Children's Participation

in Urban Planning

A comparative study of Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid

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For my granddad.

Listen to the mustn't, child,
listen to the don'ts,
listen to the shouldn'ts,
the impossibles, the won'ts,
listen to the never haves,
then listen close to me -
anything can happen, child.
Anything can be.

Shel Silverstein (1974)

Introduction

The participation of children in urban design has become increasingly common and popular. This involvement in urban planning opened up a discourse with regards to changes of paradigms, at both socio-cultural and political levels. Why does the idea of children shaping their own environment reach such support right now? On a political level the Convention of the Right of the Child (CRC) formulated by the United Nations in 1989 is seen as an international starting point. Obviously §12 allows children to be heard and to take part in decisions, which influence their own life, but without a shift in the cultural attitude towards children this article would not automatically lead to action. The two children focused meetings held by the United Nations in 1990 and 2002 were followed by the development of national action plans focusing on the well being of children.

The relation between urban conditions and children's well being was the core of the Growing up in Cities (GUIC) project conducted in 1976 by Kevin Lynch supported by the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). The relation between children and their urban environment became the centre of attention again in 1996, when UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) founded the Child Friendly Cities Network (CFC). They promote that children's participation is the best way to create more friendly and sustainable cities. A widely neglected process in relation to children's participation is the Agenda 21 process, which evolved after the UN meeting in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, preface). The core concept within this process is the aim to reach sustainable development. This unclear concept is mostly related to ecological, economical and also social aspects. The major concerns are natural resources and climate change, but the discussion also tackles social issue areas, such as demographic change, education and integration. Within this agenda process, participation of people, including children, is widely accepted as a tool to reach "social sustainability" and therefore gives politicians a useful reason for supporting and financing those projects. The acceptance of children as decision makers is not limited to the relation between the state and the citizen. It is also a process of cultural challenge, to rethink the relationship between adults and children in general (Roche 1999, 485 in Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006).

Children related research is an important lobby for children's participation in urban development. These contributions come from different disciplines, including but not limited to psychology, sociology, historical anthropology and human geography.

During the 1980's and 1990's childhood-related research peaked. This boom focused on many childhood issues, but primarily on the relation between space and child development. All the research made it possible for politicians and activists to find support to develop more child friendly cities. Thanks to these researchers, children's experience, use, perception and influence on their environment has been acknowledged by parents, teachers and planners and more and more been taken into account.

The past has shown that the way children are treated within society, on a political, legal, institutional or personal level, reflects how that particular society thinks of childhood itself.

If we wonder how the relationship between children and adults changed so drastically in the timeframe of only one generation, we must observe the changes that occurred during the late 1960's. In this period, the first parents broke with the authoritarian manner of child education, which was common during their own childhood.

The first part of this thesis begins by outlining the historical development of pre-sociological and

social concepts of childhood. (Part 1: Childhood in society). This leads to the current concerns, which are scientifically and politically discussed. One of the main areas of concern is the limited use of public space by children.

The second part (Part 2: Spaces of Childhood) then examines the relation between children and space starting from their private home, child related institutions and in public space. The main question is how children appropriate space, and how they move through the city. This research emphasizes the importance of unsupervised play for the process of socialization and which challenges and boundaries children are facing in public space, fulfilling this "basic need".

The third part (Part 3: Children as Urban Planners) introduces the discourse about the participation of children in urban planning, as well as the legal base for this processes.

Finally, the case studies (Part 4: Case studies) introduce and evaluate three projects, which took place in Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid.

Those three pilot projects show how these three different urban settings encourage children's participation, at the time of designing and implementing changes that lead towards a more child-friendly city. The final conclusion illustrates how these intentions are put into practice, as well as how the participation of children has an effect on the projects of Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid.

This work aims to provide an interdisciplinary perspective on a topic, which due to its own complexity, is scientifically situated under the umbrella of sociology, psychology, development studies, history, spatial planning, political studies and cultural studies.

"Childhood is in all times, cultures, social classes and ethnics something irretrievable and therefore of outstanding importance."

(Berg 1991, 123)

Part 1: Children in Society

"A child means every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier."
United Nations CRC Article 1

Today's definition of children by the U.N. includes everyone under the age of 18. But looking at different states the legal definition of childhood or adulthood differs widely and from context to context like the right to elect, to drink or to drive. This group below the age of eighteen can be divided again into smaller groups, which are mostly connected to institutions or developmental stages. Aguinaga and Comas (1991) concluded that adults are actually incapable of defining childhood or the term child. They defined seven terms of development stages which are commonly used and which are mainly related to age. (children, baby, youngster, lactation, childhood, adolescents and puberty). But still those stages cannot be clearly separated from each other (Leal 2007, 13). Therefore in this work child or children refers to everyone below eighteen.

The French Sociologist Philippe Ariés opened a new discourse about childhood with his work *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (1960), which was published in English as *Centuries of Childhood* in 1962. This work can be considered as a starting point for contemporary research related to childhood and children and even till today it is a major reference point. The central progress of his work was: "His archaeology of childhood images showed with his breathtaking assertion that childhood has not always been the same thing". According to Philippe Ariés the invention of childhood took place in the 18th century. (Alison et.al. 1998, 4) Until then children aged six or seven were seen as "pocket sized adults" who were involved in all aspects of everyday life taken place in the household (Dasberg, 1975 in Jans 2004, 32). His defini-

tion of childhood is a peculiarly modern awareness of what distinguishes children from adults. According to Ariés childhood is a historically developed, changeable and alterable product of culture. Childhood exists in every society and can only disappear as one specific historic version (Berg 1991, 9). Childhood is therefore highly determined by the spirit of the times - which is illustrated in the German saying "you are a child of your time".

Pre-sociological concepts

Long before the emergence of sociology as a academic discipline thoughts about children and childhood emerged in the frame of philosophical work beginning in the 17th century. Those ideas can be defined as five pre-sociological concepts of the child, which till today influence the image of childhood; they were formulated by Hobbes (1588-1679), Locke (1632-1704), Rousseau (1712-1778), Freud (1856-1939) and Piaget (1896-1980).

(1) The concept of the *evil child* describes the child as a demonic creature, which is born incorporating potentially evil forces, which could be activated if the child manages to leave the "straight and narrow" path of civilization. "This image of the evil child finds its lasting mythological foundation in the doctrine of the Adamic original sin." (Alison et.al. 1998, 9). Thomas Hobbes can be seen as philosophical antecedent of this concept, in his work *Leviathan* (1651) he states that: "Without parental constraint the life of the child is anarchistic." William Golding's novel *Lord of the Flies* (1954) shows the possible consequences of an uncontrolled and unregulated life of children. Till today people believe in the destructive energy of children and the duty of society to influence, if necessary with physical power, their behavior and development. Alison, Jenks and Prout argue that this concept can still be seen in the actual use of "boot camps", where children will be broken to be built up again (Alison et.al. 1998, 12).
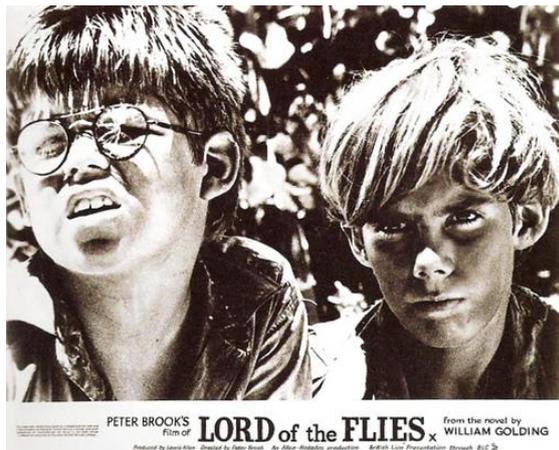
Picture 1: Lord of the Flies Movie Poster, 1963
Source: Two arts Ltd.

(2) The *immanent child* is the subject of Locke's work *Some thoughts about education* (1693) and *An Essay on Human Understanding* (1689). The aim for the child is to be educated to the ability that "lies in a power of denying ourselves the satisfaction of our own desires, where reason does not authorize them." To refuse wishes of children might be contradictory to the parental affection, but important for the development of the child.

(3). A different view was postulated by Jean Jacques Rousseau in his novel *Émile* (1762): "God makes all things good, man meddles with them and they become evil." His puritan concept is the counterpart to the original sin. (Howe et.al. 2005, 23) This new attitude towards children is the foundation for child-centered education and the effort to protect children from exploitation. This idea formed the belief that children "constitute an investment in the future in terms of the reproduction of the social order." (Alison et.al. 1998, 15). Or as Robertson concludes: "For the first time in history, he made a large group of people believe that childhood was worth the attention of intelligent adults, encouraging an interest in the process of growing up rather than just the product." (Robertson 1976, 40 in Alison et.al. 1998, 13). The publication of Émile had an "electrifying effect". The strong criticism against the existing social order caused protest against the book, and copies of Èmile were burned in the streets of Paris (Wilkinson 2003).

(4) The growing interests in human psyche in the early 20th century led to a new view on childhood "Freud opened up a concern with childhood as adult pasts." The foundation for regretful behavior of adults might lie in childhood experiences (Alison et.al. 1998, 19). Society recognized for the first time children's experiences as a source for later grievance or instability. Freud made also in relation to his dream analyzes important contributions to the relation between the body and buildings: "The only typical, i.e. regular representation of the human person as a whole is the one that presents it as a house… One often finds oneself in a dream, sometimes happy and sometimes fearful, climbing down the facades of buildings. The ones with smooth walls are men; but the ones provided with protrusions and balconies that one can hang on to, these are women…" (Feuerstein 2002, 61)

(5) The *naturally developing child* is represented in works of Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget. He sees childhood rather as a natural than as social phenomena. This inevitable process of maturation is divided into defined stages of growth and the development of bodily skills and thoughts (Alison et.al. 1998, 17). In the early 1940's Piaget worked on the child's conception of space and in 1948 he published *La representation de l' espace chez l' enfant*. He used methods of drawing or copying geometrical shapes. "The spatial representation coincides with the origin of drawing, language and representational thinking in general." (Wittman 2010).
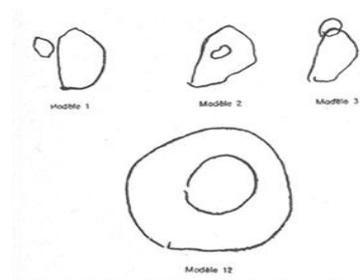
Picture 2: Child's drawing for psychological research, Piaget (1939), Source: Wittman

5

Sociological concepts

Numerous writers, scientists and human right activists also had an emerging interest in childhood and the well being of children. In the context of social class one of the most critical and well known works is Friedrich Engels *The condition of the working class in England*, where he refers to conversations with working class children in London: "Many children complain: 'Don't get enough to eat, get mostly potatoes with salt, never meat, never bread, don't go to school and haven't got no cloth' (…)" (Engels 1844, 206). Towards the end of the century the understanding grew that only through governmental intervention childhood could be ensured for every child. (Jans 2004, 32). This movement led to the introduction of health restrictions, work regulations and educational reforms. In 1900 the Swedish pedagogue Ellen Key published her book *Barnetsarhundrade* (Century of the child) and postulated her wish for a new century in which education and upbringing would be a central point of interest for families and the whole society. World War I had a dramatic effect on European children. After the end of the war British pedagogue Eglantyne Jebb published pictures of starving children in Germany and founded the still existing organization "Save the Children" in 1919. Her engagement and the motivation of others lead to the first formulation of international children's rights, which were signed in the frame of Convention of Geneva in 1924 (Leal 2007, 10). The lifes of children during the 1930's and 1940's in Europe were defined by the political shifts of this time. Children were again involved without protection. They took part in the daily fight for survival, as well as in war action. As victims or actors they witnessed a time filled with painful, cruel and inhuman experiences. During the fascist regime the meaning of childhood changed, children were no longer embedded in their family but joined in very young age political institutions like "Bund Deutscher Mädel" or "Hitler Jugend" (Berg 1991, 123).

After the Second World War the situation of children changed. The family was seen as a "healthy" institution (Berg 1991, 124). The children were no longer contributors to the income of the household and therefore parents searched for new reasons to appreciate them. The number of children within a family decreased and adults respected them for mainly emotional reasons (Jans 2004, 32). On the international level the fight for more rights for children continued and in 1959 a declaration was drafted by the UN Commission on Human Rights and adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 20th 1959. This document had an important symbolic meaning but no legal binding.

Starting from the 1960's a new interest in children and childhood arose in sciences and society in connection to the antiauthoritarian educational ideas.

Beginning with Ariés the concept of the (1) *socially constructed child* arose. The social form of childhood, which is presented does not reflect reality or nature but is a product of human activity (cognitive) as a result of constant interaction between the human being (producer) and the social world (production). In this concept childhood is a state of preparation and children are *human-becomings* instead of *human-beings*. (Leal 2007, 17)

(2) Another sociological approach to childhood is the concept of the *tribal child*. Iona and Peter Opie, who conducted extended research on argued for the recognition of childhood as an autonomous community. According to them, research should be conducted with anthropological distance.

"The children's world is to be seen as not unaffected by, but nevertheless fully insulated from the world of adults; it is to be understood as an independent place with its own folklore, rituals, rules and normative constraints. This is the world of the

schoolyard, the playground, the club and the gang" (Opie, 1969).

Characteristic for many publications concerning child related research or education, upbringing health and education was the focus on problems (Jans 2004, 33). Those publications did not pay much attention to the actual life of the child. The urban planner Kevin Lynch was the first researcher who conducted for UNESCO a study on *Growing Up in Cities* (1977). This comparison of children aged 10 till 15 in six different cities in Argentina, Australia, Mexico and Poland offered a detailed inside view to the reality of their everyday life. This project was repeated during the 1990's extending the research to Melbourne, Vasovia and Salta. The results were of high importance in order to open the new research field of space and childhood.

During the 1980's and 1990's began a "boom in the sciences related to children" (Berg 1991, 15). New areas of research and issues areas arose. The wider distribution of Television and PCs was the source for a vivid and ongoing discussion about the impact of media on Children.

The use of television as an educational tool was highly appreciated in the United States, because of the success of the Sesame Street in the 1970's, but rather criticized in Europe. Till today the use of media and new technology is the subject of numerous research projects. Their focus lies among others on the relationship between physical and virtual geographies or possible effects of wireless technologies, like the cell phone on the spatial practices (Drake 2004).

Already in 1978 the UN proposed to elaborate on a declaration of children rights. These were formulated with the help of NGOs, experts and politicians. The ratification of the Convention of the Right of the Child (CRC) on November the 20th in 1989 can be seen as a result of the international effort to build a common ground for children rights independent of origin, nationality, religion or social

class and the base for numerous projects, initiatives and political and legal changes. In the early 1990's a new orientation in child related sociology emerged a "New sociology of childhood" with exponents like Qvortrup, Jenks, Alanen and Eckert who focused their research on the individual life of the child. Research about children was not anymore embedded in the context of family or school (Alison et.al. 1998, 22). This led to a serious consideration of the child's own view, the *interior view* the lacking of which has been criticized (Berg 1991, 16). What do children think about their life? How do they perceive their surrounding?

This direction was "Sociology rather for than of Children!" (Alison et.al. 1998, 31). Research focused more and more on qualitative instead of quantitative methods, often conducted in the frame of interdisciplinary work. These 'child - friendly' research methods, such as drawing, taking pictures or using a diary are also criticized since it reflects another dichotomy of children related research. If children are as competent as adults, why do they need different techniques? One argumentation for it could be that children might not feel obliged to participate in studies and therefore should be encouraged through their own motivation (Punch 2002, 321). (3) To see Childhood as *social phenomena* is the third sociological approach- the social structural child. Childhood is an always existing structure of every society, because there is always childhood even though the members of this social class change permanently (Leal 2007, 16). Children are accepted as constant feature of all social worlds. (4) The *minority group child* is another concept of childhood; the central perspective focuses on parallels between the emancipation of "women's studies and childhood studies" (Alison et.al. 1998, 31). Children are defined through their role as minority rather than through their demographic classification. They are considered as active subjects indistinguishable from adults. Of course this does not

mean that all children are the same. The minority group is fractured and fragmented, and the recognition of a plurality of childhood is essential.

Today childhood presents itself as an increasingly ambivalent social phenomenon. Children are on the one hand seen as increasingly autonomous individuals but on the other hand as objects of care and protection.

The concept of the *risk society* (Beck, 1986) deals with the ongoing transitions within the Western world. Those changes are driven by two major forces, firstly by globalization and secondly by individualization. Characteristic for this complex "late modern society" is the continuous change and fragmentation of traditional institutions like class, family, work and state. Individualization is seen to some extent as an act of liberalization, but it also leaves the major responsibility for one's own life to the single individual. People are less able to orientate themselves neither on traditional ideologies nor on former generations and their lifestyle. In case of failure the possibilities to fall back in networks woven by their social position are increasingly limited. How strongly children are affected by this can be argued, but Jans states that these tendencies "do not necessarily have the same impact on children as on other social groups, but that they determine the living conditions of children and the social construction of childhood" (Jans 2004). To deal with new risks, fears and worries is one side of the two sided medal of individualization, which also might offer new possibilities (Giddens, 1982). This is valid for all social groups "Children in the west are encouraged to be the author of their own lives" (Beck, 1997).

The second force is globalization. In connection to children this means on the one hand "that many of the cultural and leisure options available for western children have become similar" (Smith 2000 in Jans 2004, 29). This leads to another aspect of today childhood, the high share of time spent in insti-

tutions. Urban children feel increasingly isolated and imprisoned (Christensen and O'Brien 2003, preface).

