or participatory models of democracy as well as supporting the shift from government to governance. Participation in this context was meant to answer the problem of both overly rigid bureaucracies as well as either the inaction towards or misrepresentation of public interest by politicians (Innes, 1995). Lastly, participation is understood as an answer to the problem of planning practice trying to solve social problems through technical solutions (Huxley, 2013). In summary, it can be argued that the problematisation of participation in communicative planning has a very reformist character that is meant to drive a normative agenda of what Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones argue to be „a world-view based on a participatory understanding of democracy" (Allmendinger, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005: p.214).

3.2. Formal Aspects

In this chapter I analyse the formal aspects of communicative planning by looking first at communicative planning theory and the core concepts deployed within it, and at how communicative planning processes are set up.

As shown in the previous chapter, communicative planning is more of an umbrella term used by a certain group of planners and scholars. It is considered to be a „theory of practice" (Innes, 1995) that is defined by the individual planner who is utilising it in a specific time and place.

A general rejection of a grand unifying theory is prevalent since these planners and scholars want to set the new communicative paradigm apart from previous theories and conceptions of planning, such as instrumental rationality. Healey (1997: p.xii) argues that communicative planning theory is comprised of two different bodies of work, namely the previously mentioned communicative approach to planning theory as well as sociology and regional economic geography. Harris elaborates:

> *The two separate bodies of theory are related in a normative/analytical dimension, in which one serves to provide an understanding of the systems and mechanisms of urban and regional planning upon which a normative agenda of democratic and inclusive management may be pursued.*

> (Harris, 2005: p.24)

Before diving deeper into communicative planning theory, it is worth untangling the somewhat complicated relationship between Habermas' theory of communicative action and communicative planning theory. John Forester developed a theory of communicative action for planning throughout the 1980s which he labelled „critical theory" (Forester, 1980). A lot of it was based on the ideas of Jürgen Habermas. What these theories share is the understanding of reason to be something that is based on inter-subjective communication (Healey, 1992). Habermas defines this as communicative rationality (1981). While Forester's work follows the ideals of Habermas meaning that he advocates overcoming communicative distortions through listening, learning and discussing matters in an unbiased way, arriving at a shared consensus through the power of the better argument and ultimately resulting in more democratic forms of participation, other planning scholars developed their own approaches. All of them relate in one way or another to Habermas' work. And even though the approaches and applications can differ, they all share the same normative principles and values.

Therefore, the theory of communicative action served as a jumping-off point for many communicative planning theories and is undeniably an integral part of communicative planning and its identity. While it can seem that the theory of communicative action and communicative planning theory are the same, Innes points out the following:

> *Many criticized CPT for what they regarded as the failings of Habermas' theory, not understanding that neither CPT nor collaborative practice derived from this theory, though many CPT researchers found it helpful to interpret and evaluate the practices they observed [...].*

> (Innes, Booher, 2015: p. 199)

The argument that Innes tries to make is that while communicative planning theory or consensus-making as a practice and the theory communicative action share norms, values and to some extent also certain practices, the self-image of communicative planning theory is much more rooted in practice and seemingly takes a more post-modern stance. However, this argumentation is not always consistent and can vary depending on the different models of communicative planning in question or the individual scholar writing on the subject. The school of communicative planning, while opposing the ideals of modernity such as grand narratives, seeks to develop an approach that is neither modern nor necessarily post-modern, as the following quote illustrates:

> *In the communicative/collaborative planning stories, the neo-modernist narrators, like postmodernists, recognised diversity, but believed that this could be reconciled by setting up structures in which stakeholders can through open, honest and respectful debate make sense together, learn to live together and reach consensus on 'a future together'. In proposing the switch to communicative planning, the proponents of this paradigm believed that this would enable planning to move not only within, but also through and beyond postmodernity by making use of its positive aspects and steering clear of its negative tendencies.*

> (Oranje, 2002: p.178)

The other side of communicative planning theory is defined by sociology and regional economics. Healey states that her model of communicative planning, namely collaborative planning, is „about why urban regions are important to social, economic and environmental policy and how political communities may organise to improve the quality of their spaces." (Healey, 1997: p.xii). In this normative/analytical relation described earlier, social sciences and regional geography or economics are seen as a source of information. While information should also be developed collectively within the process, analysis of social and economic aspects of a region serves as a basis to determine stakeholders and also to set a baseline of information that is available to every participant equally.

In general, communicative planning deploys several core concepts which further define its formal structure. While there might be variations, most forms of planning under the communicative umbrella utilise them. Harris (2005) defines five concepts. First, the concept of ‚place‘ defines space as social construct which is subject to competing definitions of different groups (ibid., p.34). Space therefore is elevated from its physical aspects and is primarily defined by the different, often overlapping interpretations of its inhabitants.

The concepts of stakeholding, community and diversity (Harris, 2005: p.35) are closely interrelated. Communities are defined by both their relationship to a space as well as through having a stake in it. Stakeholding in turn means that every group that is involved in a place has to be included while the concept of diversity is understood which means making sure that every stakeholder has access to strategy making arenas. Healey (2005) goes into more detail as she argues that the key issues of urban regions are in the struggles of individuals or groups that try to master the rising complexity of everyday life Therefore, the aim is to bring these concerns into „the forums and arenas in which political communities finds expression, and in which collective activities are organised" (Healey, 2005: p.126).

The last formal aspect relates to the ways in which processes are set up and concerns the question about what role is given to processes in general in communicative planning. While all forms of communicative planning should be generative processes developed out of the local context without any a priori model (Healey, 1997: p.268-269), they should all follow these core concepts. To do so, four ,guidelines' are suggested:

1. ,Getting started': This guideline entails that somebody, a group, an institution, planners, etc. decides who might have a stake in a certain matter, and determines the when and where, also meaning in which ,arena' that process might take place.

2., Routines and discussions': This is related to three different aspects, namely: style, language and representation. Style refers to style of language, sensitivity to cultural differences as well as room arrangements and questions of who is speaking when, etc. The aspect of language refer to Habermas' „theory of communicative action" (Habermas, 1981), while representation means that everybody should be able to partake in the discussion either directly or via representation.

3., Making policy discourses': This principle refers to a process or mechanic to filter and structure information, arguments, opinions, and so forth. This is very often the most obscure part of communicative processes, as Healey herself does not provide a definitive answer to the question of how a strategy can emerge from such a process. (Allmendinger, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005: p.212)

4. ,Maintaining consensus': Lastly, this point revolves around the question on how to implement the agreed-on policy into formalised institutions and strategies.

While there have been much more in-depth discussions on this guideline elsewhere (see All-mendinger, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005), I will focus more on the impact this formal structure has had and continues to have on participation. As I have argued previously, communicative planning can currently almost be considered a synonym for participation, and the guidelines presented above seem to be omnipresent in any form of participatory practice, whether it is following communicative planning theory/practice or not. While from a formal perspective, this can be seen as the very essence of communicative planning, Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones raise an important question, namely:

> *[...] to what extent the communicative turn in planning becomes, by its very nature, a political process accompanied by the trappings of political strategic behaviour. The communicative turn, in attempting to create consensus-building strategies, will develop an inherent politicisation and could even transfigure into the sort of effort the new system was designed to counteract [...].*
>
> (Allmendinger, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005: p. 211)

Since these guidelines are intentionally left open to interpretation, misinterpretation and different forms of appropriation can occur, especially in regard to ‚maintaining consensus‘. Due to the conflation of communicative planning and participation, a disconnect can emerge, especially for participants, since the high standards and generally agreed-upon ideals of more democratic institutions and decision-making might not live up to the expectation raised by the communicative turn.

3.3. Experiential Aspects

As mentioned previously, there are different problematisations of participation. However, none of them seem to put an emphasis on play or the experience of users. Participation is more seen as a means to further the normative ideals of more inclusive institutions or better planning processes. Arguably, there is some notion of play in communicative/collaborative planning literature; however, it seems to be more of an afterthought. Some scholars (Innes, Booher, 2002; Innes, 2004) use the concept of network power to describe the relationships developing between participants during consensus-building or collaborative dialogue. However, this is not the same as the concept of play as introduced in this thesis.

