Towards the Co-production of Urban Space for Increased Inclusiveness
Case study: Holzmarkt Berlin

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Abstract

Increasingly, civil society is demanding greater participation and involvement in urban development. For this reason, planning processes have become more openly structured in recent years, offering a wider range of opportunities for participation. In order to enable such participation not only in planning but also in producing the city itself, structures for the co-production of urban space have now established themselves. The co-productive city is being made reality by civil society and local actors, whose goal is to create a long-term and sustainable value creation chain. As a counter-model to the neoliberal city, co-productive urban development requires alternative financial and organizational structures. Here our primary focus is the community-based and inclusive production of space that also redefines the role of the planner.

1. Introduction

This article describes the conditions, structures and planning processes for co-productive urban planning as an alternative and inclusive development model for the city. Risks, opportunities and new roles in co-productive urban planning are examined by discussing a real-world project in Berlin.

Today it is unimaginable to engage in spatial planning without the participation of the urban population, whether in the form of urban safaris, ideas workshops or online dialogues. Impulses for more participation in planning processes come not only from city and municipal authorities but also, increasingly, an active civil society, interested initiatives and cooperative organizations looking to boost the general welfare. These new actors in urbanism are distinguished, first and foremost, by a refreshing level of pragmatism, self-organization and inventive funding models.

With their diverse projects in the production of urban space, the new actors make it possible for themselves and others to participate directly in urban development processes. In the face of an increasingly unrestrained property market, the co-production of urban spaces is establishing itself as a stabilizing model for sustainable, inclusive and socially-just urbanism. The aim is to achieve long-term goals based on a sustainable value system instead of serving short-term economic interests. In this perspective, urban development is borne by the many instead of the few, and local cycles take the place of global market interests.

At the same time, the co-production of urban space challenges conventional planning processes, development paths and traditional roles in planning. To better understand the motivation, implementation and new roles within these planning processes, we examine the following three questions:
-Who is involved in co-production and why?
-How does co-production work?
-How does co-production change our understanding of the role of planners in practice and in teaching?

2. Who is involved in co-production and why?

Local stakeholders acting at the interface between civil society and urbanism are increasingly important co-producers of urban space. Indeed, there is a wave of new opportunities for co-productive and user-based urbanism and project development in which local stakeholders not only play a role as users but are also involved in the long term as initiators and supporters of urban processes (Buttenberg & Overmeyer 2014).

The concept of the co-production of urban space goes beyond that of mere temporary appropriation. A return to the exploitation of local on-site resources is being tied to the aim of sustainable, long-term use. User-supported projects are increasingly playing a role in contemporary urbanism,

specifically at places where classic project development and marketing strategies have proved ineffective. However, they are also gaining a foothold in locations where urban spaces with open scope for development, mixed utilizations and different value-creation models are emerging to take the place of monofunctionally-oriented office and residential districts.

If, in the case of temporary utilization, a clear distinction is made between temporary and planned long-term use, the co-producers of urban spaces themselves become initiators and supporters of long-term urban processes. In this way they are emancipated from their role as short-term users to assume that of long-term developers, implying a transformation from urban consumers to urban producers (Oswalt, Overmeyer & Misselwitz 2013). Co-production and co-investment give rise to new values and opportunities for inclusiveness and active co-design, setting a pathway towards a future-viable, sustainable city.