To conclude the changes of the last decades the status of children shifted from *human becomings* to *human beings*. Since education is no longer reserved for children but lifelong learning has become an integrated element in our society, "we witness the liberation of childhood from modernity's educational project". (Hengst 2001 in Jans 2004, 30). The border between childhood and adulthood is blurry already and will lead to a society where questions about responsibility, autonomy and power will have to be re-negotiated constantly.

"The position of children has evolved from a strongly social (professional) participation in the 18th and 19th centuries, to a strong protection of children with minimal (professional) participation during the 20th century" (Jans 2004, 32).

"Childhood, we might venture, is that status of personhood which is by definition often in the wrong place."

(Alison, Jenks & Prout 1998, 37)

Part 2: Spaces of Childhood

Thinking about the well being of children we are accustomed to think about social security, services for children, love and protection of their families, health services and educational institutions provided by the community; while the relation between children's development and supportive physical environment is often neglected (Bartlett, 1). On the one hand positive space can have a very supporting effect on the developing child. "Children's developing sense of emotional security and trust in the world is rooted not only in their relationships with other people but in the security, familiarity and predictability of their physical environment" (Bartlett, 2000, 3). But on the other hand it should be kept in mind that space represents existing power structures and can be used to support these. The relation of control and space discussed by Foucault is a central issue in connection to childhood and space. Alison, Jenks and Prout define the central spaces for children as home, city and school and even argue that, "all three are dedicated to the control of the children's mind and body" (Alison et.al. 1998, 38). To look at the relation of space and a social group is according to Smith and Katz (1993, 67) "an attractive lexicon" which enriches the discourse. Franas and Lorenzo collect a typology of designed and planned places for children, which have been subjects of various research projects in the past (Francis and Lorenzo 2002). Due to the limitation of this work the focus will lie on only two of them, the home, as private space and the public space.

Institutional places
Daycare
Schools
Schoolyards
Sports parks
Theme parks

Public spaces
Streets
Sidewalks
Parks
Trails
Malls
Waterfronts
Beaches
Playgrounds

Private spaces
Home
Cars

Found places
Vacant lots
Natural areas
Waterfronts
Street corners
Discovery/adventure places
Vacant lots
Wilderness
Urban wilderness
Natural areas

New and innovative
Community gardens
School gardens
Cityfarms
Greenways
Skate parks
Town trails
Front porches
Cyberspace

Picture 3: Typology of Children's Places, Lorenzo & Franas 2002

"There are two lasting bequests we can give our children. One is roots. The other is wings."

(Hoddling Carter Jr.)

Home [sweet] home

"Sometimes the house of the future is better built, lighter and larger than all the houses of the past, so that the image of the dream house is opposed to that of the childhood home (….) Maybe it is a good thing for us to keep a few dreams of a house that we shall live in later, always later, so much later, in fact, that we shall not have time to achieve it. For a house that was final, one that stood in symmetrical relation to the house we were born in, would lead to thoughts - serious, sad thoughts - and not to dreams. It is better to live in a state of impermanence than in one of finality"
(Bachelard 1957).

Family life and the relation between children and their parents have shifted dramatically during the last century. Bois Raymond (2001) describes the shift from the "demand" to the "negotiating" family (Jans 2004, 36). "The possibilities of the individual family member determine the meaning of the family as collective property and no longer the other way round" (Jans 2004, 29). The environment of family life, the home is a central part in the development of the child. The increasing polarization between public and private leads to strict division between the home and the outside world. Román Rivas even calls the home a "bunker"(Román Rivas 1997, 75).

This experience of secure housing is fundamental for secure family life and provides a foothold for problems children might face in their future (Bartlett 2000, 2). On the other hand the own home can often be the scene for acts of domestic violence, physically and psychological. Noisy, overcrowded or rundown living conditions contribute to stress for children and their family and challenge social relations (Bartlett 2000, 3).

One specific room within the house is the children's room. The research on children's rooms and the child's freedom to create it according to its own wishes has been rather limited. The children's room has from its beginning till today a strong dichotomy between "play paradise" and "room for penalty and isolation" (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 111).

18th century

Looking at the history and development of the child's room adds another piece to the puzzle about the spatial reality of children in today's society. To discover the appearance of "chambre d'enfants" French sociologist Annie Renonciat used historical architecture papers as source. The first appearance can be proved in a blueprint by Dumont from 1768 "There can be identified a chamber for two boys and their teacher as well as one chamber for a young girl." This finding can still be seen as an exception, more commonly children slept "just somewhere" often with members of staff, in the storage room or even the toilet (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 111). The dominant family type was the "House - family" which included numerous non-related members and was represented in all legal and public manners by the patriarch. The house was mostly working place and living space in one, on the countryside as in the cities, and children were integrated in all ongoing events, like death and birth and business.

The size of a family varied, but it was not uncommon to live with ten or twelve people under one roof. Towards the end of the 18th century children's rooms appeared more frequently in the French Upper Class. This development can be seen related to the French revolution, during which emancipator ambitions influenced all social levels (Weber-Kellermann 1991(1), 104ff).

19th century

The *Nursery* in England or *Kinderstube* in Germany within the families flat was widely distributed during the beginning of the 19th century. These chambers developed from simple sleeping rooms to play rooms, which were equipped with toys suiting age

and gender, which caused a boom in the toy industry and children related literature.

During those centuries children's rooms were only affordable for wealthy families (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 111).
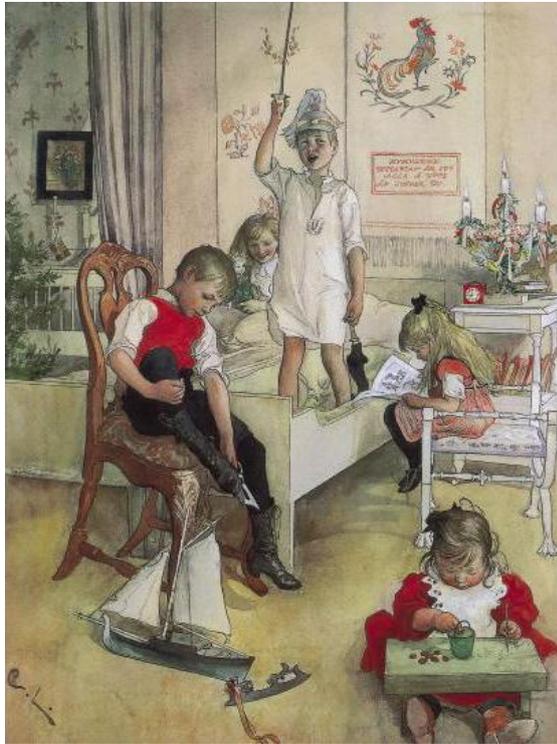
Picture 4: Christmas Morning,Source: Carl Larsson, 1894

In Germany they can be seen as "flourishing mentality of the Biedermeier coziness" (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 111) and the term *Gute Kinderstube* was and is till today a synonym for good manners and good education (Weber-Kellermann 1991(1), 104ff).

A special emphasis was set on the emotional and intimate mother-child relation, which cooled down during the founders period (Berg 1991, 114). The increased division between work and life spaces led to the establishment of intimacy within the household, which no longer included non-family members.

The situation was different in rural areas, where the concept of the children's room did not suit the mental and social construction of social life (Weber-Kellermann 1991, 118). Alice Herdan Zuckermayer, daughter of a wealthy Jewish family describes her former children's room in Vienna around 1900:

"My room was big and wide, there was a lot of space between the table in the middle and the pieces of furniture, which were placed along the walls" (Weber-Kellermann 1991, 34).

At the end of the 19th century children's rooms also conquered the middleclass households, generally hosting more than only one child, also of different gender. A different picture can still be found looking at the working class families, without role models and support they had to invent their own way of life.

Child labor started at the age of six or eight and work shifts of twelve till fourteen hours every day except Sunday. This did not leave time for family life. Women were overextended by the "role model of the caring mother and as workforce, dichotomy between reproduction and production" (Weber-Kellermann 1991(1), 111). Living space was expensive and rare; this is illustrated by the following floor plan from 1906.
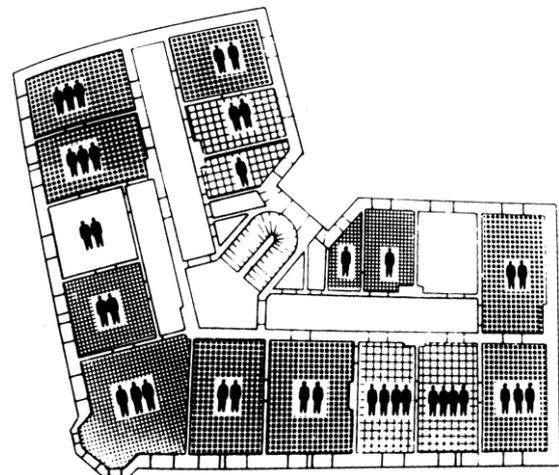
Picture 5: Example of two flats subdivided into nine units, Source: Munich 1906

20th century

With the arising of the Bauhaus in Germany new ways of living were promoted not only for adults but also for children. Alma Buschers created for the first IBA (Internationale Bauausstellung) in 1923 the pictured prototype of a children's room in *Das Haus am Horn*. The children's room is situated between the dining room and the room of the mother and also has a direct exit to the garden. The new-

ly developed pieces of children's furniture enabled children to rebuild their environment autonomously without help. This way of living was obviously only accessible for a small group of children. (Horn 2010).

After the end of World War I the situation changed and the middle class was now able to afford small play corners and bed nooks. (Weber-Kellermann 1991, 36) Hildegard Hetzer, Austrian psychologist refers in her work to the nightly situation of a Viennese boy. "We now have got a subtenant and I sleep in one bed with Gretl, Mother and Hansi. You are kicked and hit all the time and cannot stretch" (Hetzer 1929, 138).

The further development of children's rooms stagnated during the war period. After World War II only a small share of the population in Germany was able to afford an own room for children. A study in Bremen conducted in 1947 showed that 41.6 % of children did not even have their own bed. These shortages of living space continued till the and also led to the popularity of new types of furniture like the foldaway bed and variations of sofa beds (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 112).

The guidebook *Selbst ist die Frau* from 1958 advised mothers to provide their children with a „Children's Corner" if the economical situation would not allow the installation of a children's room, those should at least have the size of 6 sqm. "Nothing can be more disastrous than if a child does not have a "reference point" within the flat, if it has to behave over cautious and perhaps even evolves a feeling of being inconvenient" (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 115).

Medical advisories even warned about the risk of "hyper-nervous children" caused by a lack of space to relax and calm down. Hygiene was also an important area of concern, an advisory from 1959 advised to wipe the floors in the children's room once or better twice a day. The room should be furnished white and the walls decorated with flower and animal pictures, a small chalkboard should give the possibility to draw. The often discarded pieces of furniture were complemented with children sized pieces (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 115).

Danish designer Kristian Vedel designed a multifunctional chair in 1957. This chair was not just a miniature copy of adult's furniture but offered completely new flexible ways of usage and was very popular in the U.S.

The size of a Children's room was regulated in 1967 by DIN Norm 18011 and allotted a play area of 1.20 by 1.80 meters. This was highly criticized during the 1980's (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 115). Renate Miehe notes: "And the son sits on his play area which has the size of a French bed and puts one house together after the other. Architects and constructor must have imagined a playing child like this: settled, modest and constructive" (Miehe 1982, 58). In the 1980's the ideal changed towards more free and flexible space, which is open and playable (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 115). Children's furniture became more and more popular and affordable for a wider range of households.

Picture 7: Kristian Vedels Chair, 1957, Source: Life

Since 1994 the Swedish furniture company IKEA dedicates a special series "Mammut" to children's needs for creative, colorful, robust and safe furniture. Till today these series are very popular and IKEA constantly expands their selection of children's items (IKEA 1999-2010).

Till today the target size of a children's room diverges with its real proportions. A survey conducted in Germany showed that the majority of adults would like to have 16 m² for their children. But the most newly built apartments only provide rooms with 10-12 m² (Wohnen und Leben 2010). Over 80 % of German Mothers and Fathers see tidying up as a central field of conflict between themselves and their children. The average size in one family house's ranged between 11 and 14 m² (Buchner Fuchs 2000, 115). There are no studies about the freedom children experience in order to decorate or design their own room. Generally it is accepted that children may put up posters and decoration, but are only in older age included in the decisions about furniture, wallpaper or floors.

Ursula Till Tenschert, a Viennese sociologist describes possible impacts for children living in deprived conditions today: "When children enter school, there is not enough space and calmness to do their homework. If the flat has not the basic equipment, how it would fulfill the standards for Austria, then you can't bring anyone home, no friends, no birthday party. Where should you do it, if four people live in two rooms? "The shortage of space but also the characteristics of the space can be seen as source of conflicts within the family. The relationships within a household are not consensual units, but are constantly renegotiated between children and parents or children and their siblings (Punch 2001, 20).

New types of families like single parent households or "patchwork families" are challenged by the housing market. Some cities try to meet the needs of their inhabitants by providing specific housing types, like the first GrandParentFamily apartments in New York, for grandparents bringing up their grandchildren or single parent units in Vienna (Shattuck 2008).

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"(…) nearly everything in London is the wrong sort of shape- all straight lines and flat streets, instead of being all sorts of odd shapes, like things are in the country."

(Nesbit 1905, 14)

Public Space –streets, sidewalks and squares

Today the majority of children in the European Union lives in Cities (European Commision 2002). Since the early industrialization period the city has been seen as a dangerous place for children. Adults were concerned about the health risks due to bad living conditions and especially the lack of morality within the urban dense environment. Till today parents fear that children could be seduced by others to dangerous, immature or illegal behavior.

The novel *Oliver Twist* illustrates the worst case for

Picture 8: Boys smoking, Source:Roger Mayne, 1956

a child living within the city. The protagonist lives in London, unprotected and in constant danger.

Erich Kästner draws a different picture in his novel *Emil und die Detektive* (1929). Emil is facing the dangers of the city, his money gets stolen, but with the help of a group of other children he manages to gain it back and to arrest the thief. Berlin is in this context a place of solidarity and adventure.

Today's argumentation against the city as living environment for children is based on the fact that children can be more seriously affected than adults by their living environments because of their great-

er vulnerability to disease and environmental hazards (Bartlett 2000, 1). This leads to a strong perception of danger by parents raising a child in a city especially related to traffic.

How do children appropriate their space? Baacke (1984) and Bronfenbrenner (1979) introduced the theory of ecological zones as a spatial extension of psychological studies of children's development.

Children extend their "meaning giving" slowly and mostly according to their age in concentric circles. Baacke sees children not only as objects of their environment but also as active meaning givers, who shape their environment. The four socio-ecological zones are defined as the ecological centre, nearer ecological environment, ecological sectors and ecological periphery.
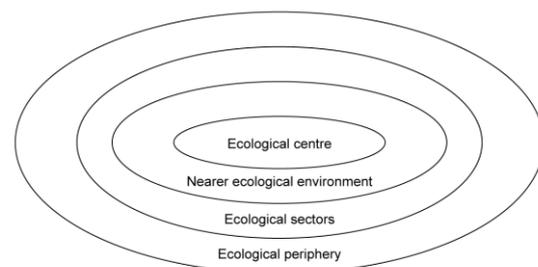

Figure 1: Ecological Zones based on Bronfenbrenner and Baacke

The home is centered on the family of the child; social contacts are dominated through close emotional relations and a high degree of dependency.

The second zone, nearer ecological environment, describes most likely the neighborhood, the child experiences here the first contact with the external social world. The third zone is dominated by function-specific relations. School, sport clubs and leisure activities can be grouped in this sector. In those places children follow well defined role expectations and are entered for a specific reason and time. The fourth sector consists of places which are only occasionally visited; their diversity can stimulate and enrich the experience of the child (Jans 2004, 36).

While this model has been widely agreed upon Zeiher and Zeiher argue that since the 1980's the

model of concentric circles has shifted towards a different model.(Zeiher & Zeiher, Blinkert 1987).

The Island model also starts at the centre, the home and family environment, but then many activity settings are outside the independent reach of the
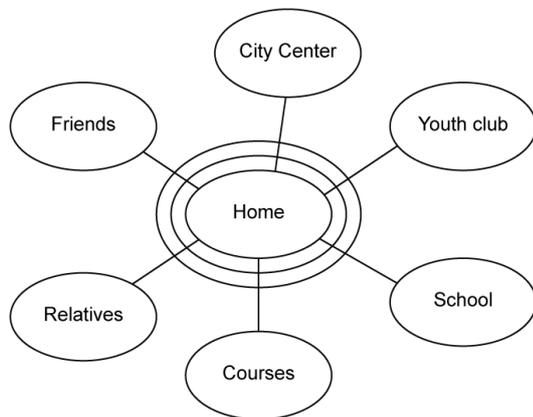
Figure 2: The Island model based on Zeiher& Zeiher

child. The sport club, the best friend's house or even the educational institution needs to be reached by public transport or in the worst case only by car. The modern city has given up its traditional role of being a place of meeting and intercourse and instead developed following the criteria to be separated and specialized.(Tonucci 2005, 184). The "Island Model" might lead to difficulties for informal contact (Greiffenhagen 2009).

The main forces, which led to this developments are according to Tonucci: (1) strong individual mobilization, (2) increasing institutionalization, (3) separation of functions (mono-functional spaces) and the increasing (4) surveillance, (5) commercialization and (6) privatization of public space as well as (7) increasing mediation.