First, the focus of a communicative planning process is rather in establishing new rules or ways of doing things, based on consensus-building. Community and culture are seen as things

that follow from an engagement with those processes either in any manner (Healey, 2006) or in best-case scenarios (Innes, 2015). Either way this assumption is based on normative ideals and on the belief in communicative rationality, even though, as argued previously, communities form around practices and routines and not necessarily around politics, ideals and beliefs (Huizinga, 1949). However, once a communicative/ collaborative process is finished, the aim is subsequently to maintain that consensus and create institutional arrangements or use existing ones to enforce it (Allmendinger, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005). Both are strategies based on rules rather than play, as the individual participants might or might not be part of this. Once the participation process is over, there seems to be no follow-up procedure available for average inhabitants of an area besides the implementation itself which can still be affected by altering circumstances or by the need for arbitration by courts (Allmendinger, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005). Therefore, many of the outcomes are playing out on an institutional level which is more often than not far away from the everyday life of participants. This often leads to what Klaus Overmeyer once called the „hourglass-principle of participation" (Overmeyer, oral talk, 2016: minute 26:37 - 27:00;) meaning that there are „natural breaking points" as participation is often disconnected from getting involved in the city itself.

Second, if there are new communities that developed out of a process or new social spaces opening due to that process, the main focus is the accumulation of institutional resources in the form of „social, intellectual and political capital" (Healey, 2006: p.311). Therefore, communities are mobilised in order to drive the normative agenda of more democratic decision-making and planning in the way that communicative planning envisions how these sorts of things ought to be done. This of course not necessarily a bad thing and, depending on the context, can be an important step in a good direction. Again, the point made earlier still prevails: The experience of the participant is playing a secondary role. Except, of course, persons who are already partaking in other play-elements in city- or decision-making and bring in enough capital to follow through on all the follow-up processes.

This leads to another issue in regard to play – the question of community versus representation. While it is argued that diversity is guaranteed by not limiting access to strategy-making arenas (Harris, 2005), there still needs to be some sort of representation. While formally speaking there is nothing that prevents people from attending a communicative process, other factors might do so. Besides people lacking simple resources, like time or energy, habitus is also a very strong factor. A lack of experience in any form of discursive format might easily prevent someone from attending or from being able to express themselves clearly and convincingly. This of course should be prevented or at least mitigated through planners, acting as facilitators or mediators. However, there is an argument to be made that just by design, certain people are

simply more privileged than others. On that basis there is also little consideration for the question of individual motivation, not in the sense of already manifested needs or desires but in the simple way of actually having a reason to engage with such a process, and to think of oneself of being either able or qualified to do so. This ultimately means that not communities are taking part in decision-making processes but rather representatives of each group of stakeholders.

However, whenever communicative planning pursues a play-strategy, it also starts changing the field of planning itself. As described earlier, planning practitioners and scholars ushered in the communicative turn by deciding not to follow the given rules of instrumental rationality and its structures of planning prevalent at the time. Instead, they engaged in a critical reflection on themselves and their profession. This introspection combined with an interest in developing new frameworks and discussing these findings with peers created a new play-element within planning. This becomes apparent in Innes' article Planning Theory's emerging paradigm: Communicative Action and Interactive Practice (Innes, 1995), which does not open with new findings, hypotheses or questions, but rather with the statement that „a new type of planning theorist is beginning to dominate the field" (Innes, 1995: p.51). While Innes certainly offers interesting new approaches and ways of looking at planning itself, throughout the text there is a very strong emphasis on this new community of planners who are united by this new form of practice. And over time, this new group gained influence and, through their practices, changed what today can be considered the 'culture of planners'.

3.4. Critique of the Communicative Paradigm in Participation

This chapter will provide a critique of the current communicative paradigm in participatory city-making by applying the theories mentioned earlier. After discussing the basic building blocks of communicative approaches to planning in the previous chapter, there are some key points I want to address. In general, it can be argued that since the 1990s the communicative turn has come to fruition. Many cities and municipalities have set up master plans or even legal regulations for participation, mostly following the ideas of communicative/collaborative planning. However, as we are currently in the midst of social, structural and political changes which are intertwined with the rise of digital technologies, it seems that the aforementioned approaches have not aged too well. However, the intention is not to participate in critique for its own sake, rather I want to highlight certain issues that cannot adequately be answered by the communicative paradigm in planning. This is not intended to convey a normative stance or declare communicative planning obsolete or even wrong, but to show it to be only one particular way of looking at participation.

Modes of Communication

Game designer Eric Zimmerman argues in his „Manifesto for a ludic Century" (Zimmerman, 2015: p.19-22) that the twentieth century was the age of linear information. The modes of communication revolved around moving image media as well newspapers, radio, etc. There was a clear line between the passive audience and active producers. Information regarding planning was of course communicated in much the same fashion. Communicative/collaborative planning approaches innovated that insofar as they created a controlled environment, i.e. „strategy-making arenas" (Healey, 1997), in which this linearity could be overcome, and deliberation was fostered between the normally passive citizens who were affected on the one hand, and the active city-makers on the other hand. However, in our current situation this channelling of communication is actually more restrictive than the modes of communication most people are used to nowadays. Due to the internet and the rise of social media, the line between passive consumers and active creators is blurred. Zimmerman even points out that „[m]edia and culture in the Ludic Century is increasingly systemic, modular, customizable, and participatory" (Zimmerman, 2015: p.20). This also means that there currently is an abundance of „strategy-making arenas" online in which people can participate as they please. Of course, many of these 'e-arenas' inherently come with certain issues, and in many cases are even highly problematic.

However, the issue here is one of quantity rather than quality. One might argue that social media and similar platforms resemble the fast-food equivalent of public spheres as they are accessible anywhere at any time, lack restrictions in what can and cannot be articulated and on top reward any sort of behaviour by grouping people with similar opinions together. This is also where we see that the fuzziness of some of the concepts used in communicative planning theory is becoming a problem. A good example is the concept of 'strategy-making' which can simply be understood as „shifting systems of understanding and frames of reference" (Harris, 2005: p.35). Similarly, diversity online is also provided by „not too restrictive" (Harris, 2005: p.35). access. While certainly unintended, these concepts can also be applied to social media and e-arenas. Whether the outcome of such processes is fostering democratic ideals or liberal values is very much up for debate. Especially when considering that it is also becoming increasingly difficult to draw lines in regard to who holds a stake in a certain place, if a space is solely defined by the differing interpretations of a group, especially considering current discussions on echo-chambers and the political influences emanating from them.

Lastly, as more and more people gain access to an ever-widening audience, setting up a controlled environment capable of creating situations of ideal speech is becoming increasingly

difficult. With digital communication technologies being omnipresent, people outside of a strategy-making arena can create pressure and exert power and influence. Similarly, information from inside the arena can as easily be leaked at any time. Of course, inherently this is neither a good nor a bad thing; this is just meant to showcase that many concepts, methods and ideals of communicative planning theory are currently struggling to keep up with how cultural practices change.

In summary, while opening up new communication channels between city-makers and the affected communities certainly was a good thing at the time, in our current times of post-factuality and radical populism the question remains whether it is enough to just open more competing avenues of discourse if the understanding of participation in decision-making is really the only viable option, and whether further politicising participation is necessarily a good thing.

Political Understanding: Participation as Democratic Potential

This leads to another issue that has become evident over the last few years, namely the understanding of democracy as depicted by communicative planning theory. Despite the fact that the communicative turn is based on a normative agenda of making planning and its institutions more democratic, there is no explicit definition of what that actually means in the context of planning practice. Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2005: p.214) point out that „[t]he communicative and collaborative turn is not simply a theory but a ‚world view' based on a participatory perspective of democracy and either a suspicion or a more balanced attempt to situate free market economics". While Innes (2005) rejects this notion and argues that „In these processes logical deductive argumentation from goals to objectives does not work […]" as „[p]eople soon discover they do not share sufficient goals or worldviews for this type of argument to be effective" (Innes, 2004: p.11), the question lingers what is the understanding of democracy that is so fundamental to the normative beliefs of communicative planning scholars.

As argued in the previous chapter, communicative planning processes very often rely on some form of representation. However, it is left unanswered who is qualified to be representative of group and whether or not that constitutes a form of democratic legitimacy. This can lead to parallel structures and unclear responsibilities. Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones even argue as follows:

Recent shifts in local governance in many parts of the world have broadly and in part been characterised by a fragmented landscape of public, semi-public and private bodies. This is what Luhmann terms a plethora of governments that government cannot steer – a centreless society [...].