In the following, the evolution and progress of co-productive urban development processes are illustrated by a project in Berlin that the author supported in her role as urban planner and urban researcher from 2010-2018. The so-called *Holzmarkt* (Timber Market) is a new cooperative building project in the city centre, covering an area of around 13,000 m2, offering space for cultural activities, restaurants and bars, small businesses, social infrastructure, gardening and community spaces. Since the beginning of construction in 2014, the site has undergone continual development. The history of the Holzmarkt, however, stretches back to Berlin of the late 1990s, when many large open spaces and wasteland areas were located within the city centre. The expected speedy development of the city following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, which envisioned it becoming a hub between east and west Europe, had failed to take place and the ambitious plans to create the "Global City Berlin" had been gathering dust in city administration drawers for years. However, this planning without development was confronted by a vibrant process of development without planning. Temporary utilizations and interim users began to revitalize wastelands and unoccupied buildings, in the process creating the fertile ground and networks for the explosive growth in Berlin's art and creative economy of the 2000s. Areas of land alongside the River Spree where the Berlin Wall formerly ran were also being settled by vibrant users and converted by people referred to as "pioneers of urban space" (Oswalt, Overmeyer & Misselwitz 2013). Profiting from favourable conditions, they ran businesses on these spaces, generally in temporary structures. In the year 2005 the so-called "Bar 25" was set up on the plot later occupied by the Holzmarkt project, quickly becoming one of Berlin's best-known meeting places in the city's club culture and music scene. What started out as a small beach bar grew, 10 years later, into a medium-sized enterprise with more than 50 employees (Holzmarkt plus eG 2013).

Due to rising property prices (which had initially stagnated after the fall of the Berlin Wall), the plot of land occupied by "Bar 25" was put up for sale to the highest bidder in 2011. This prompted a largely informal group of users to assume a formal role, becoming an organization with legal capacity (Holzmarkt plus eG 2013). When the land was successfully purchased by a swiss foundation for the Holzmarkt plus eG, the management and planning skills of the team also had to be expanded. The basic qualifications of the users, representing an assorted group of professions (e.g. chefs, joiners, educators and photographers), were no longer adequate from this point on to cope with the financial and planning-related demands of the project.In fact, a recurring characteristic of co-production is the acquisition and expansion of skills by the core team in order to realize an alternative form of property development.
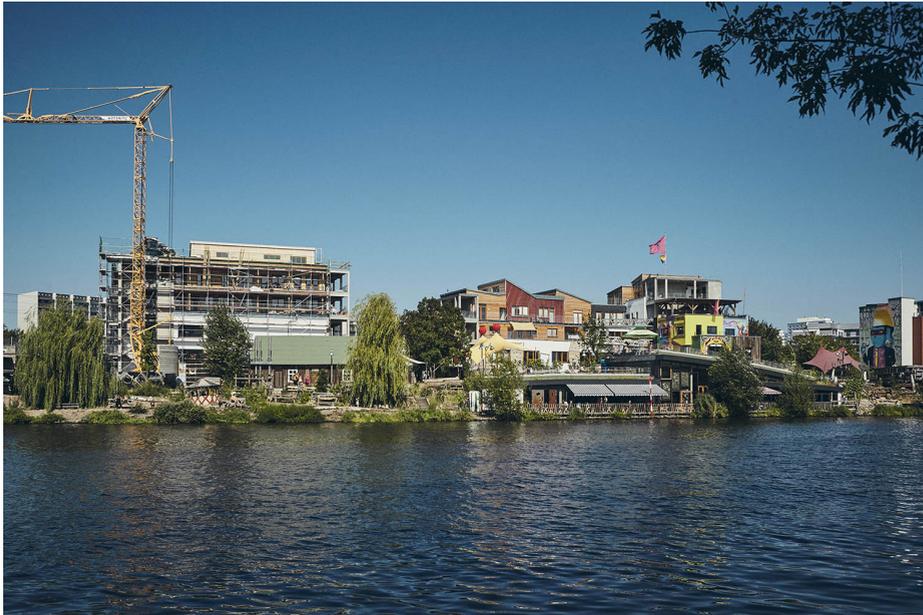
Figure 1. Holzmarkt Berlin. Credits: Holzmarkt Berlin

The co-production of urban spaces rests on the efforts of members of local projects and initiatives who are often not professionals in the field of urbanism or the property sector and yet present themselves as do-it-yourself project developers. On their own initiative, they appropriate spaces to implement their visions for use, developing their project and ideas step-by-step. In so doing, they generate added value for the city and the district. Motivated by their own desires, their development spirit and their connection to the local area, they not only transform the utilized space but also create something

that would otherwise not have arisen in that form through the efforts of external developers and investments. As they are novices in the property sector, and thus unable to rely on learned and tested procedures, they open up new pathways in project development, pose unorthodox questions and identify gaps in the usual marketing processes, which can then be exploited.