"Automobiles have invaded the public space of the city" which is shown in the graph, consequences are the increasing privatization of space and the prevention of cyclists and pedestrians to use public space (Tonucci 2005, 185).

Already in 1924 Madrid's council published a paper about pedestrian circulation (Consejos Para la Circulación de Peatones, Ayuntamiento Madrid 1924). Parents were instructed to let their children

only play in parks and gardens in order not to stop "the fast transportation, which is needed for modern life in the great cities". Furthermore parents should prohibit their children to play soccer in the streets, in order not "too disturb people passing by". Children should also stop to jump on the tramway or on the back of cars, in order to prevent accidents and to stop "the repulsive spectacle which is a horrific scene for the foreigners, which visit us frequently" (Román Rivas 1997).

Streets, squares and public spaces are dominated or
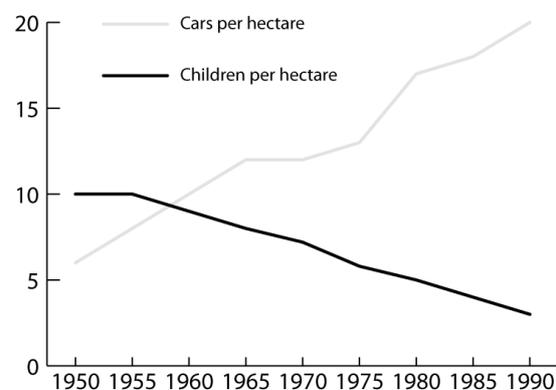
Figure 3: From the "City of Children" to the "City of Cars" Based on Blinkert 1987

used exclusively by cars to drive and to park. The modern city has been built following design approaches, which have been based on urban visions. Those visions were orientated on the typical citizen, an adult male working car-driver excluding the weaker members of society, like women, children, elderly and migrants. Those vision based urban developments have been poorly controlled. "The city is often a sterile physical and functional replica of the "adult" power which many times confine creativity to the rational of modern economic development, to functional forms without humanity and sensuality, lacking the primordial and poetic thrust of the child's imagination" (Xanthopoulas 2005, 146ff). This led to a shift "from children as actors in public space to spectators" (Vinuesa Angulo 1997, 36).

Where are children if they are not on the street? Children are more and more integrated in non-

family activities and organizations (Näsman, 1994 in Jans 2004, 29) and spend a major part of their time secluded from the rest of society in so called "youth land" (Dasberg, 1975) or "children spaces" (Greiffenhagen 2009).

The danger of institutionalized segregation is that children are separated from society during their childhood but later expected to integrate themselves in an unknown social world independently, with responsibility and confidence (Jans 2004, 33).

Roger Hart conducted an extensive study in 1979 in New Jersey, where he analyzed drawings of the city to understand how children between four and eleven construct their environment. The results of the analyses showed that the precision of the drawings were highly dependent on the accessibility of the space close to their home. Children who were allowed to move independently and unsupervised had a clearer picture of the city in mind. Similar results were found in Spain in 1985 by Martín. He concluded that village children, aged between five and twelve have a better imagination of their surroundings than the same age group in the city (Ochaíta Aldrete 1997, 30). A study conducted by Tonucci and Rissotto analyzed the influence of autonomous movement to acquire process and structure environmental knowledge. They concluded that independently moving children performed best in drawing a map of the itinerary and in making a sketch of their movement (Rissotto and Tonucci 2002). Their results confirmed previous results of studies by Hillman 1993, Joshi et al., 1999. "The development of route knowledge and the representation of spatial context depend on the type of subject's involvement during the construction of the cognitive map." (Rissotto and Tonucci 2002) Adults know this from being a side driver or driving on their own.

"The reduction in autonomy may have serious consequences as far as the development of the children's spatial skills is concerned" (Rissotto and Tonucci 2002). Unfortunately girls are less likely to

be allowed alone outside, so their ability of spatial orientation is worse, which is not related to genetic reasons but to culture.

Baldo Blinkert (1987) conducted an extensive study including 4000 children about children's play outside for Freiburg in Germany. He concluded that children need "Aktionsräumen" "action- spaces", which have four mayor characteristics: (1) accessibility, (2) free of danger, (3) open for change, (4) chance for interaction with other children. Blinkert classified the surrounding areas of homes in a radius of 200 meters of 4000 children aged 5 to 10 according to good "action space" attributes. (negative attributes would be, noise pollution, speed limits of 50 km/h , more than 4 parking cars in front of the door, an apartment on the 3rd floor or higher, etc..) His results show the direct connection between time spent outside and the quality of the surrounding space (Blinkert 2004).
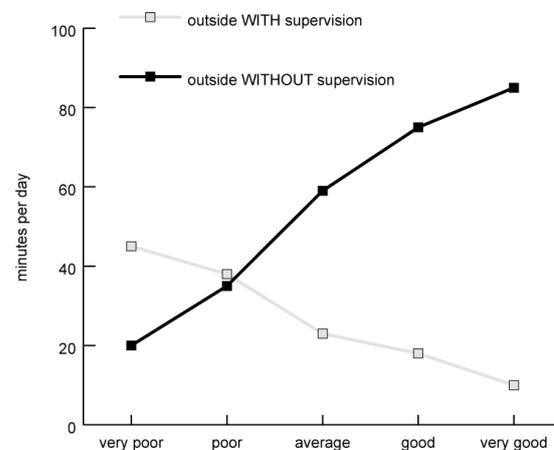
Figure 4: Time spent outside in relation to the quality of outdoor space. Based on Blinkert

These spatial conditions influence the life of children widely and also lead to an increase of institutionalized activities. The proportion of children which participate in organized day care activities in the afternoon is five times higher for those children who have no access to good "action space". (Blinkert 2004) Blinkert's findings were confirmed by a study conducted in Switzerland. This situation could be easily improved through a reduction of the speed within the whole city to 30 km/h.

"adequate" street for children at play

"inadequate" street for children at play
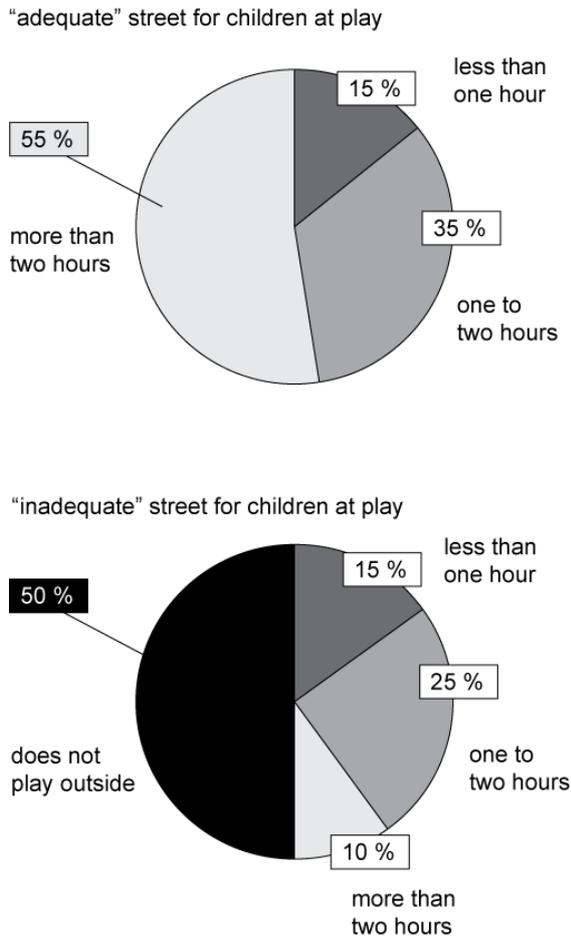
Figure 5: Time spent outside in adequate and inadequate streets. Source: Kids on the Move, 2002

Many European cities introduced following the example of the Netherlands *play streets* or *home zones*. These were developed as *woonerf* in the 1970's, in general these areas are limited to a maximum speed of 10 km/h. Vienna also has pilot projects to create *temporally play zones*.

The consequences of inaccessibility of public space close to the own home may have on children and their informal contacts can be illustrated by a study conducted by Zeiher and Zeiher, comparing the life situation and daily practice of two 10 year old boys in Berlin.

One boy can leave his flat independently and unsupervised, he scrawls around and meets numerous children, they play, they move around, they separate, they encounter children, which they like or

dislike (Figure 6). The second boy lives in an area close to a main street, in his area are no other children, so he calls his classmate and meets with him in his flat (Figure 7). The time geographical diagram illustrates the limitation of social interaction, the children playing at home are facing.
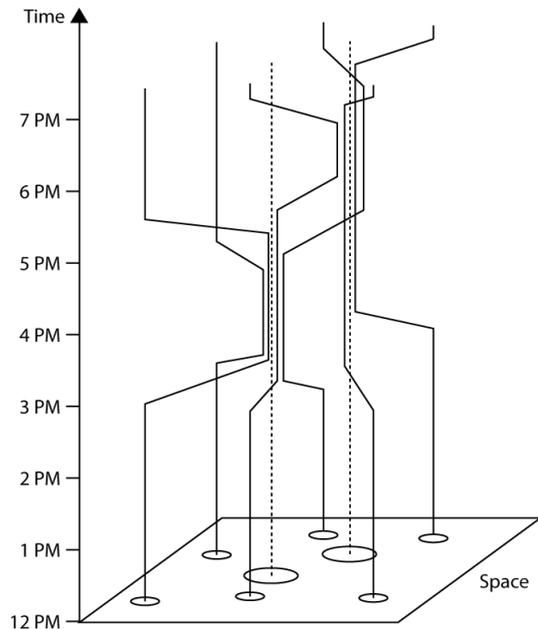

**Figure 6: Timegeography, six children playing outside. Source: Zeiher &Zeiher**
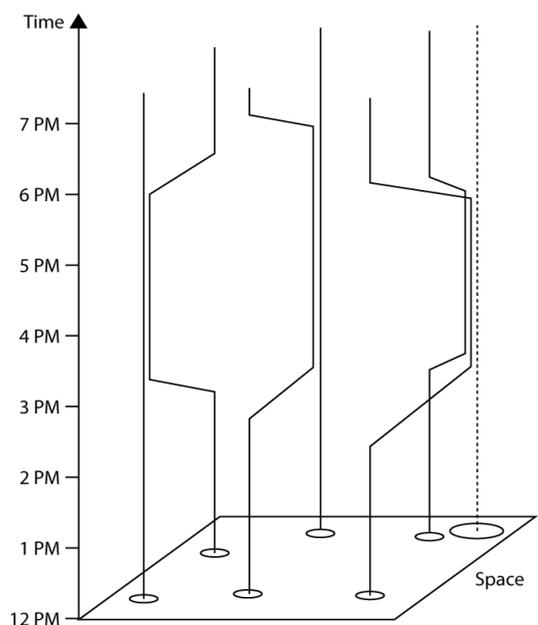
Figure 7: Timegeography six children playing in three places. Source: Zeiher & Zeiher

Especially the daily routine of children has changed over the last 40 years. A study conducted by Hillman et.al. in 1990 in Germany and Great Britain showed the reduction of autonomous "freedom of movement" for children aged seven till eleven in comparison to 1971. Included are daily independent trips – like the way to school. (Román Rivas 1997, 73) Similar developments can be observed in Italy (Giuliani et al., 1997, Prezza, et al., 2002).

Age	1971	1990
7	80%	9%
8	80%	9%
9	80%	30%
10	90%	55%
11	90%	55%

Figure 8: Independent trips 1971 and 1990

The following graph shows the everyday routine of two boys living in Madrid and Copenhagen. The light grey fields show the time spent in private places (home). Darker grey marks semi-public areas (school or other institutions) and the dark grey fields mark time spent in public (on the street, squares, etc.).

The graph shows that the two boys spend the majority of their day in institutions. The way to the institution and back home is undertaken in company of the parents or in J's case sometimes with his older brother. D. is only allowed to visit the shop on the corner independently to all other places he is accompanied by an adult. Both graphs provoke an important question: What possibilities are offered for individual autonomous and unsupervised urban experiences?

Figure 9: Daily routine of two boys, own data

"Better a broken arm than a bruised spirit."

(Lady Allen Hurtwood)

Playground
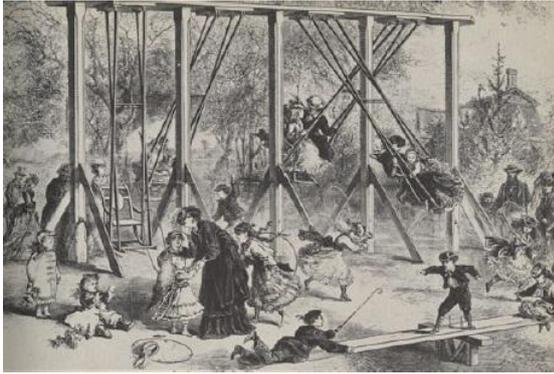
Picture 9: Playground in the Central Park, 1871

Playgrounds are generally seen as *the* space to play for children in the urban environment. Their evolvement was closely related to thoughts about play and development formulated by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, his student Friedrich Froebel, Maria Montessori and others. The first *sandgarten* in a public park was built in Berlin in 1860's in order to prevent diseases and antisocial behavior. A wider distribution of playgrounds mainly in public space and only later in schoolyards appeared when adults decided that unsupervised streets, alleys and backyards the former playfields of children were not any longer suitable for them (Broderson 2002).

The playground manifests the contradiction of modernity, where play is conceptualized as biological driven spontaneous individual activity, while on the other side play is increasingly controlled and shaped from society (Kozlovsky 2007). This tendency and development correlated with the increasing share of women entering the work force. Beginning with school buildings, kindergartens, playgrounds and other institutions like play centers, new spaces for children were created by architects, urban planners and educators to form a new urban landscape for children (De Coninck-Smith und Gutman 2004, 133). The first playgrounds equipped with slides and swings date back to the late 19th century. The opening of the first junk playground broke with the former tradition of playgrounds and their four S's – slide, swing, sandbox and seesaw. It

400m² children found a variation of material, old boxes and planks to build houses, bridges, ships or whatever they imagined. A large number of children was using the playground, they were excited about this new play possibility, especially because the living situation at home was due to the war and the German occupation. Carl Theodor Sørensen, the initiator of the adventure play ground and one of the first modernist landscape architects hoped to encourage children to use their inborn creativity by changing the park from an object of aesthetic to a site of participatory activity (Kozlovsky 2006).

Sørensen became the first president of the International Play Association (IPA), which was founded in 1961 and which till today defends the right to play for children worldwide (ipa 2010).

Picture 10: Junk playground in Emdrup

The idea of a junk playground evolved while observing children playing in an old junk yard and was firstly mentioned in Sørensen's book *Open Spaces for Town and Country* in 1931: "Perhaps we should try to set up waste material playgrounds in suitable large areas where children would be able to play with old cars, boxes and timber. If is possible there would have to be some supervision to prevent children fighting too wildly and to lessen the

chances of injury but it is likely that such supervision will not be necessary".

Children are encouraged to change, manipulate and master their environment instead of obeying the structures giving by the equipment (Kozlovsky 2006, 4). They are invited to decide for themselves and need to show own initiative for what they want to use the provided material. Generally one or two adults are providing help if necessary. Child advocate and urban planner Lady Allen of Hurtwood exported the concept to the U.K. and hoped that it would solve the wartime problem of Juventile delinquency and that children playing on the bomb land would cure the psychological damage caused by the war. There was a collective anxiety that the evacuation of children, the separation of their parents and the overcrowding of the air sheds had originated a generation of children approving violence (Kozlovsky 2006, 2).

Picture 11: Why not use our bomb sites like this? Article of Lady Allen of Hurtwood, Picture Post, 16.11.1946

Denmark was also the first country which passed a law to ensure the construction of playgrounds in social housing projects (britannica 2009).

In the after War period a new interest in toys and leisure arose and artists and designers approached the area of playground design. This development was also influenced by the theories of child psychologists such as Jean Piaget and Erik Erikson. One extraordinary proposal is the playground for the U.N. playground in New York designed by Isamu Noguchi, which was never realized.
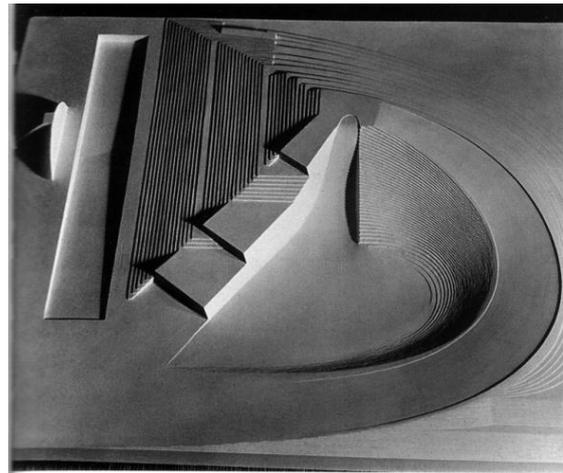

Picture 12: Isamu Noguchi, design for the U.N. Playground, 1953

When MOMA organized a playground competition together with playthings and a parents magazine in 1954 with 350 participants playgrounds received a till then unknown public attention (Burkhalter 2006).

In the 1970's new materials were used to design "play sculptures", but many of these very ambitious and creative projects were never realized or spread in a broader sense. Beginning in the 70's and 80's a public and scientific discourse arose about the quality of the urban playgrounds, due to the badly maintained equipment and the danger of Injuries. Children also showed their dissatisfaction and called them boring due to the "ubiquitous trio of slide, swing and seesaw" (Bishop 2007, 1). One central question asked during these decades and actual till today is how and if the environmental quality of the play area, actually affect the children playing.