(Allmendinger, Tewdwr-Jones, 2005: p.215)

This is of course not to say that planners do not have responsibilities, values or normative beliefs, and that they should not interfere with politics. Rather the question lies in the way communicative planning problematises participation to be a solution to democratic deficits. Huxley (2013) describes this as follows:

Debates take place within a framework that produces ‚participation' as something that is ‚sayable' as a solution to a diffuse set of problems (for example, of democracy; of local self-determination; of citizen's rights; of gaining acceptance of policies; of averting protest action; of producing proper forms of liberal conduct).

(Huxley, 2013: p.1532)

Participation has become the seeming answer to a lot of political issues. However, what seems to be missing is the proper question since "perhaps a definitive resolution in terms of prescription for more or less participation that suits all situations is not possible or desirable" (Huxley, 2013: p.1532).

Ludic Imperfections

Participation in terms of communicative planning is a play-element with strong ludic qualities as participating in arenas of strategy-making requires a lot skill, patience and effort. It also requires the participants to follow or share an understanding of the rules and goals. Whether or not this was intentional, Healey's (2006) 'guides for practice' resemble a games' manual, as throughout the individual steps the players, the playing field or arena, the rules and the goal in the sense of a consensus or a shared understanding of problems or solutions are determined.

However, from a design perspective a lot is missing or ambiguous here. Given that many formal aspects of communicative planning are derived from or inspired by Habermas' theory of communicative action, which even many scholars have described as „important but inaccessible" (Brand, 1990: vii), „unnecessarily long" (Giddens, 1985: p.96) or „massive and complex" (White, 1988: p.1), it seems almost impossible that everyone within the strategy-making arena has an

understanding of the rules or that everyone agrees to follow them in the same way. Of course, it is the planners' responsibility to facilitate this process and make sure that an understanding is reached. This gives rise to the problem that the planner is needed not only as mediator but also as interpreter of the rules. This aspect of new expertise will be discussed in the next section. What I want to emphasise is the seeming lack of focus on the individual experience. To reiterate a point made earlier: Game designer Jesse Schell argued that when designing a game, the experience of the player is the single most important aspect of the game, while everything else is just „artifacts – clumps of cardboard and bags of bits." (Schell, 2008: p.10). While many planning theorists criticised communicative planning for emphasising process over outcome, I would argue that process is emphasised over individual experience.

Top-down vs. Bottom-up dichotomy

Healey (1996) argued that two main tendencies in planning are present that at first glance seem mutually exclusive. Pissourios summarises these as follows:

> *On the one hand there has been a tendency towards centralism and de-politicizing decision-making as well as increasing the role and power of technical experts. On the other hand there have been demands for more participation in decision-making, a call for more accountability on the part of local politicians and officials and increasing criticism of technical expertise.*

(Pissourios, 2014: p. 84)

This proclaimed dichotomy of bottom-up versus top-down approaches to planning is an integral part of the communicative turn. However, while this strict separation was certainly active during the second half of the twentieth century, it seems that this line as well has recently become blurred. As communicative approaches are quite often utilised by municipalities nowadays, it stands to reason that a form of communicative expertise substituted the technical expert status of planners. Communicative planning practitioners now gain power through communicative knowledge, as they are the ones to interpret the rules of communicative action. Therefore, they are in a position to decide who has a stake in a certain matter, how and where the strategy-making arena is situated and how the deliberation process should take place. The theory of communicative action also provides guidelines to the routines and style of discussion, giving the individual planner a lot of influence over how participants should express themselves. Further, participation in this sense is a standard procedure for many municipalities, or in some cases even mandatory for specific projects. Therefore, it is hard to argue that communicative planning is strictly to be seen as a bottom-up approach, especially when regarding all points

made earlier concerning representation and privilege.

Be that as it may, the position taken in this thesis is that the distinction between bottom-up and top-down approaches is an analytical dichotomy that is not necessarily helpful anymore. Rather than arguing that top-down and bottom-up are polar opposites we should try to see them as complementary. Or, as Tan pointed out: „While the interventions from above generate forms of resistance [...], 'do it yourself' urban practices fall short of being able to replace market and state led governance, as they struggle to upscale their reach." (Tan, 2014: p.34) Especially since top-down and bottom-up approaches seem to have an inherent normative connotation where the former is always seen as arbitrary accompanied by oppressive action generated from above, while the latter is always seen as righteous and strictly better.

The proposition I want to make in this context is that the bottom-up and top-down dichotomy can be replaced by the dynamic and complementary model of the play-element of culture as presented in this thesis. In this context, participation or planning can be understood as a play-element or a meaningful activity or practice. This practice always fluctuates between states of paidia or ludus, meaning that they can either be liberating or structuring activities. This is influenced by different strategies in relation to culture or cultures. Rule-based strategies see the play-element as a canvas to project existing values and ideals onto, shifting the state of the play-element towards ludus. Play-strategies, however, start out with a play-element and try to foster communities and cultures around it. Both strategies are independent of specific groups of actors as both approaches are and have been utilised by very different groups and to differing degrees of success as I will argue in the next chapters.

This model seems much better equipped to explain certain dynamics and planning practices that are elusive to the paradigmatic dichotomy proposed by communicative planning. For instance, programs like „Lokale Agenda" or recent International Building Exhibitions, like the one in Saxony-Anhalt, are funded and organised from „above". However, they often work with interventions or similar approaches, which are traditionally defined as bottom-up.

Similarly, a bottom-up and top-down dichotomy prevents analysing the transitions of certain programs, policies and discourses as well as how different approaches might complement each other. For example, a lot of DIY urbanism practices, like guerrilla or urban gardening, started as paidic activities. However, many cities realised their potential and started creating systems which allow more people to become urban gardeners themselves, effectively increasing the reach of this practice. I argue that collaboration within a wider field of actors can be enabled by overcoming the bottom-up and top-down dichotomy.

4. A Critical History of Participation in City-making

So how can participation be understood differently? In chapter two, I defined city-making as a general umbrella term with a focus on all the different communities and cultures aiming at changing cities. Each of them gathers around different practices or play-elements in order to do so. Depending on the context, i.e. time and space, these practices can shift. For example, architecture as ludic activity can be seen as a way for a certain culture to express itself by abiding by or formulating certain styles or codes. On the other hand, architecture can be a paidic activity focussed on creating something new like experimenting with new materials, concepts or aesthetics. It could also refer to an understanding and practice of architecture where the aim is to construct social norms or to enable new forms of living. Similarly, urban activism, depending again on the context, can take a paidic form like spontaneous protests, riots or interventions. The ludic pendant to that would be organising protest camps, strikes or forming settlements like communes. As described previously, the struggle surrounding a play-element revolves around changing from ludus to paidia or vice versa.

Participation, however, is different from the disciplines and communities defined above. It suddenly introduces a pre-defined play-element for all the different communities and cultures to participate in. As it is often set at the intersections of different fields, it creates a space where the individual rules of each field suddenly do not apply anymore. In a strange way, it opens up a new opportunity for play allowing for new and different ways to exchange capital. However, participation as a play-element can also be designed in a ludic way, i.e. as a way for a community or a collective of different groups to express their shared values through rules, or as a way to form new groups through play.

The end of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) will serve as a starting point for my critical history of participation in city-making. This is a conscious attempt to break with the common narrative of participation, as „most research into the rise of participation in planning tends to invoke the politically turbulent 1960s as the starting point for practices demanding greater public involvement and control over planning decisions affecting local areas" (Huxley, 2013: p.1533). As stated previously, there is a vast variety of different understandings and problematisations of participation when looking at the wider field of city-making. It is my belief that if the topic was reduced only to planning practice and theory, much of this variety

would be lost. Also, this approach allows for an analysis of the relationships between different approaches and understandings.

This chapter is organised in a loose chronology. This is not done with the intention to construct a natural progression and evolution of the term participation but to better visualise how certain understandings travelled and changed over time.

4.1. The End of CIAM

The first half of the twentieth century of architectural practice was dominated by modernism as defined by the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) and its famous Charta of Athens. It defined architecture and city-making as a physical practice, focusing on an ideal form and the strict separation of functions. In short, modernity understood architecture as a strictly ludic practice as it set up rules, ideals and goals.