The requisite professional know-how is gained in the course of the project autodidactically and with the help of consultants. Development and financing strategies are aimed at acquiring land, ensuring stable rent and lease agreements, and establishing cooperative or hereditary leasehold models. As the project proceeds, their status changes from users to owners, administrators and operators. In the process, they bring life to, use and combine dormant resources. This ranges from the recycling, upgrading or indeed upcycling of existing physical stock as well as non-material resources such as personal commitments of work and time. Thus another resource of user-based urbanism can be described as the social capital invested by the actors involved.

Figure 2. On Site Participation Steintorplatz, Hannover. Credits by Landeshauptstadt Hannover / Urban Catalyst

In their projects, these new actors not only develop new cultures of participation in the respective spaces but also formulate questions about the future of the locality. These are questions concerning coliving, the community and self-organization as well as the contemporary and stable design/use

of spaces, sustainability, involvement, the direct economy and local cycles. Co-productive urbanism stands as an exemplary model for a city of actors in which societal topics and fundamental issues ("How do we want to live in the future?") can be brought together with specific projects pertaining to the local space.

In case of the Holzmarkt, for example, the project initiators had a vision of co-productive urban development which, replacing top-down planning process that negated existing uses and local needs, aimed to secure inclusiveness and integrate goals directed at the common welfare.

As such, instead of a three-metre-wide riverside pathway, green and open spaces of width 25 metres were planned to run alongside the riverbank. Instead of office buildings and tower blocks, small-scale structures were designed to provide space for a creative and cultural scene or for local tradespeople such as bakers or hairdressers. Larger units were to be used as indoor markets, event spaces or rehearsal rooms for artists, while social infrastructure such as kindergartens were also planned to be built on the area (Holzmarkt plus eG 2013).

Current efforts to redesign cities generally take greater account of local actors and the way in which they can activate spaces. However, the trend towards more involvement is often not reflected in formal participatory procedures but rather through the initiation and implementation of own informal projects. Involvement is linked to direct commitment and the chance to realize own visions in concrete projects.

As such, co-productive projects often stem from a social movement that is critical of governmental policies or the practices of public authorities (Watson 2014) and aims to reveal alternative development pathways.

Therefore, involvement from the top down is undesired; the emphasis is on people doing things themselves, on self-determination as well as the opportunity for personal, practical and spatial participation in developing urban spaces and public spaces. In short, it is about the co-production of the city itself.

3. How does the co-production of urban space work?

Deterministic master plans are oriented towards an extrapolated future with a fixed end state and some specific economic goal. Construction plots and building dimensions are defined precisely and the development phases laid down in detail.

Even if planning processes are designed to be participative, they are greatly influenced by the planning professional and his/her understanding of design and space (Mahaffey & Wolf 2016). To successfully realize the co-productive process, users must be involved as equal partners in the creation of knowledge about a place, the role of knowledge in design, and design itself (ibid.).

While the actors in co-productive urbanism also follow a plan, this is much less focused and more open than the classic master plan for urban development. Co-production needs time to take shape and offers the chance to experiment and explore possibilities for alternative use. It does not pursue an expansive spatial model aimed at increasing usable space; instead, the emphasis is placed on strengthening existing resources and consolidating these in a stable and economically viable structure of use. Once this idea has become rooted at the location in question, additional plots of land and new buildings can be developed.

This type of development contradicts the classic planning model whereby planners, acting at the behest of a city or private investor, design an overall structure with roads, public spaces, development zones and building volumes. Generally, the planning offices are located outside of the area to be developed; on-site experiences matter less than criteria such as efficient development, the relationship between private and public spaces, connectivity to neighbouring areas, the spatial programme as well as urban qualities and specifications concerning density.

Clearly, we are dealing with two entirely different methodologies. If co-productive urbanism is to be fostered within neighbourhoods and new urban districts, then traditional planning practices must become more inclusive, less deterministic and reoriented towards maximizing the community's potential for utilization rather than the profits of individuals. At the same time, the embedding of projects within larger development areas demands greater courage by all parties to create overarching associations as well as to closely examine and perhaps revise planning strategies, organizational models and value-creation models.