The answer was no, children play where they can, and if due to limited options in the close proximity of their home an old, not well equipped small playground is all they might find, they will use it. Variations of frequent used play areas and less used areas can be even found in the same community. But what qualities should an effective and good playground have? Firstly it should be exciting, secondly accessible and thirdly diverse. The equipment should extend the triumvirate of swing, sledge and seesaw and allow children a variation of stimulating
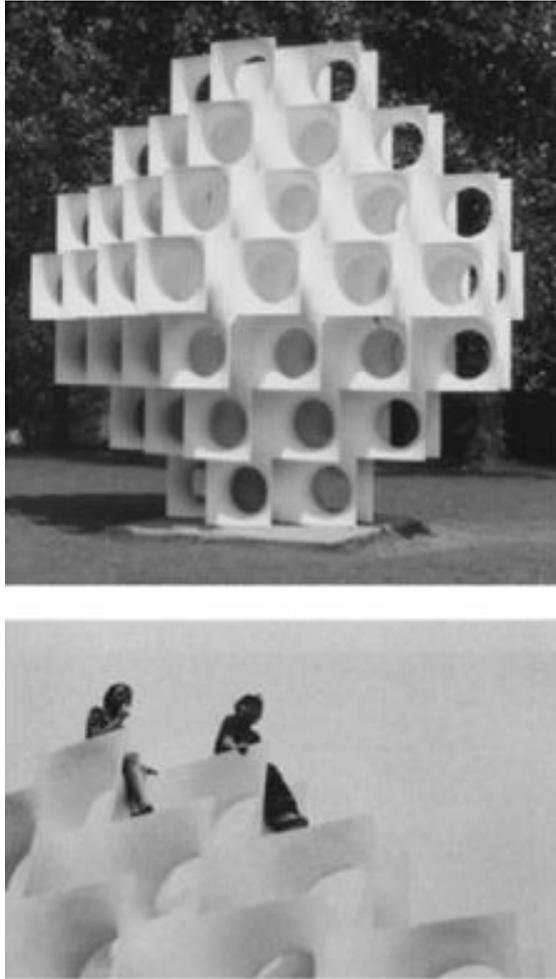
Picture 13: Playsculptures by Angela Duarte

activities as well as a larger group of children simultaneous play according to their respective interests.

The observation of a playground in 1977 by Moore and a PATS (Patterns of Time and Space) analyses show how much the use of the same space can differ. The children aged 8 followed their own preferences during a time span of 30 minutes.

.Type a uses the traditional equipment, and therefore stays in a rather limited space. Type b uses the natural part of the area and wanders around together with a mate. Type c illustrates an example of chase, tag and hide and seek play (Moore 1989, 99).

A comparative study conducted by Hayward, Rothenberg and Beasley shows the different activities and duration per occurrence on a traditional playground, a contemporary playground and an adventure
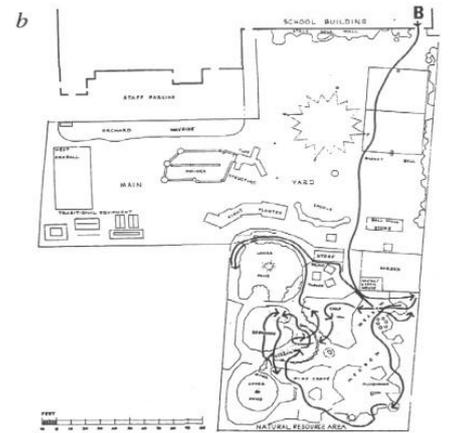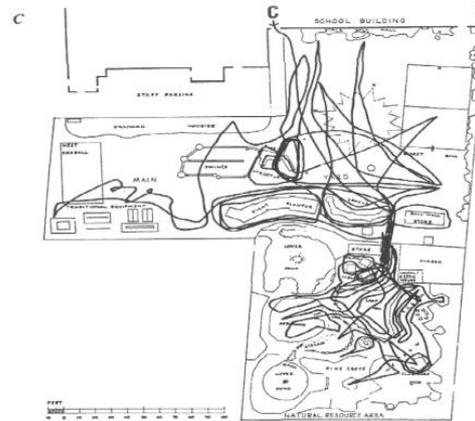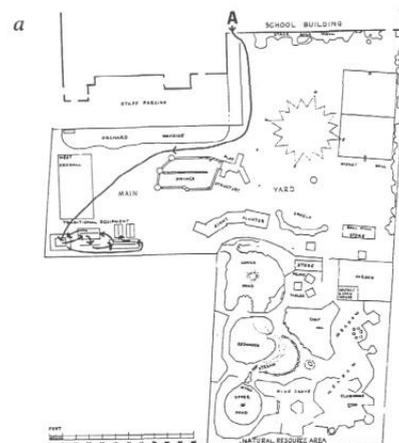

Picture 14: PATS illustrating three 8year old children playing on the same area, Moore, 1989

playground. The most popular activity on the traditional playground is swinging (8 minutes), while on the contemporary play area it is to play multiple equipment (11 minutes) and at the adventure playground it is playing in the clubhouse and fixing up things (31 minutes). This observation shows how the duration of the stay is connected to the oppor-

tunities and constraints of the physical environment. There is no predetermined agenda which offers clear advantages for the children. But the most striking results are the observations concerning the conversations of the children. While children on the traditional and contemporary site mainly talked about equipment use and play activities, "(…) at the adventure playground, in contrast children's conversations did not reflect a narrow focus on the immediate setting. Rather the conversations dealt with building materials, dreams, marriage, seasons, fighting, spelling, clothing, house cleaning and a host of other topics" (Hayward in Moore 1989, 95). The adventure playground offers according to Petersen (1985) the possibility for the child to "gain" own experience instead of being taught experiences. This is according to him a main necessity to develop a bigger understanding of the world as a whole to extend the body experience further than just biological and to develop culture (Moore 1989, 96). How important new challenges are for the healthy development of children is illustrated by this comment of the architect Dattner: "An environment that provides only the familiar challenges that already have been overcome countless times, will never call forth any new learning" (Dattner 1969). Or how Marta Gutman states about the playground at 110th Street West: "The intention is to fall, you don't want to make the environment to safe, that is not challenging" (Shattuck 2008). Never the less the best designed playground might not have any impact if it is out of the reach for the children of the neighborhood. But good design, open and changeable can foster more creative and innovative play. To reach effective playground design is a difficult task, but already in the 80's numerous authors suggested to include children, the future users of the place in the planning process(Hart, 1987). The design of playgrounds and the share of knowledge about play has been a field of active international exchange and orientation.

Picture 15: New developed play area in Madrid, 2010

Picture 16: Play area Tirso de Molina, Madrid, 2010

Picture 17:Sønder Boulevard, Copenhagen, SLA

Picture 18: Playarea Frankfurt Oder, Ziegenwerder

Specific play areas like the adventure playground still exist in many European Countries and the U.S. but the ideological purpose moved from the curing of traumata to mainly expressing creativity in an autonomous way (Kozlovsky 2006).

Inea Wolf concludes in her comparison of German, Danish and French play areas conducted in 2008: "that there are no country specific features of play area concepts" (Wolf 2009, 35ff). "Even if the countries basic conditions and requirements for play areas differ, its organizations depend on the planners, makers and manufacturers of the area." She also states that there are no country specific features, no connection to the surrounding environment and that the playgrounds are isolated spaces designed and manufactured somewhere in the European Union (Wolf 2009, 35-39). This can be confirmed by observations conducted in Austria, Czech Republic, Spain, Denmark and Germany. In every country there can be found, very good and very bad play areas. While in Madrid the majority of play areas is very standardized, there can also be found good exceptions like on Tirso de Molina. Due to EU and National legislations the security of playgrounds is no longer an issue of concern. But these sometimes very strict regulations limit the freedom of design. Another restricting factor in the development of new creative play areas are costs, these include the construction but also the costs to maintain the place. Approaches to improve the quality of playgrounds and therefore the quality of public space for children are made on different political levels. One aim in Germany is to interlink existing play areas and to create a network of playgrounds and play areas with so called *Spielleitplanung* (Wüstenrot 2006). The temporary use of waste land, which has already been promoted in the 70's in the U.S. is again the target area for temporally use as play areas in Vienna and Zaragoza.

Playgrounds are not just spaces of play, excitement, social interactions and friendship but also sources of conflicts. How strong these conflicts can influence the daily routine on the playground was visible during fieldwork in Vienna. In 2003 a new gender orientated playground was constructed in Odeongasse, in Leopoldstadt the second district of Vienna. Including girls in the design process the former parking space and waste land was transformed into a new multifunctional play area within a dense residential area. The physical environment offers a variety of activities for children, boys and girls of different age groups. Small girls were sitting on the grass playing with dolls and teddy bears, some

Picture 19: Playground Odeongasse, Vienna, 2009

Picture 20: Girls at the playground, Vienna, 2009

Picture 21: Volleyballfield, Vienna 2009

children were accompanied by their mothers or older sisters playing on traditional equipment, while an open soccer and basketball field provided space for the older boys and benches space for older girls "to hang around". According to a conversation with a group of girls it became clear that the obvious proximity to the neighbors fosters major problems: "If we play to loud or if someone screams, they come out or open the window and yell at us. First they all said they wanted the playground, but now that it has been built they don't like it anymore." But the problems are not only connected to the neighbor but also to other groups of users. "We are all Immigrants ("Kanacken") here, but on Fridays the Jews come over from the synagogue and they bring their 100.000 children and they invade here, we can't do anything anymore and if we complain they call the police." Playgrounds are urban spaces for children, but are like every other urban space they are in a constant process of negotiation. In this specific case the aggressions against the neighbors, which mainly represent the Austrian citizens and the Jewish families could cause prejudices which will be difficult to dissolve later. The involvement of someone else than the police, like a pedagogue would probably lead to better solutions.

"Everything in our quarter was ours: the holes in the street where we played marbles, the railings of the square where we played hopscotch; the frogs and toads at Plaza de Oriente. (…) That was our law"

(Barea 2004, 121)

The importance of play

Picture 22: Afterwar Children, Source: Friedrich Seidenstücker

The high influence of society on childhood has been explained before. Nevertheless in the opinion of Prout, James and Percy-Smith children, share some universal characteristics. These are immaturity, curiosity and the need to play. The immaturity of children is in a certain sense a biological fact, what differs from culture to culture is how this immaturity is seen and valued by the rest of society (Jans 2004, 34). The curiosity of children is based on a lack of experience and a source for their will to discover their surrounding world. Playing enables children to give meaning to their surroundings. Since over fifty years play has been subject of psychological and pedagogical research and inherits an important role within the healthy development and learning processes of children. This recognized importance of play influences the way adults take responsibility for the games of their children by providing or regulating of specific toys or regulate them (Jans 2004, 37).Games include adventures, and a certain risk and danger. Children have a higher need to motor activity; they run, jump and bluster and slowly expand their world. Observation of people and their behavior, participation in their games or daily routines and the imitation dominate the Interaction of children with other children and adults (Greiffenhagen 2009). Children learn and experience especially a lot of their surrounding by imitation. An increasing separation of children and

adults leads to the loss of the role model and the possibility to imitate (Wüstenrot 2006, 108).

Playing enables the child to act in a different way without carrying the final consequences, it is a space without obligations, if a game becomes too risky or uncomfortable for the child it can stop the game and "redraft his or her responsibility for the involved environment" (Jans 2004, 37,38). Which part children themselves take in the play is often overlooked (Jans 2004, 35). Imagination plays a central role in the construction of the child's world which sometimes transforms the existing reality. "Go out and play!" This sentence illustrates how the majority of children grew up in the past. Due to limited housing or alternative spaces children were sent outside on the streets to play.

"We played outside, on the streets in the woods; we never visited each other at home, play took place outside" (Rolff und Zimmermann 1997).

The play of children in relation to the urban environment has been of interest for numerous architects, planners and pedagogues.

Already in 1889 Viennese planner Camillo Sitte observed and noticed a strong relation between spatial order and children's play: "It is significant that when children at play follow unhindered their own artistic instincts in drawing or modeling, what they create bears a resemblance to the unsophisticated art of primitive peoples. One notices something similar with regard to children's placing of their monuments. The parallel is to be seen in their favorite winter pastime of building snowmen. These snowmen stand on the same spots where, under other circumstances and following the old methods, monuments or fountains might be expected to be located" (Sitte 1989, 159). The Danish architect Steen Eiler Rasmussen reflects in his book *Experiencing Architecture* about a group of children playing in Rome and their natural ability to approach spatial structures: "It was apparently a kind of football but they also utilized the wall in the

game, as in squash – a curved wall, which they played against with great virtuosity. When the ball was out, it was most decidedly out, bouncing down all the steps and rolling several hundred feet further on with an eager boy rushing after it, in and out among motor cars and Vespas down near the great obelisk. (...) I do not claim that these Italian youngsters learned more about architecture than the tourists did. But quite unconsciously they experienced certain basic elements of architecture: the horizontal planes and the vertical walls above the slope" (Rasmussen 1962, 17).

Picture 23: Boy playing soccer at a church, Zaragoza, 2010

Rasmussen and Sørensen were responsible for the construction of Tingbjerg (1950-1972), a social housing estate in the North of Copenhagen. Their hopes to create an urban environment, which would foster the play of children and social cohesion in general, were disappointed. A study from 1980 shows that the installed adventure playground has

not been successful, the courtyards of the area led to more separation instead of more contact and children preferred to play at the major road (Wilkinson 1980, 177).

Today Tingbjerg has been renovated in order to improve the spatial, but especially the social condition of the place. It still leaves the question if social life can be successfully planned at all?

Already in 1930 Magarethe Muchow studied the use of the street by working class children in Hamburg. Some of her observations are of high interest till today. Children's focus is often on small "unspectacular" details of the environment, like a gap in the fence, shiny stone, open letter box. The preferred places to play were parks and playgrounds, but also to a high extend the street and backyards. Children played with a variety of items, a combination of toys or found items: sabers, flags and carts, buckets, water bombs, dogs.

The relation between playing children and their neighborhood is a complex system of producing liveliness and security. Jane Jacobs, sees children playing in the streets as important factor for the livelihood of an area. She dedicates in her book an entire chapter *The Death and Life of great American cities* to *The uses of sidewalks: assimilating children*. She argues that children, who play on the sidewalks, are protected by the entire neighborhood, and in the same manner the neighborhood is influenced by those children. This kind of safety and protection does not have anything to do with surveillance but is rather based on community feeling and personal responsibility. Jane Jacobs also emphasizes the importance of unspecialized play and the impact it might have on the further life of children. "In real life, only from the ordinary adults of the city sidewalks do children learn - if they learn it at all - the first fundamental of successful city life: people must take a modicum of public responsibility for each other even if they have no ties to each other"(Jacobs 1961, 83).

Jesus Leal calls children a "catalyst" for social interaction observing how children initiate social cohesion between themselves and adults in public places. Jan Gehl, Danish architect and planner shows in his book *Life between buildings* through small examples how the liveliness in a city can be improved following simple rules. His main aim is to create cohesion between people and to increase the duration of the stay outside. One of his major rules is: Where nothing happens, no one wants to be. Or vice versa: People stay where something happens. "Children for example see other children at play and get the urge to join in, or they get ideas for new games by watching other children or adults" (Gehl 2001, 19). These activities do not have to be officially, he even emphasizes the importance of informal encounters: the talk over the fence as well as the unorganized spontaneous play of children.

"Generally, however, play is not arranged. It evolves when children are together, when they feel like playing and 'go out to play', without actually being certain that play will get started. The first prerequisite is being in the same space" (Gehl 2001 21). Finally Tonucci identifies three main problems for children within the cities of today related to their basic need to play, (1) autonomous mobility, (2) time to play and (3) places to play. To tackle these problems changes of the urban environment and a more welcoming attitude towards children are necessary. What kind of changes this could be and participation can play in it is illustrated in the following case studies.

Picture 24: Sisters playing in Retiro Park, Madrid, 2010

"No one wants to reform as much as children."

(Kafka)

Part 3: Children as Urban Planners

Participation in Urban Planning

Etymological participation (lat.: partem capere) means to take away a part from someone. This explains why participation is highly related to power structures, a redistribution of power and the resistance of specific groups to share this power with others (Koopmann 2008, 2). Participation is not a protected term and therefore often used without a clear definition (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 20).

Planning means in the following all activities of the design and planning process, construction and evaluation (Francis and Lorenzo 2002).

Participation in Urban Planning is often based on protest against a proposed project. This protest can be founded by mere personal interest, so called NIMBY (Not in my backyard) or in a more general opposition towards new developments.

In the 1950's Robert Wagner, borough president of Manhattan, established the first informal meetings with citizens and became one of the first decision makers, who institutionalized the role of citizen's participation in the United States. During the 60's those processes focused further more on a role for poor city inhabitants opposing governmental projects (Faga 2006).

Sherry Arnstein defined Participation in 1969 as "citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future" (Arnstein 1969). In the same publication he described the eight steps of the ladder of participation, to show how participation can be misused and how it can function well and create change. This concept has been often referred to by Roger Hart (1992) or Richard Schröder (1995).

Picture 25: French students protesting, 1968

Why should children participate in Urban Planning?