While this was meant to alleviate cities from the conditions of the industrialised cities and worn-down inner cities, criticism of this already emerged in the 1950s. Within CIAM, a group of young architects formed an opposition to the ideals of modernity. As they were invited to organise and host the 10th CIAM congress, they were called „Team 10“. Incidentally, this 10th meeting was also the last meeting of CIAM as the criticism of modern architecture was by far outweighing the voices of its defenders. Ekim Tan describes the approach of Team 10's members as follows:

> *[…] rebelling against the large scale, technocratic and abstract nature of modernist urbanism […]. Members of Team 10 were introducing notions such as 'human scale', the 'community', and 'continuous city processes' into designers' agenda. Closing the gap between the design bureaucracy and the society was regarded as urgent.*
>
> (Tan, 2014: p.63).

They envisioned a form of architecture that was not participatory, yet they shifted the focus of their work to the „[…] adaptation of physical spaces to the real needs of the population instead of creating grand urban schemes […]“ (Tan, 2014: p.65).

The base of their work were several studies on self-built or appropriated urban environments like working class neighbourhoods in the global south or working-class districts in London (Tan, 2014: p. 69). This point of view, which saw cities more as 'habitat', meaning „a place po-

pulated by human beings and their communities and a natural environment where people have direct control over the formation of their physical surroundings", was detrimental to the modernist stance of many architects of the time as it „was the direct opposition to the obsolete modernist notion of the house as a machine for living in." (Tan, 2014: p.69).

Team 10 proposed the concept of „double scale architecture" (Habraken, 1972) which meant that the architect was responsible for providing structures and service frameworks while the users were free to adapt the surroundings to their need. The inspiration for this came from studies conducted in different places in the global south, often shantytowns and similar self-built neighbourhoods (Tan, 2014).

Team 10 laid the foundation for a fundamental shift in city-making. It was not just the disruption of CIAM and the opposition to the modernist ideal, but they also introduced a lot of vocabulary, ideals and values. They problematised the understanding of cities as an unchanging monument with strictly rational zoning policies and pre-determined usages. While members of Team 10 did not engage with, what we nowadays understand as, participation, their work certainly was centred on the user and on designing in such a way that involvement in the city was made possible via the „adaptation of physical space to the real needs of the population instead of creating grand urban schemes" (Tan, 2014: p.65)

4.2. The Situationist International and Utopias

While Team 10 tried to find new visions for a new modern architecture based on the needs of its inhabitants, another movement emerged during the 1950s. Founded in 1957, the Situationist International (SI) was a collective of avant-garde artists and intellectuals who aimed at combining leftist and Marxist theories with ideas from early avant-garde art movements like surrealism. The SI developed, or in parts refined, two concepts which were rather important to the development of participation in city-making: 'Unitary Urbanism'.

Unitary urbanism shares some ideals with the concept of ‚habitat' but takes on a more radical and consequently a more political form. Plant (2002) summarises unitary urbanism as follows:

This sort of unitary environment required the study and negation of the relationship between the material world and its subjective experience. Emotions, desires, and experiences of all sorts differ according to the architecture of a space and the arrangements of colours, sounds, textures, and lighting with which it is created.

(ibid., p.57)

Pinder (2005) adds that „[u]nitary urbanism was not a doctrine of urbanism [...] but a critique of urbanism. It was forged out of a revolutionary struggle to transform social space and everyday life" (Pinder, 2005: p.129). Besides the criticism and radical opposition to capitalism, when it came to urbanism the SI prioritised social space over changing materiality or formations of the city. While modern architecture saw the old cities as messy and chaotic assemblages, in need of being put in a new order, the Situationists saw them as an opportunity to immerse oneself and get lost in the tangled urban fabric. Their intention was rather to create a new city by changing everyday life and ultimately revolution rather than conceptualising and codifying rules for 'ideal' cities. Unitary urbanism "was opposed to the alienating conditions of the society of the spectacle and promoted as a project that was collective and participatory, one that would be ‚lived' by its constructors." (Pinder, 2005: p. 129)

The architect and artist Constant Nieuwenhuys, who was a member of the SI, designed a utopian vision of this new idea of urbanism. Instead of designing buildings, streets and the like, the focal point was the everyday life and experience of the inhabitants. Nieuwenhuys envisioned a place called 'New Babylon'; it was a place where work was fully automated, and its inhabitants could fully focus on creativity and exploration of environments, feelings and different situations. The architectural part was left open to be defined by the inhabitants, allowing for ephemeral and everchanging new situations:

Constant's New Babylon was to be a series of linked transformable structures, some of which themselves were the size of a small city [...]. In the New Babylon, the bourgeois shackles of work, family life, and civic responsibility would be discarded. The post-revolutionary individual would wander from one leisure environment to another in search of new sensations. [...] Deductive reasoning, goal-oriented production, the construction and betterment of a political community—all these were eschewed.

(Goldhagen, 2006, 17.06.2019)

While 'New Babylon' was still a very abstract concept, made up from a series of sketches, paintings, texts and models, it inspired a wide array of architects to work on similar ideas, such as

Friedmann's 'Ville Spatial', Cedric Price and Joan Littlewoods 'Fun Palace' or Archigram's 'Plug-In-City', all of which were intended to be architectural mega-structures which are organised by their inhabitants themselves. The main idea was that people could shift, construct and reconstruct all elements of the megastructure to adept them to their needs.

Both the situationists and the different utopian architects are closely related to Henri Lefebvre's Critique of every-day life (1947) in the sense that it informs the framing or problematisation of their conception of what it means to get involved in or with the city, especially for the situationists who had a close relationship with Lefebvre. The problems which they aimed to solve through getting involved in or with the city were not only the dreary urban environments created by modern architecture but the loss of personal relationships and meaning in social life as well as the alienating conditions of the time. However, the strategies that were chosen to incite involvement in and with the city were quite diverse. While the situationists literally engaged in playful strategies, via dérives, interventions and other impromptu actions, aiming at changing the existing culture, the utopian architects worked on translating and codifying the ideals of a de-alienated culture into utopian drafts and concepts. However, both worked on empowering the people to break free from the powerful or the expert. While most of this was theoretical work with little impact on existing practices in city-making, many of the ideals were later carried over.

4.3. The First Wave of Urban Social Movements

Margit Mayer describes them as a first wave of urban social movements which were „triggered by the norms and standardization of the Fordist–Keynesian city, its functional zoning, suburbanization, urban renewal and the 'inhospitability' of urban space" (Mayer, 2013: p.6). It was during this period that Jane Jacobs published her famous book Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961) and spearheaded a movement against Robert Moses' plans for implementing several highways throughout New York City. Jacobs indirectly took up some of the ideas like habitat or Team 10's notion of 'the human scale' and translated them into terms of everyday life experience. Her aim was to underline the importance of the sidewalk, the small, often family-owned shops, and of urban life in general. Mayer summarises the results of these movements as having „developed progressive alternative projects of their own, generating a vibrant infrastructure of community and youth and cultural centers, alternative and feminist collectives, autonomous media and a host of other self-managed projects." (Mayer, 2013: p.7). Here, people demanded for the first time „more participation in the decision-making about their design so they would actually meet people's needs" (Mayer, 2013: p. 7).

It is here that we see the emergence of the understanding of participation as getting involved in decision-making. While Team 10, the situationists and others were primarily looking at ways to get involved in the city, Jacobs, Davidoff and many other activists were fighting for getting involved with the city. The problematisation, to which that involvement was supposed to be the solution, arises in opposition to the political and economic formation of the time. For them the protests and their engagement were a way to express their culture and the cultural practices of the old neighbourhoods threatened by overambitious and misguided attempts to rebuild the city. This sparked new approaches in city-making. Tan describes the effect of this new problematisation for city-makers as follows: "Many designers and planners voluntarily left their desks to form project groups in the neighborhoods. Their work primarily became mediating talks with tenants, sociologists, and social workers." (Tan, 2014: p.69)

It was largely due to those movements that also many professional city-makers changed their understanding of urbanism, the city, and their own practices. The question of how exactly people should be integrated in the process of city-making was debated and resulted in a wide array of new practices. On the one hand, in the field of classical planning Davidoff wrote his famous work on advocacy planning, arguing that planners, while still being the experts, should take over advocacy for groups that were mostly absent on the decision-making process to guarantee fair processes. The job of the advocate planner was to represent those groups just like a lawyer might present a legal case at court (Tan, 2014).