There exists a long tradition of open forms of planning aimed at reconciling user interests and higher-level planning. These efforts have been made both by the state and society (Hillier & Healey 2008).

Some approaches have aimed to "include the users in the construction process; others make efforts to enable the further development and conversion of existing built structures for not yet foreseeable growth; a third group (…) looks for building types that can be changed" (Fezer 2013). These methods have either focused on promoting bottom-up activities or explored ways to render rigid top-down planning more flexible.

For years the notion of "strategic planning" has shaped the debate in the field of international planning studies (Kühn 2009). Strategic planning links guiding concepts with the implementation of concrete innovative projects at the level of both spatial planning and urbanism. These concepts and projects do not arise in strict succession but are "developed iteratively in continuous interplay". Strategic planning is a learning process. The constant feedback between long-term concepts and real-world projects leads to a continuous

adaptation of planning documents and the planned measure itself. At the level of governance processes, strategic planning is characterized by the interplay between administration-driven activities, flexible organizational structures and networks of private stakeholders, in particular users.

The planning strategy approach has a number of points of contact to user-based and co-productive urbanism. These include:
−a public planning process in which the planning objective and the actual development are subject to continuous mutual feedback and revision;
−vagueness of the specifications together with a concentration on strategic places and realistic projects; as well as
−the growing importance of evolutionary organizational processes (Otto & Speck 2011).

To date, these approaches have been largely ignored in praxis in urban development projects. However, three central areas of action can be pinpointed if we are aiming for a new understanding of urbanism. Currently, there are no patent remedies to deal with the respective issues. Rather, these three areas of action give rise to questions that must be dealt with in a way specific to the respective location.

3.1 Organization and developing use

Generally, actors in co-productive urbanism organize themselves in informal groupings within network-like structures. Yet when the decision has been taken to initiate a co-productive development process, even the most informal user group has to deal with the formal organizational structures of the development companies and administration. In most cases, this is an unexpected and key moment for both sides. The on-site users first become aware of potential threats to their location from new plans, and appreciate the need to join forces and get organized. This is the only way they can assume the role of a negotiation partner to be taken seriously in the next phase. In comparison, the project organizers are often unsure how to communicate with actors outside of their circle, including property experts, project managers, architects, investors and the public administration.

The actors usually organize themselves in several steps (Otto & Fleischmann 2014). An association is formed out of a loose grouping of several users, bringing together under one umbrella the users' various commitments in order to create a common vision. Once it assumes greater responsibilities for buying, leasing or developing a piece of land, the association usually takes the legal form of, for example, a (non-profit) limited liability company or a cooperative. Formalizing the organizational structure in this way often goes hand in hand with a debate about the desired types of utilization. Two vital questions are how the organizational form adopted by those producing the space

is integrated into the overall development as well as what decision-making powers this entails.

In case of the Holzmarkt project, the organizational structure and decision-making culture are designed so that future users, the neighbourhood and the interests of the community are given equal weight or even take precedence over the interests of the financing bodies in decision-making processes. This means that people and parties that do not have access to capital resources but can still make non-monetary contributions to the project must enjoy voting rights. As such, the neighbourhood garden "Mörchenpark e.V.", for example, is represented with a voting right in the Holzmarkt cooperative. Decisions about the area's development in terms of the utilization mix, design and investments are taken by a non-profit cooperative and not the investing cooperative.

When users become co-producers, a suitable organizational form has to be developed. Above all, flexibility and time are required to successfully manage non-linear development processes and different user interests.