During the discussions about the low quality of playgrounds in the U.S. first ideas about involving children in the design of these areas were attempted (Hart, 1987, Gröning, 1986, Sanoff 1986 in Moore 1989, 106). The most basic and expansive reasoning is found in the basic human rights. Since those rights are universal and not connected to any other conditions (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 7). The convention of the right of the Child (CRC) formulated by the U.N. using the three P's (Protection, Provision and Participation) ensures the child the right to free speech. Article twelve is likely to be viewed with the most skepticism. "1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child." Many countries included the rights for children on a na-

tional level in their legislation. UNICEF spoke in an evaluation document from 2004 about a unique international impact. "The treaty has been more widely ratified than any other treaty in the world" (Bartlett 2000, 1). Only two member states of the UN did not ratify the CRC, Somalia and the United States (Spielleitplanung 2009, 34). The UNCRC was followed by the foundation of 60 independent organizations which work for the realization of children's rights as well as numerous international, European and national documents, recommendations and legal documents. One key document in relation to participation in urban planning is the *European Charta on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life*, where it is stated that "To invest into youth means to invest in what today and in future forms the wealth of our society."

During the past the focus of children's participation mainly laid on playful activities to educate children about political processes. On the municipality level is the Agenda 21 process of high importance, as a result from the Rio meeting 1992 in total 170 countries signed the declaration and much more communities and cities formulated their individual Local Agenda 21 documents with a high focus on child friendly development and participation as new form of urban government. Participation projects in general and especially including children are seen as an interdisciplinary challenge including professionals and practitioners from different fields on different political levels.

Children have all human rights but only limited access to civil rights, Smith argues „that in an increasing globalizing world the gap between human rights and civil rights should be reduced" (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 31). The concept of citizenship is inseparably linked to the discourse about participation. To what extent is the child participating in the urban life? The first condition is undeniable fulfilled, children are part of society, in

this sense they are citizens. They use public and shape the city. The second condition for citizenship, an active political life is rather limited (Leal 2007, 9). But projects like children councils or participation in urban issues aim to improve this situation.

"The city of Children" (La citta dei Bambini) network was developed in Fano in May 1991 and initiated by the Psychologist Francesco Tonucci. In total 16 cities in Italy, two in Argentina and three in Spain participated in the initiatives to improve the urban life of children, their main project is "We go alone to school." Not wanting it to be interpreted as strictly educational or as simply a support for children, the project was given, from the beginning, a political motivation: to work toward a new governmental philosophy of the city, engaging the children as parameters and as guarantors of the needs of all citizens. (lacittadeibambini)

Picture 26: Children's Participation, Source: Lorenzo

To argue for the participation of children it is easiest to look at the main arguments against children's participation, which were identified by David Driskell. In the following these arguments and their opposition will be discussed.

(1) Adults should not expect children to shoulder our responsibilities.

This argument neglects the possibility and essential fact that participation of children should be combined with adults participation and not been seen as a replacement. Adults who include children are not less, but more responsible in the way that they want to find out what children want and need.

Children are the "experts" of their own life world. They know the area they are living in well and have a view on the world on a "human scale".

Children are a critical group and in this sense less likely to take something for granted (Moore 1989, 107).

(2) The involvement of young people is time consuming, complicated and "a luxury we cannot afford"

A higher acceptance of the project is related to the evaluation of wishes and needs of the actual users. This might lead to stronger identification with the physical environment and a more respectful and careful use of the area. "In order to build and manage cities that work better for children, it's important to understand how urban environments affect children and what children actually require from them" (Bartlett, 2000, 2).

Furthermore Guerra states: "Long time the strength, sensibility, creativity and the potential of children to participate active in social and political aspects has not been serious taken into account" (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 31). processes of participation might be more time consuming and more expensive in a short term, but in a long run good and accepted urban design pays off.

Another important aspect is that projects where children also have a say about finances, the finally chosen projects are often the cheaper solutions (Kleeberger 2009). A high level of participation is practiced in Switzerland, due to its long and strong tradition of participation and democratic processes

children's councils have their own annual budget (20 000 FR= 14. 450 Euros) (Feuchtner 2008, 2). Due to their uncomplicated view on the world and new knowledge, children can be "privileged actors" in order to solve new challenges which society is facing. Children have an immediate and creative view on the world which enriches the perspective of adults (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft 2008, 125). They are able to develop new "innovative" solutions (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 9). Children can improve and practice their abilities to listen, share their thoughts, talk in public, they can extend their skills and gain respect in their community. A successful process of participation might raise their feeling of belonging, their self esteem and their ability to act confident in further decision making processes (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 11). Children can experience the feeling of "active citizenship" (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 8). Which includes to take decisions and responsibilities for the well being of the entire community. The participation of Children might lead to an improvement of the "soft" location factor, through children friendly developments (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 10). Especially children friendly infrastructure on the regional level can improve the competitiveness of the cities. Therefore their participation can be seen in direct relation to the economic situation of the urban area.

(3) Young people are unreliable and tend to change their minds often. They are too immature and naive to make decisions.

The last argument may be denied referring to psychologists, which claim that children at the age of twelve have the cognitive, emotional and social competence developed similar to those of adults. (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 25)

Roche argues in this context that the exclusion of children shows some similarities to the exclusion of women (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 32).

Methods and tools of the process should be suitable and comprehensible for participants, which includes children in the same manner as adults. Reliability is a characteristic which differs from person to person but processes which are interesting and well prepared might foster the will to stick with a project. Many people who worked with children in projects are rather surprised and amazed about the rationality, maturity and foresight children show.

(4) Young people cannot foresee the long-term consequences of their actions.

Firstly it should be asked, who can foresee the future and how often have those people been wrong. The ability to understand possible consequences of today's actions should be part in the project. Who should have a higher interest for the future, than people who will live in it?

(5) Young people have no technical background.

This is true, but many adults also do not have one. Therefore the projects should help to learn or improve necessary skills and gain a wider understanding. According to Faga, an U.S. architect who took part in some of the biggest participation projects in Boston, 90 % of all adults are not able to read a blueprint.

(6) Young people make mistakes.

Adults make mistakes as well and they are part of every process. Good evaluation of process might help to lower the risk for mistakes for the next process.

(7) Let young people enjoy their childhood – do not thrust adult worries and responsibilities on them.

Children's Participation aims to include especially children which are in danger of social exclusion, like migrant children, children with disabilities or children from deprived families. It is therefore accepted as a tool for social integration as well as crime prevention (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 11).

(8) "I was young once, so I know what children want." Adults experts have the information and knowledge to make the best decisions in the interest of young people.

How chapter one illustrated childhood and children change constantly. Every adult knows that the world has changed since they were young.

How selective or inclusive, long term or short term, spontaneous or planned, with or without evaluation participation projects are planned and organized depends on every single project (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2006, 21). A well prepared and conducted participation project should lead to a win-win situation for both children and society.

To which extend this is true in Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid will be discussed in the following case studies.

Part 4: Case Studies

Introduction

The following chapter will introduce three different projects, which took place between 2001 and 2010 in Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid. After the methodology has been described a short comparison of the three countries and cities with a focus on children related issues will follow to introduce the case studies. The case studies themselves consist of two parts, the description of the process and the evaluation. Finally all three will be compared in the following conclusion.

Methods

A variety of interdisciplinary methods and different sources were used for the case studies to firstly create a short description of the projects and secondly analyze their actual impact.

Participant Observation

Participant Observation included numerous visits to playgrounds, schoolyards and parks in the target areas as well as in the entire city. The first aim was to see which traces are left behind from children, or which items indicate the existence of children. (Chewing gum machines, chalk drawings). The second target was to actually observe children using public space, how do they move within public spaces, in which ways do they interact with a variety of adults and children? Which specificities can be observed in the different cities?

Due to the help from Henrik Gretoft and the NORD office I was able to join a day of participation work in Copenhagen, which allowed me to observe and participate in a ByX workshop conducted during the Climate Conference in December 2009.

Literature Research

Primary source for the literature research in Vienna were publications published by the MA 18 itself, Stadtplanung Wien, *Beiträge zur Stadtforschung,*

Stadtentwicklung und Stadtgestaltung, Mehr Platz!, Band. Nr. 67 as well as the *Werkstattbericht* for Mehr Platz!. Those provided a detailed overview over the project. Furthermore the official sites of the municipalities and the projects provided essential data. German or Spanish material has, as in the entire work are own translations.

Interview

Through numerous formal and informal interviews, with decision makers, planners, children and parents it was possible to gain an inside look into the projects from different perspectives. The interview with Thomas Madreiter, head of the department of city planning, Vienna, and his colleagues Brigitte Jedelsky and Jutta Kleeberger, who were both part of Mehr Platz!, as well as with Hanna Posch, director of the planning office PlanSinn provided the core information in Vienna. Morten Rask Gregersen, from the NORD office in Copenhagen and Henrik Gretoft from the municipality of Copenhagen were my mayor sources in Copenhagen. Javier Malo de Molina from Burgos & Garrido Arquitectos, Madrid as well as Leonardo Maria Cebrían,, initiator of the webpage Madridinfantil.es were my main sources in Madrid. All this interviews were semi standardized and essential to answer practical and theoretical questions about the projects, participation projects in general and the specificity of the local circumstances. Doing visits and participating in projects enabled me to numerous informal conversations with children, parents and different staff members. Those highlighted aspects, problems and issues which could have easily been overseen.

The Life circumstances of children in Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid

The Children of Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid are to some extent facing the same challenges and risks as all children in the western world. The majority of them are not facing essential poverty, hunger or threats of war.

Never the less the situation of children differs slightly between the north and the south of Europe. Therefore it is important to look at some specific demographical, social and economical dimensions at the national and at the city scale.

Several indicators were chosen to illustrate the current situation of children living in Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid. Base for those national Indicators is the study *Child poverty in perspective: An Overview of child well being in rich countries* conducted by the UNICEF Research Centre Innocenti in 2006 as well as statistical data provided by the state or the municipality. UNICEF defined six dimensions: Material well being, health and safety, educational well being, family and peer relationships, behaviors and risks, and subjective well-being. These are based on various components and make it possible to compare different countries in Europe. The final ranking displays the average position for all six dimensions. Denmark takes the lead with 7.2 on third position, right after the Netherlands and Sweden, Spain ranks on position 5, while Austria is with an average of 13.8 on position 17 (UNICEF Innocenti Research 2006).

National level

Indicator 1: Children per woman

Picture 27: Woman at the playground, Berlin 2009

The demographical shift and aging of society are omnipresent topics in Europe. The graph below shows the numbers of 2008, where Denmark has the highest and Austria the lowest rate of children per women. Much more informative is to look at the development of these numbers. Austria's rate has been quite stabile during the last ten years with the lowest rate 1.32 and the highest 1.42. Denmark slowly but constant increased from 1.72 in 1997, it reached the 1.8 mark in 2005. The biggest change can be observed looking at the Spanish development, after one of the lowest rates in 1998, 1.19 they rate grows again. For a long time Spain has been one of the countries with the highest birthrate in Europe, till it fall back during the crises in the 80's (Leal, 2010).

Children per women

Austria	Denmark	Spain
1,41	1,89	1,46
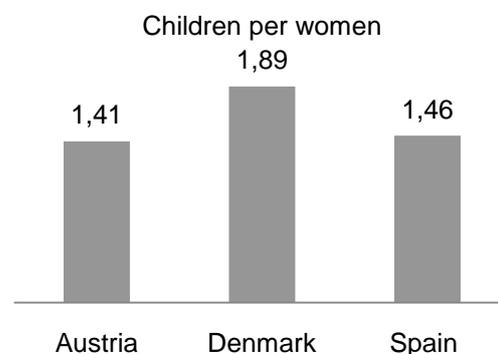
Figure 10: Children per women

Indicator 2: Material well being
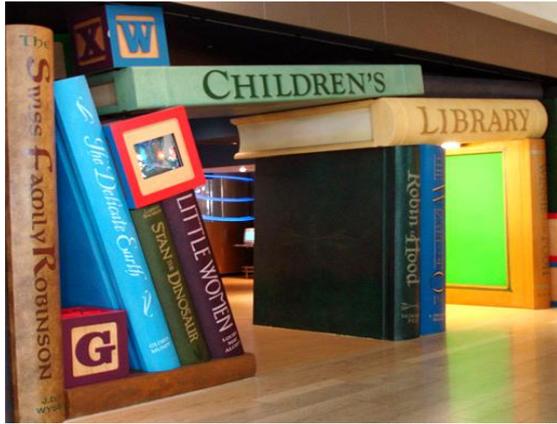
Picture 28: Entrance to the Children's library, Mary Haviland

The two following graphs show that there is no correlation between the relative income poverty and the property of books. Denmark performs the best according to the relative income poverty. While the property of books is lower than in Spain. Children in Austria live in a similar financial situation, but also perform very bad in the property of books.

Relative income poverty:
Percentage of children (0-17 years) in households with equivalent income less than 50 % of the median.

13,3	2,4	15,6
Austria	Denmark	Spain
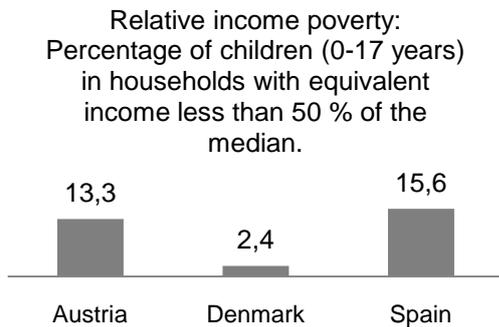
Figure 11: Relative income poverty: Percentage of children Source: Own illustration, UNICEF 2006

Percentage of children aged 15 reporting less than ten books in the home

9,3	7,4	4,4
Austria	Denmark	Spain
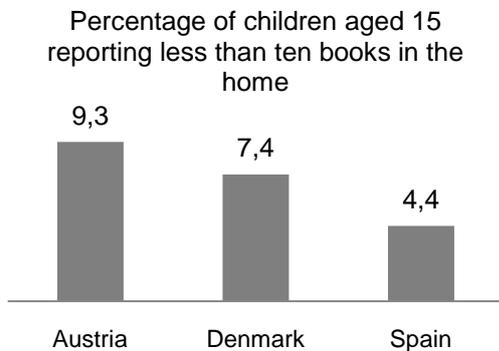
Figure 12: Percentage of children aged 15 reporting less than ten books in the home. Source: UNICEF 2006

Indicator 3: Family structures

Picture 29: Family in Vienna, Tabea Freutel, 2009

The percentage of children living with only one parent as well as children in stepfamilies is the highest rate in Denmark (30%). Followed by Austria (20%) and Spain with only 12,1%. This numbers might be related to religious traditions as well as the welfare system. Spain is traditionally a family based welfare system. Children stay living in the house of their parents much longer than the European average. The family is the main source for social security and therefore based on a high degree of inter generational solidarity.

■ Percentage of young people living in single-parent family structures, aged 11, 13, 15: 2001

■ Percentage of young people living in step family structures, aged 11,13, 15:2001

	Austria	Denmark	Spain
Step family	7,5	13,5	3
Single-parent	12,5	16,5	9,1
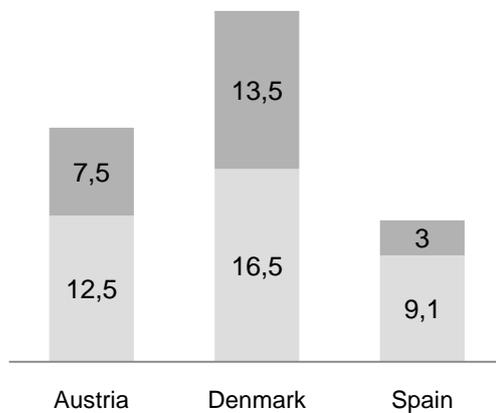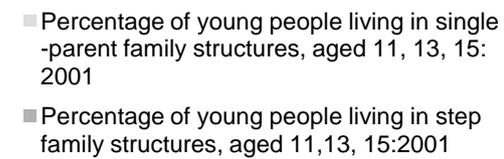
Figure 13: Family structures Source: Own illustration, UNICEF 2006

Percentage of students whose parents eat their main meal with them around a table several times a week, aged 15:2000

68,2   85,6   83,4

Austria   Denmark   Spain
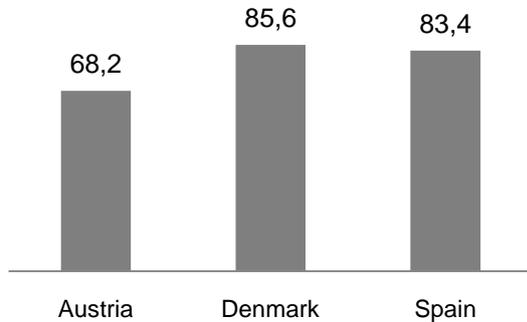
Figure 14: Students and Parents eating their main meal together at a table several times a week, aged 15 Source: UNICEF 2006

"The home is the security for the family; the state only is plan B for those who are weaker" (Llés Lazo 1997). The Danish and also the Austrian welfare systems are more orientated towards the individual citizen. Religion might also still play a role in the constitution of family life, In Spain are 98% of the population members of the Catholic Church in Austria 73%, while in Denmark 95% of inhabitants are Protestant (CIA 2005). The lower rate of members of the Catholic Church in these countries might also ease the decision to live separated. But the fact that Danes and Austrian live in nontraditional family structures does not indicate that family life is not important. In Danish and Spanish families is the common meal an essential part of everyday life. Austria's children are slightly less involved.

City scale

On the city scale different indicators were chosen, according to the available data. The data is provided from the first European Urban Audit and the statistical department of each municipality. This short comparison claims in no sense completeness, but solely aims to provide an informative basis.