In this context, participation was problematised as making the voices of underrepresented groups heard in the planning process. Getting involved in or with the city, both in the context of urban social movements and advocacy planning, meant getting heard in the bureaucratic machinery. However, the ways to do so were quite different. While Jacobs and other activists worked with protests and disruptions, Davidoff aimed to regulate ways for underrepresented groups to be able to participate.

4.4. The Populist Movement in Architecture

At the heart of this change was the realisation that, while modernity proclaimed how architecture and planning should be conducted and what a city was supposed to look like, only a very small percentage of cities actually reflected those ideals (Lefaivre, Tzonis, 1975, 2005). Rather there was a vast wilderness of popular and – back then – vulgar designs and practices that went almost completely unaccounted for. From billboards to informal housing, and from degraded inner city-neighbourhoods in western cities to slums in the global south, so many

developments in cities were unaccounted for in architecture. One famous example for this understanding is Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown's (1972) study on the Las Vegas Strip, its inherent meanings and intricate sign language. Venturi and Scott-Brown very much voiced an increasingly popular thought in architecture:

> [T]hey exposed the abuses and contradictions of functionalism and international style clearly showing the principles of a ‚universal visual order' to be not only incoherent as a system but inconsistent with everyday reality. They [...] argued that functionalism and international style were unable to provide an architecture acceptable to the general public because they refused to ‚look downward... to the commonplace' and to ‚the commercial vernacular' of the mass of people who were [...] the real users of architecture.

(Lefaivre, Tzonis, 1975: p.291 f.)

This new fascination with the cities and neighbourhoods, untamed by the ideals of modernity, was paired with an increasing scepticism towards experts and a rejection of grand narratives in favour of everyday life. Numerous architects started studying and working on all the urban areas that did not fit in the concept of modern architecture. Inquiries were made in very different directions, from the aforementioned Las Vegas Strip, the Harlem of the 1960s to squatter settlements in the barriadas of Lima (Lefaivre, Tzonis, 1975) or Algerian shantytowns (Tan, 2014).

However, the conclusions drawn from these studies were very different. While Venturi and Scott-Brown argued for the expansion of architectural vocabulary to also incorporate everyday items such as billboards, others argued for a complete overhaul of the architectural design process. For example, Brolin and Zeisel (1968) argued that homes designed by middle- or upper-class architects were degrading and dehumanising for lower-income classes, while unplanned housing, which was built by the inhabitants themselves expressed the social and cultural values of its users. They proposed a process very similar to Paul Davidoff's advocacy planning (1965) which is to include a sociologist as a mediator between architect and user to make sure that the designed housing fits the needs of the future inhabitants. This sociologist would regularly observe and interview future inhabitants in order to represent them and also present the designs to them. Lefaivre and Tzonis describe even more radical positions. They quote Gans to exemplify these positions: „It was undemocratic for an architect [...] to impose his point of view on the user because 'the architect is not a political representative and he is not accountable to any electorate or other constituency'. He had 'no right to decide (what) people ought to be'" (Lefaivre, Tzonis, 1975, p.294). They elaborate that Gans argued that there should be architects and architecture for every class and different „taste culture". Some, like John Tur-

ner (1968), who was inspired by his studies on shantytowns, saw housing as an existential value, arguing for self-help design of users and an understanding of housing as a process rather than a product (Lefaivre, Tzonis, 1975).

Most of this took place in the politically turbulent seventies and progressed ideas that went even further back to the 1950s. Tan (2014) points out that a lot of those ideals can be traced back to the images of utopian architecture, like Price's Fun Palace or Archigram's Plug-in-city. Furthermore, she argues that „the debates finally took the shape as a resistance movement. It turned into a protest culture, interacting with the welfare state and its institutions with scepticism" (Tan, 2014, p. 71). Lefaivre and Tzonis (1975) later summarised this trend under the term 'The populist Movement in Architecture', which they define as follows:

> *The populists wished to cast aside the architectural practice based on visual and functional regimentation in favour of an activity centered around the needs of the individual user. The user was to become the official mentor, if not master, of the design decision. [...] they urged in all cases that the design process should be carried out ,in the name of the people.*

<div align="right">(Lefaivre, Tzonis, 1975: p.297)</div>

While the populists shared many values and ideals, there were different approaches and problematisations of participation subsumed here. First of all, the problematisation that follows the ideas of Venturi and Scott-Brown who saw it as the architects' responsibility to get involved in the city and to understand how the people shaped and used everyday spaces in order to provide more inclusive designs. Second, there is the question of who has the right to express themselves to others and the understanding of participation as a step towards more inclusive design processes. Lastly, we see participation as an existential value where the question is raised why the user is disconnected from the process of shaping their environments in the first place.

However, the populist movement never gained a lot of traction in practice. Tan points out that „[w]hen the political winds of the eighties started blowing, characterized by the policies of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, there was little remaining of the participation debate" (Tan, 2014: p.71). While there was an impact on the culture in architecture, roll-back Neoliberalisation and its effect on the welfare states heightened tensions and brought many pressing social issues back. Similarly, due to the austerity cuts of that era many municipalities lacked resources to implement participatory policies of their own (Mayer, 2013: p.7).

4.5. The Second Wave of Urban Social Movements

During the 2000s, extending to some extent to the recent years there has been a „trend to implement participatory elements in urban planning procedures" which are „embedded in current debates about institutional restructuring processes of European cities" (Gabauer, 2018: p.173). As argued in the previous chapter, most of them follow a communicative action ideal, although it can be debated to which extent communicative planning scholars and practitioners would consider them to do so.

While the 1990s saw a phase of relative stability, Mayer describes the 2000s as „the first climax of neoliberalization" (Mayer, 2013, p. 8). Many social reforms, partly carried out or put into action by Third Way politics, replaced the remaining welfare systems with workfare systems which forced many people in lower classes into downgraded labour markets (Mayer, 2013). In addition, urbanisation grew increasingly globalised with international actors investing heavily in cities all around the world. In addition, markets became deregulated as a reaction to globalisation (Mayer, 2013). In the context of city-making, Mayer defines four dimensions of neoliberal urbanisation:

> • *A deregulation of housing markets and a rise of influence of real estate owners and investors, which often operate on an international or global level*
> • *New discourses about self-responsibilisation are obfuscating issues of gentrification, the elimination of protection for tenants and public housing*
> • *The branding and festivalization of cities to attract tourists and foreign capital*
> • *General strategies of creative cities are aimed to appropriate alternative cultures for the 'sanitation' of inner cities and the exclusion of less affluent or populations with low social, cultural, economic or symbolic capital.*

<div align="right">(ibid., 2013: p. 9)</div>

However, at the end of the 2000s civic opposition arose which was directed at the rise of neoliberalisation, globalisation and, to some extent, at Third Way politics which was argued by many to promote an agenda of post-politics and depolitisation. New urban movements emerged, such as the Occupy movement, the 'indignados' movement in Spain, the Gezi Park protests in Turkey and the various movements of the Arab spring. While the effect of these movements on policies and politics in general was rather limited, Mayer argues that these movements had quite a considerable impact on the field of city-making:

> *While the encampments were triggered by the crisis-induced austerity politics, they also invented, practiced and consolidated— at least temporarily—new common spaces for socialization and political action [...] Thus, the protests against the slashing of public infrastructures and services have not only been contesting the dispossession wrought by this latest round of neoliberalization, but have also expressed new progressive visions of the appropriation of urban space and the production of radically socializable spaces.*
>
> (Mayer, 2013: p. 13)

The effect of these encampments therefore must be understood in a cultural rather than in a political context. Moore (2013) argues for there to be a carry-over effect, meaning that the people participating in occupations and encampments took those experiences into new situations. Many protestors of this second wave of urban social movements later brought their experience into anti-eviction movements or into civic assemblages (Mayer, 2013). This can be very much be argued to be embodied learning or a development of a new habitus. Mayer sums this process up, and differentiates this form of protest from earlier movements:

> *Unlike the politicized oppositional movements of the 1960s–1970s, which attacked the norms and design of the (from today's perspective generous) Fordist provision of collective consumption, these new movements [...] have articulated and defended visions of the commons and have attempted to prefigure such radical concepts in their encampments. Long after the encampments have been dissolved, their experience continues to resonate in decentralized direct actions and new forms of organizing in a variety of settings.*
>
> (Mayer, 2013: p.13 f.)