3.2 Economics and value creation

In the first years after World War II, urban development was marked by holistic and comprehensive expectations. The idea was to produce good living conditions for the entire population. This paternalistic planning model of the state as primary provider entered a state of crisis in the 1970s, which worsened over time, before being replaced by the concept of the "entrepreneurial city" (Oswalt, Overmeyer & Misselwitz 2013). As a result, tasks that were originally the responsibility of the state, such as municipal housing, were taken over by public-private ownership models. In the countries of western European, the processes of negotiation between the market and the state in urban development policy were shaped by two related factors: first, by the provision of housing being largely left to the marketplace; and, second, the requirement of private owners and investors, in return, to contribute some of their profits to the financing of public projects such as new infrastructure, the construction of public spaces and also, to some extent, social housing. For example, in 1994 the city of Munich introduced the model of "socially-just land use" whereby those who profited from planning processes in the form of increased land value due to construction planning and the building of public infrastructures had to pay up to two-thirds of their gains to the city (City of Munich 2017).

Here we can ask: What position is occupied by co-productive urban development in this conflicting field of public and private interests? Co-production generally obeys the laws of the market economy, meaning that projects, investments and any work performed must be refinanced. At the same time, it also aims to release land and buildings from marketplace speculation

in order to enable the development of non-profitable uses, mostly with the support of municipalities or civic trusts. Essential questions for co-producers are: Which values are invested, which are reinvested and which can be skimmed off?

Funding for the Holzmarkt project is mainly acquired by means of the hereditary leasehold model. As such, land for the Holzmarkt project was purchased in 2015 by a Swiss foundation whose stated objective is the sustainable development of cities. The building, on the other hand, was financed by a cooperative that set itself the goal of providing low-cost spaces for skilled tradespeople as well as individuals working in the creative sector. A long-term development perspective, which is essential for the co-production of urban spaces, was guaranteed by the leasehold guarantee from the foundation for a period of 75 years with the option of an extension.
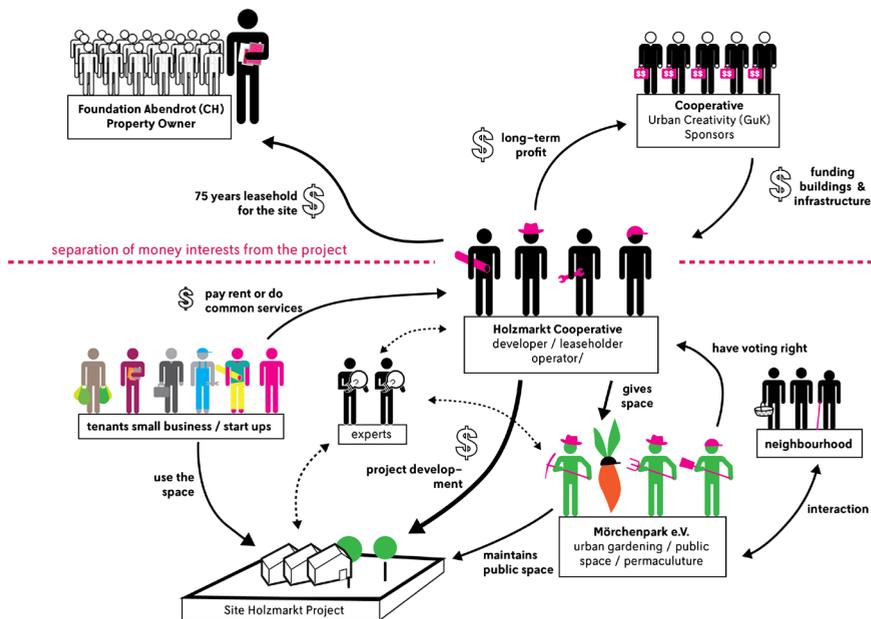
Figure 3. Holzmarkt organigram. Credits: M.Humann

The benefit to the public authorities is obvious: co-production creates space for civil-society projects, integrates actors with little capital, promotes own initiatives and social networks, creates space for an experimental mix of uses and generates new public places. Many cities have now come to recognize the value of such projects and provide public properties to user-based and co-productive projects at special conditions or are co-financing such projects using public funds. The challenge for cities, however, is to weigh up

the benefits of the projects for the community against the self-interests of a limited group.

3.3 Strategies for spatial development

As mentioned at the outset, there exist manifold strategies for developing spaces in a collaborative way. These strategies differ in the approach to dealing with existing stocks, the form of targeted construction intervention, as well as how the design process is co-created or indeed in the processuality.