Indicator 1: Children 0-15 in proportion to the total population

Picture 30: Street celebration in Madrid, 2010
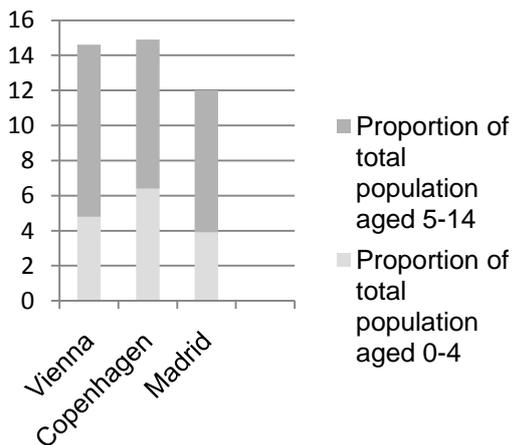
Figure 15: Children 0-15 in proportion to the total population, Source: Urban Audit

Madrid has with 12 % children below 15 the smallest share of population in this age group. Copenhagen and Vienna have values above 14%. Copenhagen's position is mainly based on a "baby boom" since the last five years.

Indicator 2: Accessible space

Picture 31: Sønder Boulevard, Copenhagen, Source: SLA office

The following two graphs are displaying the entire population; never the less some major conclusions can be deducted from them. The average household size is much higher in Madrid than in the other two cities. The living space which is in average occupied by every person is the lowest in Madrid.
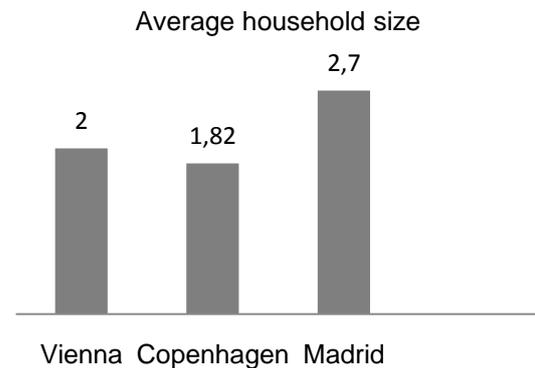
Figure 16: Average household size in Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid Source: Urban Audit
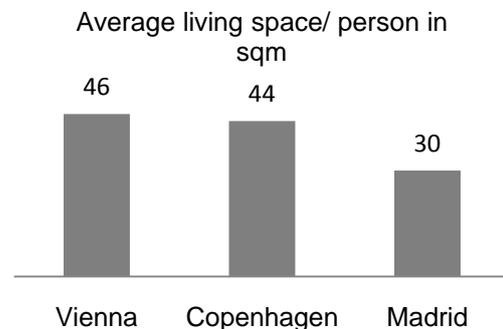
Figure 17: Average living space person/ sqm in Vienna Copenhagen and Madrid

42

The density people are facing living in Madrid is also related to a low share of accessible green areas for the population. The city of Madrid has big Nature resorts around the city but due to the protection guidelines they are closed to the public and therefore are not included in the statistics. The new development of the Riverside in Madrid on the former M30 Ringroad which was finished in 2009 and transformed a huge area into a park is also not considered. People mainly use the Retiro park as central located recreational area.
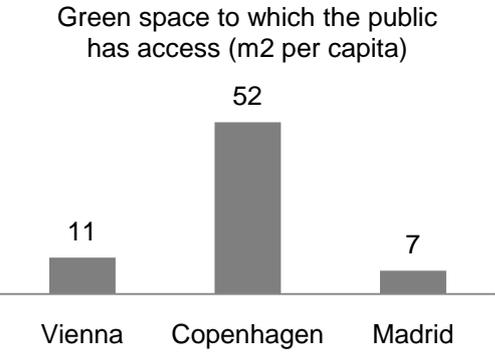
Green space to which the public has access (m2 per capita)

	Vienna	Copenhagen	Madrid
	11	52	7

One fact important to consider thinking about the life in Madrid is the high amount of people owning a holiday house in the countryside. Never the less Madrid has the highest household size, the smallest available living space and the least access to green space. Therefore it can be seen as the city with the lowest access to space for its inhabitants.

Indicator 3: Education

Final indicators for children's life in the city are educational institutions and the access to a computer. Those two dimensions show that a high number of children aged 0-4 are already enrolled in institutional daycare in all three cities. In Madrid and Copenhagen even over half of the children.

The duration of compulsory education differs between the three countries. Austria: 6- 15, Denmark, 7- 16 and Spain 6- 16. And also differs the maount of money invested in education. While Denmark spent in 2005 8.5% of the GDP, Austria invested 5.9 % and Spain 4.5%, which is 0.8% under the average of developed countries (EFA 2005).

Also over 50% of households in all the cities have a computer at home, obviously that does not indicate if the child living in the household might have access to it or not.
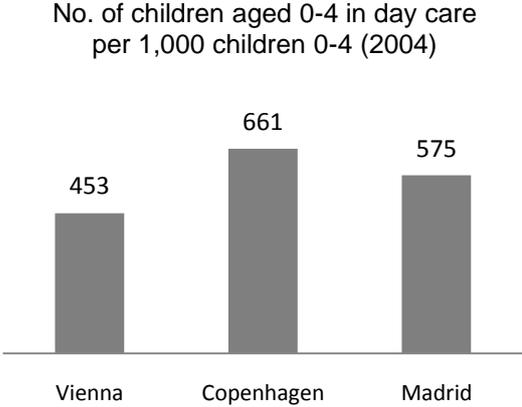
No. of children aged 0-4 in day care per 1,000 children 0-4 (2004)

	Vienna	Copenhagen	Madrid
	453	661	575
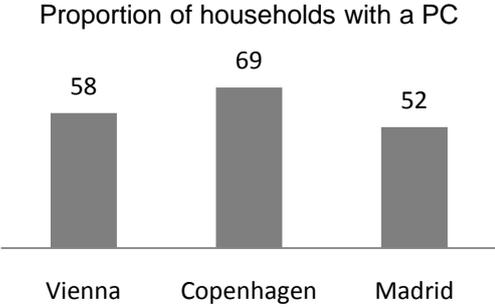
Proportion of households with a PC

	Vienna	Copenhagen	Madrid
	58	69	52

„My vision would be that everyone screams as loud if space for movement gets lost as if we lose one parking spot."

(Brigitte Jedelsky , 2009)

Project 1: Mehr Platz!

Project	Mehr Platz!
Location	Leopoldstadt 2nd district, Vienna
Design Firm	PlanSinn was founded in 1997 by Hanna Posch and five other young landscape architects in Vienna. Their fields of work include communication, participation and coordination of planning, as well as educational workshops and coaching.
Key Player	MA 18 department of city planning
Major issues	create awareness about the shortage of free space accessible for children, improve public space for children
Timeframe	1999- 2001

Picture 33: Logo Mehr Platz!

In 1999 the MA 18, the department of city planning in Vienna assigned the planning and communication office Plan Sinn to develop a project with a focus on the shortage of open space in the city available for children. Dr. Brigitte Jedelsky, from MA 18 in Vienna who was responsible for the project noted: "It all started with an advocate who asked us a provocative question: 'Who can prove me that it has any negative effects on children if they cannot move outside?' " (Jedelsky 2009).

This skepticism marked the starting point in Vienna's history of children's participation in urban planning. In order to set an emphasis on the need for more space available for children the project was called Mehr Platz! (more space!). According to Thomas Madreiter, head of the department of City planning Vienna in 2009: "Vienna does not know the ghost of over- aging, according to a calculation in 2020 when the generation of baby- boomers is

old, there won't be a bigger share of old people than in 1970. We have a constantly raising birthrate and surplus. The mixture of the population is reached through migration" (Madreiter 2009).

To change the negative attitude against children and to actually change the life of Viennese children Mehr Platz! was divided into two parts, firstly the theoretical, secondly the practical part. "The aim is to change the attitude towards children. Since we are aware that Austria and the German- speaking world is compared to the Francophone and the Scandinavian world not very child and youth friendly. This has a long and deep tradition" (Madreiter 2009).

Theoretical part

Beginning with an interdisciplinary symposium in September 1999, PlanSinn invited scientists and professionals from different disciplines and collected their contribution in a book published in 2000. Thomas Madreiter explains the motivation of the MA 18 in 2000 "The department was looking for a line of reasoning that could be used to counter the economic interest in the competition for urban space" (Wien 2000, 14).

These texts form the theoretical foundation for the argumentation that a shortage of free space available for children can have physical, psychological and social impacts.

Inform the public

To inform the public about the ongoing discourse 16 pillars were placed on different locations within the city, indicating that at this place a Viennese famous person experienced something specific during her or his childhood. "Senta Berger played here soccer", "Gitti Jazz learned to dance in this park" (Wien 2000, 11). This had two main results, first people thought about their own childhood and their places they played and hang around and secondly the place was seen from a different angle and you could ask where exactly between the parking cars a soccer game was possible or would be possible today.

Inventing a fake MA department – the department 97 for recruiting space, "Magistratsabteilung für Platzbeschaffung" a group of actors drove through the main streets in Vienna claiming that the new legislation allows and supports from now on the building of tree houses in Viennese Parks. Wood would be available at the MA office. The streets also would be car free on every unequal day of the month. This action got a diverse, but mainly positive feedback and some people started immediately playing volleyball in the middle of the street (Wien 2000, 150).

Practical Part

The second part of Mehr Platz!, taking place in 2001 wanted to change the life of children realizing concrete projects in a Pilot area. Emphasis was therefore not set on children spaces, but the street and squares.

Leopoldstadt, the 2nd Viennese district is located in the Inner city of Vienna, it has a very dense building fabric consisting mainly of buildings of the founder period. There are four small parks (Weintraubenpark, Dianapark, Parc in Rueppgasse, Parc in Ferdinandgasse) in the area while the Augarten, Donaukanal and the Prater are not far but divided through a big street. The area is also characterized by two big market squares, Karmelitermarkt and Volkertmarkt (Wien 2002, 10). The aim of the project was to create a close cooperation between planners, play pedagogic, parents and children. Before the planners of PlanSinn started consulting the children and their parents, they observed how, when and where children moved through the district. The planners therefore tried to concentrate on places which could be interesting for children during different times of the day (before and after school), on weekends and during the week (Wien 2002, 14).

Including children

Due to the help of different institutions like schools and after school it was possible to include a group of children aged 6 till 13, mixed gender and ethnic background in the planning process.

The first step was to identify important places for the children. They marked the significant spaces on a map and explained why they were positive or negative, which activities they did there. This discourse was led by the Leo doll, which should help the children to get some distance to the daily school life and encourage them to participate actively in the discussion.

Small groups of 5-7 children accompanied by two adults explored the neighborhood. The group played together in the public spaces with chalk. The children mostly have seen the games but were not able to draw and play it without help. Points of big interest were also the sweet machines, even if they did not have money. This tour was planned, by the adults according to the maps the children draw earlier, but also spontaneously changed if needed. The aim was to give children a chance to discover new places of the neighborhood outside their everyday paths and make new connections.

One boy noted: "You live so close – then I will come and visit you tomorrow" (Wien 2002, 4). To gain a clearer image about the daily routines the 70

children were asked to write a diary of their daily activities, where what and with whom they did. Those were accompanied by short questionnaires. But according to the Mehr Platz! Report this method was the least liked by children and only 30 questionnaires came back. The out coming results completed the observations from the walks. Asked about her most surprising experience Hanna Posch answered: "I was surprised how much children think about their life together. Apart from what they want to have they think about what they want to do. They told us where adults yell at them, where they are kicked out. It always surprises me how children do not care about the equipment, but rather worry about how adults treat them there" (Posch 2009).

Including adults

Parents were invited at three evenings for workshops to evaluate how the area could be developed to enable children to use the area more autonomously. Therefore they were asked to take pictures of three spots.

1. This places I like to use with my child/ren?

2. I do not want my child/ren to be here.

3. This space I would like to change for my child/ren

All participating parents were actually mothers of Austrian origin, they also all belonged to a higher educational level. The sessions with the mothers were complemented with short individual interviews, which were conducted during a neighborhood fest. A wider perspective was established through Expert interviews with Kinderfreunde e.V., the park supervision and the local government (Wien 2002, 21).

Making proposals

After gathering impressions, interviews and conversations PlanSinn analyzed the results and created together with parents and politicians possible actions.

Based on discovery walks, observations and conversations with parents PlanSinn was able to formulate this analysis: The majority of children were allowed to go to school and back home alone or meet their parents half way. But for some children this is the only time when they are allowed outside without supervision. Therefore it is a way that is taken slowly and extended as much as possible. This indicates the school way as an important urban experience.

If children are allowed to be outside alone cannot be related to their origin, but clearly to gender.

Girls are generally more restricted to be outside without a specific aim (Wien 2002, 26).

The time when the children have to come back home is often not connected to a specific time but children would play outside till their parents call them home, using a cell phone (Wien 2002, 27).

The building structure creates countless courtyards, which could be used to play, unfortunately in many houses it is prohibited or even if it is allowed it might be uninteresting because there are not enough other children living in the same apartment block (Wien 2002, 21).

PlanSinn created together with the parents and employees of the district a big range of possible changes for the district. These ideas were discussed by a group of decision makers of Leopoldstadt, as a result only a part of them were accepted by the district. This had financial reasons as well as practical reasons. The proposals as well as the decision by the municipality can be seen in the graph below. The map, which was published in 2000 in the report shows the planned interventions.
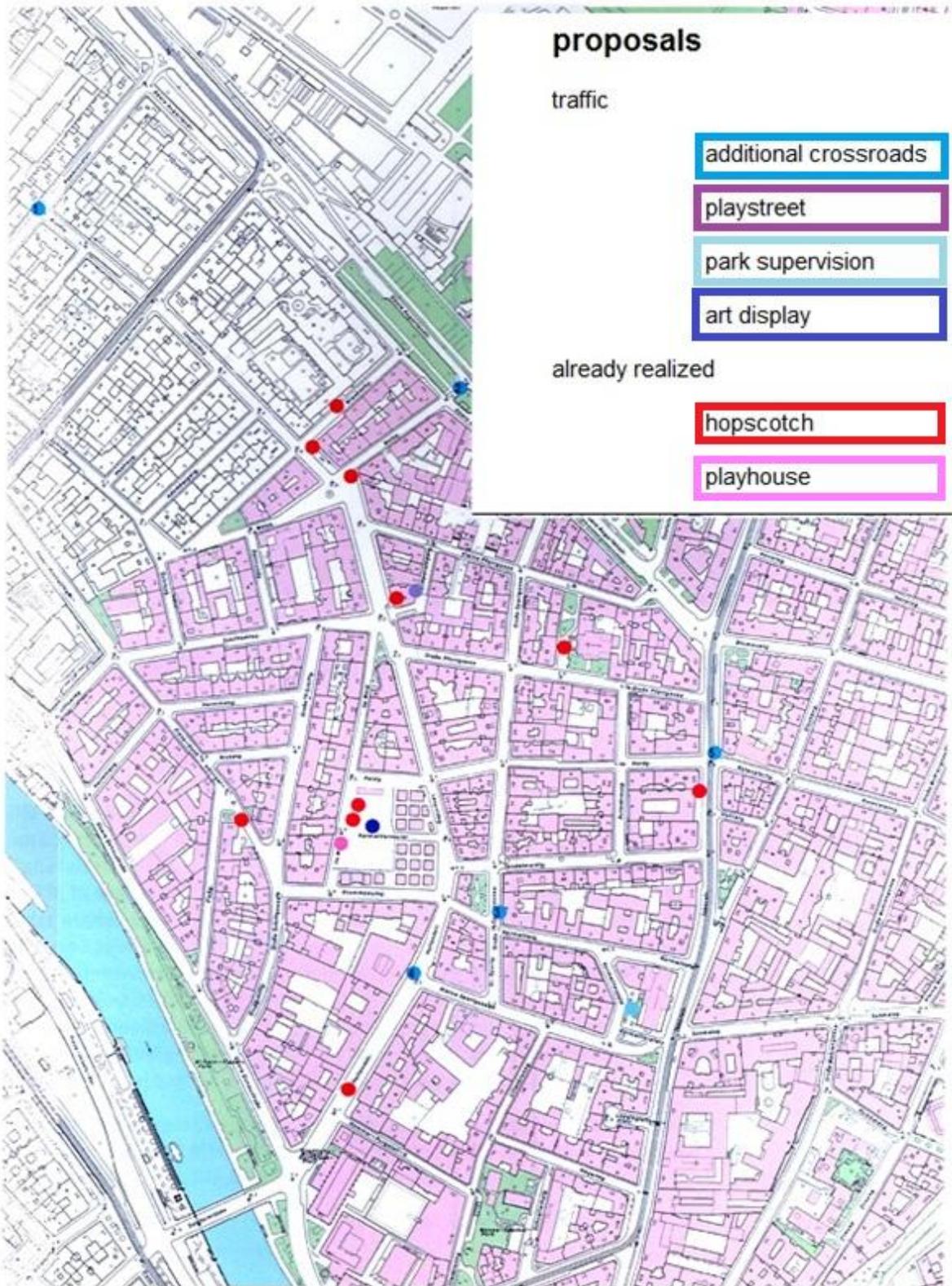
Picture 34: Source Mehr Platz! 2000, own translation

Evaluation 2009

UNESCO defined in *Creating better Cities with Children and Youth* twelve characteristics, which characterize a good participation project. Using them as starting point eases the evaluation and comparison of the different projects. The description of the dimensions can be found in the Appendix.