This can also be seen in the way getting involved in or with the city is understood here. In contrast to the movements of the 1960s, protestors did not necessarily get involved or incorporated into decision-making and politics. Rather they engaged in what Hage termed 'Alter-Politics' (Hage, 2015). Participation in this context can be understood as getting involved in creating and living new forms of social organisation or participating in a sort of spatial laboratory.

4.6. Performative Planning

During the late 2000s, and especially after the events of Occupy Wall Street and similar second wave urban movements, an new direction in planning and participation evolved, namely performative planning. This approach can be traced back to what is called the performative turn in Human geography which itself drew inspiration from certain theatrical theories of the 1960s,

for example the works of Richard Schechner. Performance in this context was understood as „the art of producing the now" (Thrift, 2000: p.577) or, in simpler terms, as a way to analyse everyday and ephemeral interactions in public space and to reframe the understanding of action. Dirksmeier and Helbrecht argue as follows:

> *Thus, performance could be interpreted as a reflection of practice and reformulation. Thereby, on the one hand it allows framing the research process differently and on the other hand the concept of performance gives space to address new questions about everyday experience [...]. It allows insights in the reflexivity of symbolic, public and social action.*
>
> (Dirksmeier, Helbrecht, 2010: p.40)

Planners took up these ideas as well. Altrock and Huning argue that due to the communicative turn „planners' tasks have diversified as well, especially in the context of urban regeneration" (Altrock, Huning, 2015: p.150) and that new approaches were needed that „stimulate rather than mediate" (Altrock, Huning, 2015: p.151) due to changing debates on urban growth and new planning problems.

One example of such approaches was the 'Internationale Bauaustellung' (IBA) in Saxony-Anhalt which lasted from 2003 to 2010. The central topic of the IBA was to develop approaches and planning for shrinkage as well as finding different models or understandings of growth as Saxony-Anhalt was one of the lower developed and shrinking regions of eastern Germany. As such the region both lacked public and private resources as well as perspectives beyond one-dimensional understandings of growth (Altrock, Huning, 2015). This lack of perspective was also part of everyday life and the topic of shrinkage seemed to be taboo to municipalities, politicians and the society alike. Therefore, the aim of the organisers was to try new methods and approaches to participation, which Altrock and Huning describe as follows:

> *In many cities urban planners have started to invent, try out and elaborate tools such as temporary events, scenic arrangements, and cultural interventions to achieve broader public participation. These tools are instrumental to 'performative' planning, which does not aim primarily at the production of plans, but to set the stage to raise attention, to interrupt everyday uses and definitions of places, and to initiate active residential or civic involvement in the redefinition of those places, thereby creating incentives for getting involved in place-based development strategies.*
>
> (Altrock, Huning, 2015: p.152)

In the context of the IBA in Saxony-Anhalt this meant that for each of the region's 19 cities, different interventions, activities or installations were set up to engage citizens and to mobilise them to participate in new perspectives for their regions together. The affect, according to Altrock and Huning, was that „performative planning exercises often lead to long-lasting involvement by civil society, which either individually or collectively takes over responsibility for stabilising achievements" (Altrock, Huning, 2010: p.160).

The rise of performative planning also coincides with new DIY urbanism and many urban collectives and initiatives (Rauterberg, 2013). Starting out with guerrilla or neighbourhood gardening, urban knitting, cultural interventions and street art, many citizens are drawn to topics concerning neighbourhood and urbanism. All of these approaches share the fact that they are based in physical space while being often organised and initiated online. Due to this fact, Rauterberg argues that these movements are part of what he calls „digital modernity" (Rauterberg, 2013) which he views as a new urban era.

In general, it can be argued that getting involved in the city, both in performative planning as well as in the case of movements and developments in digital modernity, means understanding the city as a place for socialising. In contrast to communicative planning there is no or little intention in getting involved too much with politics but rather to create new, sometimes only temporary, communities in order to foster new interactions and culture. A stance that is very similar to, and seemingly inspired by the urban social movements of the 2010s, like Occupy Wall Street.

5. Interpretation

As theorised in chapter 2 and exemplified throughout chapter 4, there are two underlying and discernible strategies identifiable when it comes to participation. It can be argued that strategies either seem to aim at putting culture into a certain practice (i.e. planning or design processes, politics, … etc.) which can be described as a rule-based approach, or are aimed at providing a play-element in order to foster new communities and cultures (i.e. DIY or self-help design, cultural interventions or encampments in public space).

On an operational Level considerations can be made regarding the practices, activities and possible routines employed to accomplish strategic goals. For this, the model of paidia and ludus can be utilised. Activities that aim to disrupt the current way of doing things and focus on the individual and on experience can be considered paidic, or at least to be developing a certain practice in a paidic direction. On the other hand, practices aimed at regulating and structuring the way in which things are done that also focus on mastering certain skills or achieving very specific goals can be defined as ludic. It is important to stress that paidia and ludus are not absolutes but rather trajectories for development, and while an activity might start in proximity to one side, it will eventually develop into the other direction if given enough time. However, in the context of my conceptual framework it is key to understand that this development is necessary, as any form of regulation will encounter exceptions or situations that cause a disruption and facilitate the need for innovation. Similarly, every paidic activity, and be it only ephemeral or temporary, will, if given enough time, start to settle and regulate either by itself or by the people that are engaged. Especially this latter aspect is something that very often goes unaccounted for in current approaches to participation, meaning that these processes are ended too abruptly and often at from the participants' point of view seemingly arbitrary points in time.

Therefore, four different forms of participation can be identified. These can be understood more as design schemas for participation, allowing for appropriation in different contexts and fields. The following diagram illustrates the connection between the strategic and operational levels and opens up four possible spaces. To exemplify these different positions four approaches were chosen and placed within the diagram (see figure 4) to highlight the differences.
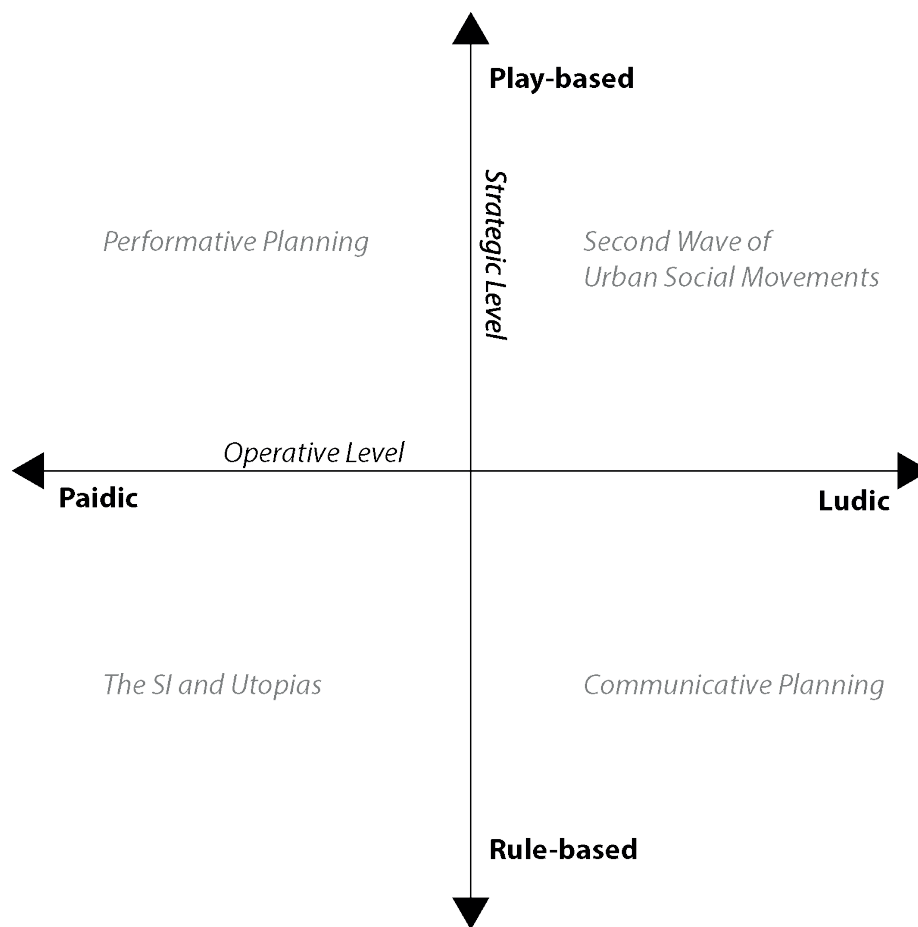
Figure 4: Classification of different approaches to participation, diagram made by the author

As described in chapter 3 communicative planning can be classified as a rule-based approach since the aim is for communities to express their ideals and values in order to change the way planning is conducted. On an operative level it utilizes a ludic approach, because the focus is on mastering communicative and organisational skills as well as setting up new regulations. In contrast to that the Situationist international and many of the utopian architects of the time also aimed to change how planning and architecture was conducted by expressing their values and beliefs; hence they also follow a rule-based approach. However they went with a paidic approach, focussing on experience and disruption in order to do so.

On the other end of the spectrum we find performative planning, which generally follows a play-based strategy. Their focus is on building new communities and activating citizens. While there are very different operational approaches more often than not they utilize paidic play-elements in the form of interventions in public space. Lastly the second wave of urban social movements also aimed at building new communities as it can be categorized as a form of al-

ter-politics. In many cases their protests where not so much opposed to specific policies or activities but aimed at changing the current culture. In order to do so they set up protests camps, which were not solely intended as disruption. Rather for many protestors the organisation of the camp and of new and different decision-making processes constituted a crucial part of the protests themselves. Hence on an operational level they can be classified as ludic, since this required mastery of skills as well as developing regulations and rules.

The descriptions given here are not absolute and there certainly are examples that might suggest a different classification. Rather they serve to illustrate how this new conceptual framework is intended. The aim of the following chapters is to go into more detail on how these different approaches can be understood from an analytical perspective as well as also giving guidelines for practice.

5.1. Play-based Approaches: Participation in City-making

As discussed in chapter 2 on the experiential schema of play, an approach that is utilising a focus on experience should aim at the formation of communities around that experience and ultimately aim to foster a new culture, either within the group itself or change culture on a larger scale. Play approaches are often located in and focused on the city itself, the experience of the streets and squares and very often interact here, rather than in questions of organisation or politics.

Many of these approaches aim to create new experiences that can be shared by others. Especially interventions in public space are aimed to produce new experiences of the city for many different people. For example, urban gardening or seed-bombing and the like are methods used to create an effect in the hope that people might reconsider their understanding of the city and therefore change their cultural perception of the city or its culture . A garden that is created on an otherwise unused strip of urban greenery acts as a statement meant to express that a city might be more than just a space for traffic and consumerism. The long-term goal of course is that through these statements a new culture will emerge out of new and different interactions and situations. The hope is that over time these new communities and cultures will express the rules for how city-making can and should be done in different ways, in turn perpetuating the cycle of the play-element of city-making. Hence, participation as a play-based approach is meant to get users involved in city-making and the creation of spaces for socialisation. Play-based approaches rely on four different aspects in order to be effective:

I. Play-based approaches require the availability of local leeway

Play-based approaches rely on the availability of everyday public or semi-public spaces. In order for there to be interactions between people they need spatial proximity between them to be able to do this. While this is certainly also possible online, there is a big difference in the type of situations and experiences created. Also, Rauterberg points out that while many DIY movements or similar urban groups, collectives, interventions, etc. are organised online, the actual activities themselves always manifest somewhere in the city and its public spaces (Rauterberg, 2013: p. 59). In a similar notion, Semlitsch (2012) points out that in order for performative interventions to be effective there needs to be more 'Spielräume', or leeway, both in the availability of spaces as well as in the way these spaces can be utilised and appropriated. For planners and other professionals with some form of authority over spatial matters, play-based approaches are often more of a hands-off situation where the role of the expert or professional is rather to provide infrastructures and frameworks within which developments can take place.

II. Play-based approaches focus only on the formation of new communities

Play-based approaches can never be a means to an end for planning and planners. Rather they should only be concerned with the formation of new inclusive and heterogeneous groups that appropriate and shape the spaces and places that they share through inhabitation. Imposing any sort of agenda onto participants might either lead to alienation or be perceived as an active attempt at manipulation which makes it counterproductive, as a group will develop its own values, ideas and agendas that should all feed into the process of city-making. It is important that participation is voluntary and happens on the terms of the participants.

III. Play-based approaches rely on embodied learning

Play and experience are strongly interconnected. Approaches based on such fuzzy definitions need to enable learning processes and leeway necessary to adapt to circumstances on their own. This includes that groups make mistakes and learn from them on their own. Participants need to figure out on their own what works and what does not and for what reasons. Therefore, play-based approaches need a lot of time to be effective. The average time that is currently provided for participatory processes often is way too short for such forms of learning to be meaningful in any way. Therefore, it is important that there is an immediate effect for participants, while effects on the city might take a longer period of time.

IV. Play-based approaches need autonomy

This point has already been touched upon in the previous paragraphs. However, it is important to stress that this not just an ideal or value that I subjectively want to impose. Rather groups or communities that are able to organise themselves freely often have very different options and develop solutions to problems that municipalities or professionals would either not have thought of or are not able to perform themselves. Groups, when having the autonomy to do so, can tap into different forms of funding and are not as restricted by legal codes when it comes to design. This also activates and mobilises people to engage in city-making themselves which can be very beneficial for other forms of participation as well as the overall culture of a city. One application of this approach might be for the currently popular design of community spaces in new housing projects. Very often it takes a long time for them to be appropriated by the inhabitants, if at all that is. This is usually the case as they are designed with no real user group in mind, and by making them open to different usages they are not necessarily inviting activities. A play-based participatory process during planning might enable a community to form, maybe in a temporary infill. Rather than creating competing interests once construction begins it might be more useful to integrate this new group into the design of such spaces.

The problems that can be addressed by play-based approaches concern topics of social cohesion, stagnating, neglected or otherwise inhospitable neighbourhoods, the experience of the city, or everyday situations. In general, it seems that play-based approaches work best in stagnant or settled environments or in situations where there is a lack of community. However, it is important to note that these characteristics do not necessarily refer to lower income areas or neighbourhoods of marginalised groups and should be applied with care. Rather I would argue that many middle or even lower-upper class neighbourhoods suffer just as much, if not more, from stagnation and lack of community or experience with such matters. What is also important when considering play-based approaches is that they should not be used when there are in fact deep-rooted political issues that would require rule-based approaches to enable the expression of cultural values of different groups.

As a possible source for inspiration, one might look at some of the ideas of the Situationist International with their focus on psychogeography and dérive, certain strands of the populist movement in architecture and self-help design, but also look at more recent examples like the different occupations that took place during the early 2010s. Similarly, performative planning also goes in that direction and is very close to developing its body of planning theory that might correspond well with the conceptual framework presented in this thesis.

5.1.1. Play-based approaches with a ludic play-element

As discussed in chapter 2, ludus „requires effort, patience and skill. The pleasure of ludus lies in the development and mastery of technique, the psychological satisfaction which comes from discovering solutions [...]" (Stevens, 2007: p.33). In the context of play-based-approaches to participation this means that activities are required which are both able to create community as well as opportunities for learning and mastering one particular thing. It can also just mean to learn how to organise and coordinate as a group. Ludic play-elements are for example community or neighbourhood gardens as well as 'Sprachcafés' meaning voluntarily organised meetups for migrants or refugees to practice the prevalent language of a new environment in a relaxed coffeehouse setting. But this can also be applied to urban collectives or urban initiatives of any kind. Any sort of activity that requires a do-it-yourself mentality or self-help design can function as a play-element in a play-based participatory approach.

5.1.2. Play-based approaches with a paidic play-element

Paidia on the other hand is characterised by „improvisatory action, an escape from routine which explores other possibilities of social experience and which develops new social forms" (Stevens, 2007: p.33). Paidic play-elements in play-based approaches therefore need to be able to shake up everyday life and might serve as wake-up calls. In most cases this might take form of cultural or artistic interventions but can also take shape in the form of festivals or similar activities. What is important though is that there needs to be some form of regularity or follow-up to them, as people need to be able to socialise and form groups through that play-element.