UNESCO dimensions	Evaluation
Local	While the theoretical part included expertise from outside the area, the project itself was oriented towards the people living within the Pilot area and mainly conducted by people
Transparent	The documentation illustrates the wish to make the aims and structures of the project at all times transparent for politicians, public and especially participants.
Inclusive	Mehr Platz! tries to include children and parents from different social groups. Since it is in general difficult to "find" children for this project they collaborated with schools, which of course influenced the diversity of the group. The intended diversity of the participating group was difficult to reach. This is noted in the report:"Seen from today it might have been reasonable to organize a specific workshop with a focus on migrants in cooperation with the Viennese Integration Fond. To include also the orthodox members of the Jewish community eventually cooperation with a Jewish club or school would have been necessary." Thomas Madreiter remarked in his interview "we always have a subsidence slope, we never have migrants represented. Never single mums, how should they have time for it?"
Interactive	The methods chosen to work with the children of Mehr Platz! have been diverse and creative. The activities were playful and fun and offered possibilities for spontaneous interaction. (Use of the puppet, games outside). Hanna Posch describes it as an amazing experience, that if the framework for a project is clearly communicated it will be accepted and understood by adults and children.
Responsive	Described in connection to the first walks with the children it can be said that PlanSinn tried to adjust the planned way, if needed to new requirements.
Relevant	Since the majority of children and adults do have difficulties in reading maps and blueprints it was easier comprehensible for the children to move around the area and point out interesting spots.
Educational	Children and adults were both facing new work techniques and targets. Children realized new aspects of their surrounding, while the adults experienced new ways of using or perceiving those spaces.
Reflective	There is no hint that a process of reflecting about the project with participants took place.
Transformative	Some physical transformations took place within the area (see list below), those changes are easy to see and to evaluate. In difference to them there is no study about the impact on children and adults participating in these projects. Did the experience change their relation to space, the neighborhood or different users?
Sustainable	Ten years have passed by since the initiation of Mehr Platz!. Hanna Posch concluded in 2009 that the media and the different districts received it positively but "it didn't spread – like it now always has to be done like this." On a city level Mehr Platz! is referring to Jutta Kleeberger still a name in Vienna. On a local level it seems that the connection of the changes which have been made and the project have vanished
Personal	Hanna Posch mentions as a main personal reason to work with children in participation processes "a deep understanding of democracy. For decisions connected to their own life, which they can understand, it is just good to work together with them. And I just like doing it." This personal interest is a base for a smooth working process.
Voluntary	The participation in a project like Mehr Platz! should always be voluntary. Since it is difficult to contact children Mehr Platz! used institutions to involve children. Therefore it can be said that they did not really have a choice, while the participating parents chose to be in the meetings.

Visiting the site

Questioning numerous children and parents in the district showed that they did not know about the project Mehr Platz!. This can be seen as an indicator, that children focused projects have a very short echo since parents usually only focus on topics concerning the age group of their own children.

They still all mentioned that they liked the district and that through the Augarten their need for a recreational area was fulfilled.

A walk through the area in June 2009 gave the possibility to check which of the proposed changes were realized and to see in which condition those are.

Obere Augartenstraße A fast traffic light was installed and still exists. This saver crossing enables children to reach independently Augarten, where various activities like cycling, using the playground, and playing soccer are possible.

Karmeliterplatz The planned display for children's art was installed as well the playhouse and two hopscotch fields, which were supposed to be at Karmelitermarkt. Inscriptions on the playhouse like "I love Zeni" and " Call 690.. " and "Heil Hitler" could be interpreted as signs of vandalism, but they also indicate that it is still a meeting point for young people.

Karmelitermarkt The proposals considering the Market square like Park supervision, playhouse and hopscotch field were not taken into consideration. Possible reasons could be the opposition of owners of the market stands or the neighbors of the surrounding buildings.

Große Sperrstraße the suggested pedestrian crossing was not realized.

From a total of nine hopscotch drawings, seven were realized in 2001. Unfortunately two of them were by now covered with a new layer of concrete.

Picture 35: Karmeliterplatz, Playhouse, 2009

Picture 36: Karmelitermarkt, no changes have been done her, 2009

Picture 37: Karmelitermarkt, soccer, scating, cycling forbidden, dogs allowed, 2009

Picture 38: Girls in the 2nd district

Hanna Posch answered to an Email describing the situation: "Thank you for the information. Unfortunately we are not assigned for the project anymore. Your pictures say a lot…"

Responding to the same Email Jutta Kleedorfer hopes that the children are now using different spaces: "Thank you for the info about the hopscotch by Mehr Platz! somehow upsetting and a little bit shocking, on the other hand a sign that things change. The children could redraw with chalk if they would like to or needed it… perhaps they discovered and marked new places, we will hope for that all of us are often not enough "appropriating" public space (our space) which is obviously a question of culture."

Mehr Platz! has been the pilot project in Vienna, ever since numerous projects have been conducted under the umbrella of MA18 or initiated by the district. New issues like the temporary use of waste land, gender mainstreaming or the problematic stand of young people in society have been included in diverse projects.

Picture 39: concrete over Hopscotchen, 2009

Picture 40: Cycling and soccer play forbidden sign next to a display window of the Kinderfreunde e.V., 2009

Picture 41: Hopscotch field in front of a 'soccer forbidden' sign at the house of Kinderfreunde e.V., 2009

"If each of us has one cup and we exchange it, we still only have one cup. But if we exchange ideas we both have two."

(Chinese Wisdom- quoted by Morten Rask Gregersen, 2009)

Project 2: ByX

Project	ByX
Location	Guldberg Skole, Nørrebro
Design Firm	The NORD office was founded in 2003 by Johannes Pedersen and Morten Rask Gregersen in Copenhagen. The multidisciplinary office of research and design has been awarded for numerous projects in the last years.
Key Player	Municipality of Copenhagen
Mayor issues	Transformation of a schoolyard into a mix functional space.
Timeframe	2008 - 2010

Picture 42: Screenshot ByX webpage, 2010

ByX (CityX) is a project embedded in ABU - Department of Sustainable Development under the Child and Youth Administration in Copenhagen and operates in cooperation with NORD office and other stakeholders. Their main aim is among others an increasing involvement of children in urban development processes. This target should be reached through processes which combine children's innovative potential with traditional and formal processes of urban development. This should be reached through close collaboration of children and professionals. In total ByX consists of numerous project areas of which one will be described detailed in the following chapter.

Project Area: Road Safety

To improve the safety of children as generally weak members of urban traffic ByX offers in cooperation with the Danish Cyclist association the use of Faelledparken to increase the autonomous mobility of children. At this traffic playground, children practice in a playful manner to move independently and safe by bike through the city. ByX also works in cooperation with schools and engineers on the de-velopment of safe roads around children related institutions in order to foster more sustainable and safer mobility.

Project Area: Landmarks for Children

Since 2010 ByX works together with children on a new kind of urban monuments. Those should create a hybrid relation between the silent historical monument and a functionally and active piece of street furniture.

Picture 43: Landmarks for Children, Source: ByX

Project Area: Neighborhood development

Already in 2006 the municipality of Copenhagen, the Refurbishing office of Mimersgade and NORD office conducted the project ByX. Mimersgade is a neighborhood in Outer Nørrebro. But even though a high share of the population are children the residents are facing a shortage of green areas in the district. ByX conducted a six week long workshop children of the neighborhood to think and work on ideas how the neighborhood could be improved and how they wanted activity settings could be included in the urban fabric. With a kickoff event named "The city is Yours" the project gained the necessary attention and over 60 children participated in this workshop. Three target areas were chosen, the BaNanna Park, Super Wedge and the DSB area and the final group of ten children worked the following

weeks on the development of ideas and strategies. During the following weeks the children analyzed their neighborhood, developed ideas and created collages and prototypes of future developments. One participant stated: "Through ByX we learned a lot of things. We have learned to examine our surroundings and find what is missing and what it would need. So we have learned to create ideas and work with them so they can meet the needs of the place. We also learned how to make collages and models and how to present it" (ByX 2009).

One of the three areas was the BaNanna Park; due to its location close to Nannagade the area has in common language since a long time been called BaNanna Park. Because of this association children immediately came up with the idea to create the park in the design of a banana or two. This idea was further developed by children and their results were exhibited in the city hall of Copenhagen. The further design was elaborated and planned by NORD architects and constructed by the landscape architects Schoenherr. Unfortunately there is no detailed documentation of the different working phases and the actual impact the project had on the participating children and their relation to public space.

Project Area: Schoolyard design

In 2008 the municipality of Copenhagen assigned NORD office, not only to design and build a new building for the school, but also to redevelop the schoolyard.

This new schoolyard should function as a mix used area interesting and accessible for pupils and residents, it also should allow the children easy and safe access to school by bike and numerous possibilities to leave their bikes there. The Guldberg School is since 2009 one of nine climate schools in Denmark, "(…) with the purpose of teaching children about the mutual responsibility we have in regards to constant climate changes and global warming" (Copenhagen 2009). The school is located in

Inner Nørrebro, one of the densest districts of Copenhagen surrounded by residential houses. To realize these targets NORD office included children from the school as well as an international group of students in the participation process.

Thanks to Morten Rask Gregersen it was possible to attend the daylong workshop, taking place in the office at the 2nd of December 2009.

Picture 44: children and the prototype of BaNanna Park, 2009, Source: NORD office

Picture 45: Opening of BaNanna Park 2010, Source NORD office
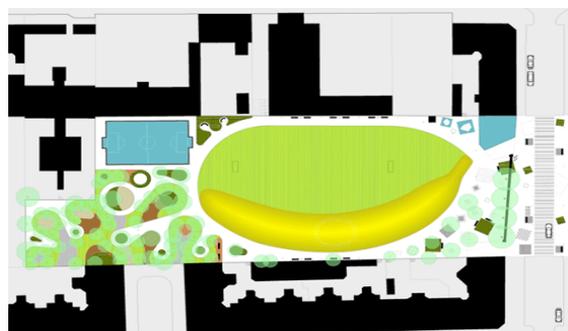
Picture 46: Scheme of BaNanna Park, 2009, Source: NORD office

Including Children

Eight children from Vanløse School, Copenhagen and Wismar in Germany between 12 and 16 were invited to participate in an international workshop at NORD office to develop and share their ideas about the renewal of the schoolyard. The workshop was clearly structured and clear assignments were given. Morten Rask Gregersen introduced himself, the office and the project. The aim would be to create more sustainable cities due to the inclusion of young people. "Sustainable is meant in a social, not in an economic sense" (Rask Gregersen 2009). After a short presentation about urban development's worldwide, including Dubai, Shanghai and the squatter cities from the southern hemisphere, the scale changed to our own surrounding. The group focused on a map showing the schoolyard outside the window across the street. The way of working for the rest of the day was clear defined through a six step program, which is developed by NORD:

Step One: Insight

Examine of the project side. Which areas could be interesting to work with? What elements are missing? What could be added or taken away?

Together with the planners from NORD office the group walked through the area. Special features, were highlighted and some information given about the already existing plan, of breaking the fences down, to create an easy accessible area.

Step two: New Ideas

Discuss your ideas for the area. Use collages, sketch paper and models to show your ideas.

Back in the office three small groups are formed mixing Danish and German students, supervised by an architect or student. The student asks some questions which should encourage the youngsters to think about their design. "What would you like to have?" The children first react shy, but are more comfortable answering questions about what they liked about their schoolyard, when they were

Picture 47: Morten explains the working process of the day, Source: Nord office

Picture 48: The new schoolbuilding and the space which needs new ideas, Source: NORD office

Picture 49: Area picture Guldbergskole, Source: NORD office

Picture 50: Guldbergskole, Source: Guldbergskole

younger. "We used to have a green area, which I really liked." states one girl from Germany.

Pictures and blueprints of the area as well collage

Picture 51: Collecting ideas at ByX, Source: NORD office

Picture 52: Evaluating the prototypes, Source: NORD office

elements like people, trees, concrete, sport fields are already prepared and offered to visualize the ideas. The different groups start to work concentrated but also in relaxed atmosphere. The difference of age and especially the fact that they only can communicate in a foreign language, English makes it more difficult for children to intermingle spontaneously.

Step three: Evaluation

All ideas should be presented and evaluated. The best ideas should be elaborated as a prototype.

After the lunch break sketches, drawings and collages were presented from each participant. The ideas vary between art projects, like a children graffiti, representing "children from all around the world" sport activities like, climbing, ballgames, and referring to Morten Rask Gregersen, the obliga-

tory skate-park, as well as landscape elements like grass, trees, flowers and water games. Keira from Denmark explains her Design:"Here they could play hide and seek. ". One other girl states "(…) there is a cosy corner for the girls to talk." After all ideas are presented the new task for each group is to choose their three favorites and continue to develop them. Morten Rask Gregersen highlights that this sharing of ideas is the normal and best process. "It is the survival of the fittest, in terms of ideas." He also explains, that "it is important to leave your ideas behind."

Step four: Prototypes

Create models, prototypes and drawings.

It can be "fast and ugly" Morten Rask Gregersen says to encourage the children not to worry too much about details. Back in the small groups their favorites are elected. In the most groups everyone has three votes and the three projects with the most votes were continued.

Step five: Assessments

Some of the groups combined elements of former unlinked ideas to find compromises or to improve their ideas.

Step six: Decisions

The groups present again their final ideas.

"You represent the democracy today- so please work well." Finally Morten Rask Gregersen explains that this six- step program could continue again to constantly reevaluate the ideas and designs. He thanks all participants and the children get a T-Shirt as gift for their help.

Evaluation of the project

UNESCO dimensions	Evaluation
Local	The project is organized and realized by locals. Only as an exception German students and Danish students from a different area were integrated in the process
Transparent	The working process of the workshop was clearly defined and limited. The exercises (excursion, drawings, and prototypes) were clearly explained. Still there was no information about the project itself, like when will it be realized, who decides in the end which proposals will be realized etc.
Inclusive	The workshop was limited to two selected groups of children and their accompanying adults. Are there open sessions for the neighbors and parents of the school?
Interactive	Due to the different origins of the children there was a clear language barrier. They also did not know each other's names, since they were not equipped with name tags. Those aspects might have complicated the interaction of the participants.
Responsive	The adults were happy to help, technical or language-wise during the process and presentations
Relevant	Since most children, like 95% of adults are not used to read maps (Faga 2006), the introduction at the map was not understood by all children. Also it was difficult for some to keep on track during the excursion where we were on the map. A prototype of the schoolyard might have been more useful for the participants. Choosing material for their collages they clearly preferred the side perspective of the buildings.
Educational	For all of the children it had been the first visit to an architecture office in their life, they also never have been confronted with planning issues before. Therefore the visit gave them a good introduction into the work of architects and planners. The small presentation about urban issues also extended their knowledge about urban developments in other parts of the world. Unfortunately there was no real guidance about how to draw sketches or to build a prototype That may have been good not to make the children concerned about the technique.
Reflective	There was no evaluation about the workshop conducted with the children.
Transformative	It is clear a physical transformation will take place as soon as the schoolyard will be rebuild. What impact the workshop had on the children is hard to tell, from some comments by the children was this, an extraordinary and interesting experience.
Sustainable	The involvement of children in this project is labeled as "social sustainability". How different the reaction of the future population will be towards this participatory project cannot be predicted in this case.
Personal	The team from NORD introduced themselves shortly; nevertheless the time was too short to get to know all other participants by name. Name tags could have been useful.
Voluntary	Since the participation of the German delegation was part of the UNICEF climate conference program for children, they did not have any choice in which project they would participate on this day. The Danish students in opposition were asked if they would like to participate before they came

"I wanted the Manzanares river to turn into a beach (…), a place for all those who cannot go on holidays."

(Winner of the Competition)

Project 3: Un río de ideas

Project	Un río de ideas
Location	Madrid
Design Firm	Burgos & Garrido Architects, Madrid
Key Player	Ayuntamiento de Madrid
Major issues	Competition for children presenting their ideas and visions for the new river development.
Timeframe	2005 - 2007

Picture 53: Marid río Logo of the project

The M30 is one of Madrid's Ringroads. Finally finished in 1970's it was constructed on both sides of the Manzanera canal banks.

In 2003 first plans were created to tunnel the ring road and revitalize the riverbanks. While the engineer work was done by a different office, Burgos & Garrido won the competition in 2005 for the design of the new 6 km long park area. The construction started in 2009 and will continue on both riverbeds till 2012. This new development aims to reconnect the historical axis between the Royal Palace and the former hunting grounds of Casa de Campo and to create a new extensive recreational area for the citizens of Madrid.

In 2005 the Municipality of Madrid organized a competition for children. "Un río de ideas" with three main intentions: (1) Incorporate the ideas of the winner within the design of the winning architecture office. (2) Dedicate parts of the 500 000 m² to the entertainment of children. (3) The competition should children give the possibility to experience and learn about public issues and civic culture. Furthermore the webpage of competition promised: "Your idea will be realized! The most important is the promise of the Ayuntamiento de Madrid given to the children and youngsters to incorporate their ideas in the Río project" (Madrid Rio 2005).

The competition was open to all children visiting primary and secondary schools, as well as children with disabilities. Their work was evaluated in five different categories.

In total 3525 children handed in 5515 proposals. These paintings, drawings and descriptive letters were evaluated by a jury consisting of experts, architects, and members of NGO's.

The winners were announced and a book with the best proposals was published in 2006.

Picture 54: Information about the competition

Some of the ideas are shown below.

"Can you imagine a river to learn in? I can. Walking around it we can go over maths and English, and going to the river, we can learn which plants there are in Africa and what to eat in Asia".