5.2. Rule-based Approaches: Participation in Decision-making

In contrast to play-heavy approaches, rule-heavy approaches start out in the cultural sphere and aim to express cultural values, norms and ideals onto practice. Therefore, it is not aimed at directly impacting the city but rather to change the way cities are organised or produced. In contrast to play-based approaches which can be defined as participation in city-making, rule-based approaches represent participation in decision-making. This can both be in the context of politics or social organisation as well as in design-decision about urban environments.

Hence, rule-based approaches are often concerned with much larger scales than play-based approaches and concern many more and also different stakeholders. However, by their very nature they are often more abstract and detached from everyday life, both in terms of the

practices as well as spatially speaking.

As discussed in chapter 2 on the formal schema of rules, the main characteristic and function of these approaches are that they are meant to express the values and belief systems of groups or communities. Rules as expression also means that in the process of setting them up, goals, visions and a general sense of direction can be formulated. Under the right circumstances, this can be very powerful, both in terms of inclusion as well as exclusion of groups. The following aspects can define rule-based approaches:

I. Rule-based approaches translate values, norms and ideals into rules for action

Following Huizinga's argument on the nature of politics, namely that „[h]e sees the political field as a secondary part of human life, a result of the dominant ideals and principles of the time and the culture of the community" (Duncan, 2016: p.52 f.), rule-based approaches to participation should aim to channel and bring together all the different ideals of the relevant stakeholders and aim to turn them into rules for action. This is especially important if there are divergent or opposing ideals or projects that are impactful to a large variety of groups or communities.

II. Rule-based approaches aim to shift the trajectory of a play-element

As rule-based approaches tend to change the organisation of practices, they are often a means to shift a specific play-element or arise out of the need to do so. For example, the utopian architects of the 1950s and 60s tried to express their cultural ideals in order to create an architecture based on the experience of the user, catering to their needs. The attempt was to shift the current architectural practice of modernity which was defined by mastering certain arbitrary rules formulated in documents like the Charta of Athens. Rule-based approaches therefore are always transformative and helpful in discussing and organising change.

III: Rule-based approaches need to be democratic, inclusive and oriented towards communities

Here, the example of the utopian architects of course falls short as their work remained theoretical and did not correspond to any real-world community. Many of the frameworks and norms of the communicative turn are indeed valuable and important to participation. However, these frameworks need to be contested and revaluated to guarantee that they are matching the context of a given situation. While these ideals are needed to provide legitimacy and ensure

inclusivity and guidelines for users, we cannot let them be set in stone. Therefore, the question what it means to democratise planning needs to be renegotiated regularly and also with the stakeholders that are affected by this process of democratisation.

IV. Rule-based approaches focus on the organisation of cities and social life and should accompany big changes

Lastly, in contrast to play-based approaches which focus on settled or stagnant environments, rule-based approaches are needed in situations of conflict and large-scale developments. In order for any meaningful expression of cultural values to develop, there needs to be a community and in many cases a conflict in which these ideals and values can manifest. Also, rule-based approaches are not limited to questions of politics or economics. They can also be conductive to express cultural values into design or into the built environment itself.

Rule-based approaches work best in transitioning environments or during conflicts between groups with distinct interests. The reason for this is that there are pre-existing values and belief systems that can be formulated into rules, goals or visions. They can provide important guidelines and orientation for developments, both for experts as well as for laymen.

5.2.1. Rule-based approaches with a ludic play-element

In the context of rule-based approaches to participation, ludic play-elements are activities that are both suited to produce outcomes based on the values and ideals of the participants as well as foster learning in regard to questions of social learning, politics and the organisation of cities. Many methods from communicative planning can be placed in this category; they often encompass discursive or deliberative processes. The aim of such activities is to find and develop regulations.

5.2.2. Rule-based approaches with a paidic play-element

Paidic play-elements in rule-based approaches on the other hand are focused on the question of how to open up and revaluate existing regulations and rules. Here, the focus is on opening up existing views and adapting a system, field or activity to new cultural values or norms. Examples for this are gatherings or competitions in search of new ideas, or the participation of citizens in design-questions for new housing projects.

6. Conclusion

Bringing the concept of the play-element of culture into participation opens up new possibilities in analysing and process-design. It allows planners and city-makers of all professions and levels of expertise to see participation as a way to not only express their beliefs and cultural values in the form of rules for action but more importantly their values. Furthermore, it relies on the power of experience to shape new communities and induce change. By using the relational and dynamic model of the play-element of culture, it becomes possible to place participation into larger contexts and see those contexts not as fixed to certain points within a planning process but rather allows for a framing of participation as continuous processes running parallel to other developments in a city or neighbourhood.

Also, by understanding participation as a cultural process, more options become available outside of the currently dominant position to see participation as a driver for a democratisation of planning. Although the model proposed in this thesis also recognises the communicative turn as an important development, communicative planning is only but one of many different forms of participation. Considering the current situation, I will argue that more attention both in research and practice should be given to play-based approaches. There are many reasons for making this claim. First, it seems that many inhabitants of cities are pushing themselves into city-making and the current application of mainly rule-based approaches does not provide enough options. Second, in order to move beyond the communicative paradigm in participation, new options need to be tested and researched. And third, I argue that these approaches can provide new outlooks on the current political issues which do not seem to be responding to deliberation. Rather it seems that there is a need for new experiences, groups and cultures, since „[t]he most fundamental social changes have to appear not only as changes in formal structures but also as changes in habitual orientations to action" (Calhoun 2011: p.379).

Lastly, the conceptual framework presented in this thesis also replaces the increasingly rigid conception of a top-down and bottom-up dichotomy. As argued in the introduction, the line between active creators and passive consumers is becoming more and more blurred in many different fields, and city-making is no exception. In this context, I confidently argue that understanding participation as opening leeway for users to shape their surroundings and environments together, even without mediation from experts or politics, will be crucial. If planners want to open up and involve more people into city-making, there need to be opportunities for learning which are not dictated by a given process, agenda, or normative ideal, but rather this type of learning needs to be voluntary and self-organised. Planning can only be democratised by planners themselves so far.

However, neither of these approaches nor the methods presented in the interpretation are necessarily new. However, by providing a conceptual framework it is possible to see them together and interpret them not as separate and independent developments but rather different trajectories within the field of city-making.

Referring back to my third hypothesis, participation can be and has been problematised in different ways if one is willing to look beyond planning and planning theory. There is a vast amount of literature, theory and practices of participation throughout the field of city-making, and it cannot be highlighted enough that a lot of ideas from different fields are interrelated. While chapter 4 on the critical history of participation is more of a brief sketch and mainly served as a proof of concept, it might be worthwhile for future studies to take a closer look. There is much to be said on the different ways of travel that the idea of participation in city- or decision-making has taken and how different people throughout different times wanted to solve problems utilising this concept of getting people involved in or with the city. There have been travels within a particular field, for example how the populist movement in architecture was inspired by the utopians or by advocacy planning, but also how ideas from urban social movements travelled into the understanding of participation within planning. These connections and especially the discourse between different fields, no matter whether we are dealing with ‚professional‘ or ‚laymen‘ city-makers, need to be intensified in order to develop new, innovative and inclusive forms of participation.

The proposed model of differentiating approaches to participation based on their focus on either rules or play can provide inspiration and guidelines for people to design differently for participation. Of course, these two strategies are idealised models and are to a certain extent only schematic. However, they provide an interesting starting point to explore participation not as just as a democratic obligation or as something that should provide legitimacy but as a creative practice. As shown in the critical history presented above, participation can be many things, and being able to identify underlying aims opens up new possibilities. A possibly worthwhile new field for research might be to look at game design and the practices, design concepts and theories used there to develop new play-elements and with that new opportunities for more and more people to get involved in city-making.

It is my sincerest conviction that in order for cities to tackle the upcoming challenges and the current transitions there is a need to find new, creative and engaging forms of city-making. Much has been said about developing a more participatory, inclusive and empowering culture in western cities. Yet it remains to be seen whether this can be achieved solely through consensus-making and politics. I argue that we as planners need to provide more opportunities for people to experience city-making and their urban environments for themselves.

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