Picture 55:"Learning Park" Source: Madrid Río

"I wanted a different park, where those things we dream of turn true, like bench-shaped books, giant wood animals to climb and torch-shaped streetlamps".

"(...) a place where you could see all the plants of the world, the oddest and the most exotic ones. I think that would be beautiful and amazing."
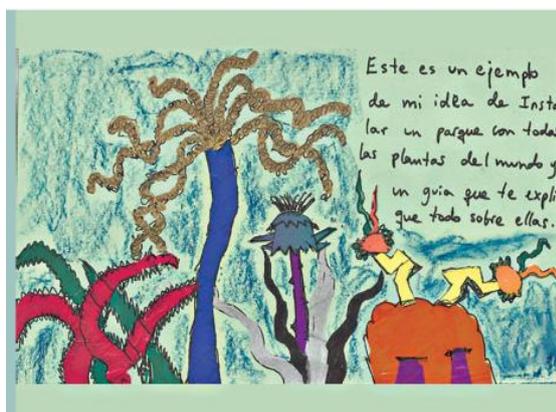
Picture 56: „Plants oft he world" Source: Madrid Río

Years after the competition it can be questioned: How influential was the competition? How serious were the proposals taken into account? Mr. Molina from Burgos&Garrido answered those questions in an interview in May 2010.

"There were good ideas, but many proposals were obvious, of course the talk about bike lanes, of course we have bike lanes or a skate park. There is not so much new, because the ideas are in the mind of everybody." Mr. Molina stated that the majority of people wish for the same elements within their urban area, the real challenge is not to provide these things but the way how these elements are incorporated in the area. Children's visions are in general very "on the ground", they ask for nature and a wide range of activities. One outstanding idea was to construct a glass- tunnel which leads under the river and where it is possible to observe the swimming fish – an idea which is of course difficult to implement.

According to Mr. Molina the municipality defined as one guideline for the final design to include one of the three nominated ideas of the children's proposal in some way in the design. "(…) but there was no cooperation between the office and the organization of the competition." And the office "was not
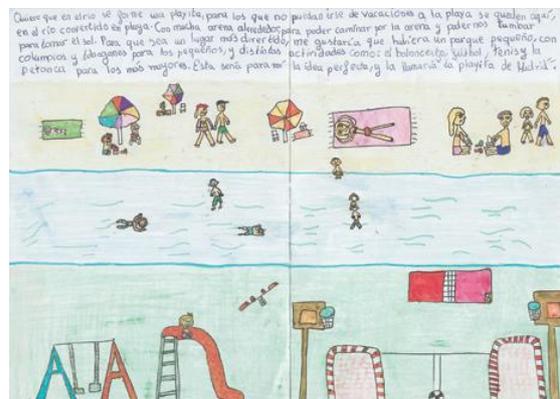
involved at all" (Molina 2010).

Picture 57: „The little beach of Madrid" Source: Madrid Río

Finally Burgos&Garrido chose the idea of the beach to be realized. Many people in Madrid say that the only thing Madrid is lacking to be a "perfect" city is a beach. "The idea of a beach in Madrid is central, it has always been in the mind of the people. The beach is the place where people go for vacations" (Molina 2010).

The winner of the competition a thirteen year old girl had exactly this idea*: "I wanted the Manza-*

nares river to turn into a beach, where it could be possible to sunbathe and practice sport, a place for all those who cannot go on holidays. And that place would be the little beach of Madrid." What possibilities are there to create a real beach at the riverside in Madrid? The first step of the planning process was to think about what are the essential spatial features of a beach (water, sand), secondly to collect and evaluate what kind of activities are important on a beach site. How can those two, the spatial and the social aspects be connected at the riverbanks of the Manzanera River? Mr. Molina explained that these possibilities are limited by different aspects. "Of course it cannot be like a beach" (Molina 2010). The obvious features of a beach are the accessibility of the water and sand. Unfortunately the river itself "is untouchable", since the river underlies the authority of the state and not the region of Madrid. Secondly due to issues of safety and maintenance the water should be moving and not too deep. Mr. Molina notes: "we wanted to create a beach how it is for children who play in the swallow water, with the water coming and going around their ankles" (Molina 2010). The second essential characteristic is sand, but the use of sand is due to hygienic reasons not welcomed in Madrid. The office therefore designed an area of green grass around two swallow water areas. The project will be realized in 2011, how satisfied the girl will be with the realization from her idea is an interesting question.

Evaluation

UNESCO dimensions	Evaluation
Local	The competition was open to children from all over Madrid , but the majority of participants came from schools close to the river area.
Transparent	The competition was clearly communicated, but the real "realisation" of the proposals was not communicated.
Inclusive	Participating children came from all kind of different schools and neighbourhoods, that indicates a different social background. The specific section for children with disabilities directly announced this separated group.
Interactive	The process was accompanied by the teachers. But there was no direct contact in form of a meeting etc. between the planners and the children
Responsive	-
Relevant	-
Educational	-
Reflective	There was no evaluation of the competition and the actual outcome by the municipality.
Transformative	The riverside has been transformed but the ideas of the children will only be taken into account to create a "beach" area.
Sustainable	I doubt that the process of participating in this riverside competition had a big impact on the lives of the children.
Personal	There is no connection between the adults, accompanying the process, the jury of the competition and the planners.
Voluntary	Since the project took place in the school, the free choice of children to participate might be limited.

Big parts of the development have already been finished, among other projects there have been two big play areas constructed. These areas are orientated on the idea of playing in the woods. The open and natural design of the playgrounds stands in clear contrast to the traditional Spanish city playground, which usually is surrounded by fences. This example shows that child friendly development does not automatically need to be done with the involvement of children. But that it is in general related to the ability of adults to create spaces which children enjoy. Observing the playgrounds during the afternoon in May showed how well accepted and frequently used these areas are. Children just coming from school, accompanied by their parents or grandparents stop for some time at the playground before they continue their way home to the neighborhoods close by. The former rather cut off area has through the riverside received a new front and is much better connected with the entire city.

Picture 58: Children at Madrid Río, 2010

Picture 59: Playground at Madrid Río, 2010

Comparison Results

	Mehr Platz!	ByX	Un río de ideas
Local	high	moderate	low
Transparent	high	moderate	moderate
Inclusive	moderate	moderate	moderate
Interactive	high	moderate	low
Responsive	moderate	moderate	low
Relevant	moderate	low	low
Educational	high	high	low
Reflective	low	low	low
Transformative	moderate	high	low
Sustainable	low	moderate	low
Personal	high	low	low
Voluntary	moderate	moderate	low

Degree of fulfillment:	
	high
	moderate
	low

All three of the projects have different areas of action, while Mehr Platz! is focused on open public space ByX works on the defined area of the schoolyard and Un río de ideas searches for visions for a new riverside. All projects are initiated and financed by the municipality but include local architecture firms. The planning offices PlanSinn and NORD were both founded by a young team of landscape architects and architects, this could on the one hand indicate, that this new style of planning was more easily adapted by the young generation, even that participation processes were for none of them part of their education. On the other hand might these projects offer a niche which helped the offices to establish themselves among the more traditional competitors?

Their Leitmotifs also differ, while Mehr Platz! understands participation projects as a step towards more democracy, By X aims for social sustainability and un río de ideas emphasizes the educative aspect of participating in civic society.

All projects include children, but the aim and outcome of this inclusion differs. The children which participated in Mehr Platz! provided information, they were consulted as experts of their actual life world. They were not included in the actual planning process and the final changes made in the neighborhood. ByX on the opposition did not integrate children as informants but as designer, those children were not asked about their actual life (What do you do in your school breaks? etc.) But rather they should think about the future use of the area. Un río de ideas also asks the children to share their visions for the new area. In all projects children are consulted as inspiration and source of new ideas, but in all projects they do not have any power in decision making. The participation of children is limited to a small frame in which the children are allowed and expected to think, discuss and work on

the project. Nevertheless the final proposals, the calculations and the decisions are formulated again by adults. The table gives a detailed overview of the evaluation results for the different projects. Each of the dimensions was assigned one of three possible values: A *low* rating was assigned, if there was no visible evidence the particular dimension has been in the focus. A *moderate* rating signifies visible attention to the dimension, either in written project results or in personal observations. Eventually, a *high* rating was given if considerable effort was successfully invested in the particular dimension from this comparison chart, an obvious ranking can be derived: Mehr Platz! takes the lead due to its interdisciplinary approach, multiple project layers, and serious personal commitment and support, both from city officials as well as professional planners. However, a main issue of this project is the lack of continuous integration of the following generations. ByX achieved average results, the children's ideas were facilitated as input to the creative process. Methods were based on intuition rather than on the current participation discourse or political agendas. Even so NORD office has developed the acclaimed BaNanapark before, using very similar methods. Finally, Un rìo de ideas showed the least degree of participation due to the lack of personal contact with professional planners. It also could be questioned why children proposals were judged by adults and not by other children. Never the less, the sheer amount of involved children was outstanding in comparison to the other two projects and the competition generated considerable attention to a subject normally not part of the school curriculum.

Conclusion

The work aimed to show why and how participation of children in urban planning plays an important role in today's city planning. It also aimed to show how this projects are conducted in three different European capitals and finally to directly compare and evaluate them.

The first part of this thesis outlined the historical development of pre-sociological and sociological concepts of childhood in order to explain today's perspective on childhood. It has been shown, that the concept varied through time, and eventually became a topic of widespread discussion. The core insight was to regard childhood as a product of the current society, its values and attitudes towards children. The different standpoints in regard to the concept of childhood lead to different methodologies and a variety of research fields as well as a range of focuses.

In the second part, it was examined what challenges children are facing in today's cities and whether the use of public space by children has been reduced during the last decades. It could be shown that this indeed is the case, how a wide range of international research underlined. Further has been examined the relation between children and children spaces illustrated through a historical development of the children's room and the playground. The restriction on unsupervised play or independent movement outside the private sphere has been identified as the main area of concern, since it has proven impacts on spatial and social skills of children.

The discourse on participation in urban planning has been introduced in the third part. The privately motivated protest can be seen as a starting point of today's institutionalized processes in form of public hearings etc. Furthermore, eight points against the meaningfulness and feasibility of the inclusion of children into planning processes have been discussed and refuted. Applying the knowledge and

theories discussed in the previous parts, the fourth part describes and compares in form of case studies three projects.

The aim of this work was to reason why and to describe how children are included in urban planning. Further to evaluate how successful participation tackles the defined problems.

As shown in the short city profiles, the life circumstances in Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid differ in many dimensions; nevertheless children's need for suitable "action space" is comparable.

The three projects Mehr Platz!, ByX and un río de Ideas took place in Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid during a time span of ten years. The reason why these projects evolved vary but are highly connected to the public discourse about children and the city, which has been described before.

The further question was how they are organized and what methods they use. All of the three projects were initiated and financed by the city itself and conducted including a local architecture office. While the children of MehrPlatz! and ByX were directly involved to share their ideas "face to face" with the planners, Un Río de Ideas organized a citywide competition for schoolchildren. After the processes were detailed described including interviews, observation and documentation the final question to answer was How comprehensive and how effective were the projects?

After a detailed evaluation for each project including the visiting of the side and participating in the workshop, the three projects were finally directly compared. Obviously they all differ in some main aspects, like the scale, number of participants, or state of the project, but the UNESCO publication offered twelve categories, which made a comparison possible. The main findings can be concluded in the following.

Participation is not the only way to create good action space for children. The Un río de Ideas project showed that to develop attractive and func-

tional space participation is not always necessary, while it is irreplaceable to include planners who have the needs and wishes of different users in their mind. At the same time participation projects do not necessary lead to the most creative and innovative results, furthermore no research has yet proved the real impact of participation in order to prevent vandalism.

How far the inclusion of children will reach should from the beginning be clearly defined; a drawing competition like in Madrid only becomes Tokenism and an act of decoration if the conditions are not clearly communicated from the start. Generally the inclusion of people and especially children needs a competent and flexible and in the best way interdisciplinary team. The inclusion of artists as well as pedagogues can enrich an participation process.

The inclusion of scientists as well as the public in form of media, creates more awareness and in the best case wider support. The project Mehr Platz! showed how fast ideas and action can disappear from the common knowledge if they are not constantly renewed.

Children mainly enjoy the work in the projects. The new techniques as well as a new perspective are gained in a new learning setting different from school

In the future the interest in the spatial needs of children will hopefully not disappear but increase. The key to successful participation lies to a high extent in the personal engagement of the responsible adults. Motivated actors should therefore be engaged by the community to start and even more important to continue their work.

The inclusion of participation as planning tool and special skill in the curriculum of spatial planners as well as a higher share of exchange between the different disciplines would be an important step towards more child friendly planning.

Space should also receive a more prominent position in the education of children. Finland has successfully opened the field of architecture to children starting with architectural education in institutions like Arkki. But also in other countries for example at the CUBE Centre for the Urban Built Environment, Manchester and the Netherlands are Architecture center keen on educating children. This educational approach is an important base to ease children the respected participation in projects.

Since the late nineties Finland went one step further and issues of urban planning and architecture are integrated in the school curriculum as own subject.

The exchange of ideas between different offices, institutions and cities on a national but especially international base should be improved. The already existing networks are often not interlinked and even that they aim for the same future; they are separated due to linguistic, national or professional boundaries.

Further research could elaborate on the connection between democratic traditions and participation processes. Interesting results could also be expected from a look at the situation in countries outside the EU. To see the long term impact of participation a monitoring of the transformed place as well as the observation of children which participated could answer two interesting questions. Does participation prevent vandalism? Do children change their attitude towards space after participating in such projects?

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List of Pictures

List of Figures

Appendix

UNESCO Dimensions

Local

While participatory development may be prompted on a regional, national or even international scale, its implementation is intrinsically local. It is focused on and tailored to the needs and issues of the local community. 'Outsiders' may play a role as facilitators, animators or technical specialists, but they are there to listen to and provide support to the local community; not to dicta solutions or preconceived outcomes based on their own biases or perspectives.

Transparent

The aims of participatory projects are clear to all the participants. Outside experts involved in participatory projects - including local municipal officials, sponsoring agencies, development professionals, advocacy organizations and others - are clear about who they are, what they are doing there, and what can and cannot be expected of them.

Inclusive

Participatory processes should be accessible to all members of the community, regardless of age, gender, race or ethnic background, religion, disability or socio-economic status. The critical question for any participatory project is not so much who participated, but who did not, and why.

Interactive

Participation is about local residents having a voice as well as listening to the other voices in their community - including the voices of the young people. Participatory development is a community-wide dialogue, with adults and young people working together.

Responsive

Because the process responds to local needs and conditions, every process is different. While there may be consistency in the general approach, the exact sequence of steps is never the same. Facilitators are flexible and respond to changing needs and conditions, relying on their own best judgement rather than a rigid set of rules to determine the best course of action at any point in time. Sponsoring agencies and professionals are willing to give participation the time that it needs, knowing that it cannot be rushed. Time is allowed for everyone to voice opinions, listen to others, explore and analyze issues and alternatives, and formulate and carry out plans of action. This is a particularly important principle in relation to young people's participation.

Relevant

Participation builds on local knowledge - the information and insights that local residents have about the area where they live and the issues that affect their lives. Int acknowledges and values the input and perceptions of young people, which are often very different from those of adults. It also brings in information and specialized skills from outside the community to ensure an informed process. Technical information and abstract concepts are presented in accessible terms and formats that can be easily understood by local residents, including young people.

Educational

Participatory development is a learning process for everyone, including project sponsors, local officials, project staff and area residents of all ages. If participation is to succeed, all participants must be willing to learn, change attitudes and forge new ways of understanding. For young people, participation is a vehicle for building their capacities in environmental evaluation, group problem-solving and democratic decision-making - valuable project outcomes in addition to whatever else the project hopes to achieve.

Reflective

Participatory development places considerable emphasis on the role of reflection as an opportunity for individual and group learning. Through reflection, participants identify what worked well (both in terms of the process and its outcomes) as well as what could be improved. This often leads the group to identify larger issues that may be affecting the local area or their group process, raising their level of awareness and leading to new avenues of group action.

Transformative

The ultimate goal of participatory development is some form of transformation in the local community. This transformation is not limited to physical and economic change, but also encompasses changes in the relationship between the local community and the society at large; changes in the relationships between participants; and (perhaps most important) changes in the personal values and perceptions of everyone involved. For young people, this transformative process can be quite profound, helping to shape their personal value system and developing the expertise as informed, active, and responsible citizens.

Sustainable

If local residents support a project and feel that it responds to their needs, they are more likely to participate in its implementation and ongoing management, thereby supporting project sustainability. In a larger sense, sustainable development can only be achieved through participation, as it fosters local skills and capacities as well as a strong sense of personal responsibility and commitment to action. Through participation, local communities - including children and youth - define and develop a stewardship role towards the local environment, understanding how their own action, or inaction, impacts on long-term environmental quality.

Personal

Participation is a process of human interaction. Its success is largely determined by the attitudes, values and skills of the individuals, organizations and communities involved. Adults who work with young people in a participatory process must be able to give over control to young participants; be perceptive and sensitive to their needs; be open-minded; be willing to listen and learn; and be transparent. Perhaps most important, they need to be genuinely concerned about the interests of young people, and committed to working with them to make positive changes in their lives.

Voluntary

Participation is never a requirement. People engage in a participatory process because they appreciate the importance of the issue, understand the ways in which they can be involved, and believe that their participation will make a difference (Driskell 2002, 33f)

Finally I would like to thank all people, who contributed to this thesis with their advice, answers, time and patience. Especially my family and Hannes.