In co-productive processes at the level of urban development, approaches to strategic planning play a decisive role in terms of spatial interventions and concepts of use.

"Moving forward in small steps with perspective" was Karl Ganser's credo for the Emscherpark International Building Exhibition (Ganser, Siebel & Sieverts 1993). The planning strategies for this IBE propagated the idea of "incrementalism with perspective", which encompassed among other things renouncing comprehensive realization, intertwining informal with regulatory planning, as well as vertical and horizontal cooperation between actors (ibid.). Of course, the regional orientation of the IBE cannot be compared with the urban development scale of developing city districts. If the perspectives of a building exhibition refer to a quality model for a conurbation and the "small steps" are taken to refer to a number of individual self-contained projects, then urban development projects deal with planning underpinned by area sizes, design and utilization specifications and the step-by-step realization of the concept on defined construction fields. The strategically iterative approach does not become relevant until the provision of spaces for processes of appropriation or self-organization has been negotiated or when strategies for the renaturation, activation of existing stocks have been tied to new designs in specific sites.

The Holzmarkt is a particularly outstanding example of the co-produced city due to the high percentage of its surface area that has been redeveloped. By the end of 2018, about 13,000 m² of new construction surface and one hectare of public community space had been built, influenced to a great extent by the needs of the community utilizations of that space.

Here four design principles could be observed:

–Small, privately usable units were favoured over larger units for shared use. The architecture was based on the spatial principle of "halls and huts". The latter are small affordable spaces for individual people. With a maximum floor space of 50 m², they are suitable for use as workshops, small stores, studios or offices. The four "halls" are intended for artists, events, markets and large workshops, and can be rented as needed. The larger units are devoted to public uses.

–The grounds are open to the public round the clock. Buildings and access-ways are designed in such a way that private areas and the riverbank cannot be permanently sealed off. The dense network of pathways is not entirely barrier-free.

–The grounds have extended open and green areas. These are self-created and maintained by a gardening association.

–Step-by-step development is possible. The building structure is designed in such a way that construction work can be done gradually, and development completed in clusters. Built units can be supplemented by temporary units to ensure a flexible and dynamic development.

Figure 4. Holzmarkt facades. Credits: Eyecandy Berlin / Holzmarkt

Two important questions have to be answered in this process: How do the bottom-up strategies from the initial conversion phase relate to the construction of new buildings, landscaped open spaces or new access roads? And who is responsible for the maintenance, security and upkeep of the surface areas? While the state of "incompleteness" is both a prerequisite for and the special quality of user-based developments, this runs against the determinism of planning. In the tug-of-war between determination and openness, those approaches survive that define small-scale zones within an overall concept, for which rules of play can be agreed upon between those involved and external experts, and then set down in planning law (Schmidt-Eichstaedt 2010).

It is vital in such projects to tie the rules of play to the "allotment" of individual zones and the time schedule for development. This is not only true for standard urban development parameters such as density and the creation of sufficient access and public spaces in a zone, but above all for the soft factors of the location. Which spaces are suitable for extending existing uses? Where is noise protection needed and which places need to be radically opened up to the neighbourhood? Which areas are laboratory spaces for the testing of different utilizations for a limited period and where should new buildings be constructed to give impulses to the space? Which atmospheres, public groups and milieus for potential uses distinguish the zones? Ensuring a more dynamic time schedule for the planning process and the rules of play will create greater flexibility. By stretching the decision-making process across a longer period in this way, current developments and planning can be coordinated with one another on a continuous basis. For example, it might be agreed via the rules of play that an existing asphalted surface be available for multifunctional use for a specified time over a period of years both as a space for public events, as an outdoor space for ground floor activities or as a car park. Depending on which way the development process evolves, it can be decided after expiry of the agreed time period whether the space should be redesigned as a public space with a strong functional structure or whether it should continue to function in its previous form. Of course, it is necessary to clarify which form these decision-making processes are to take, especially in cases of opposing interests, as well as who ultimately bears the responsibility for these decisions.

The design of public spaces and buildings in user-based and co-productive developments is closely linked to the issues of organizational form and economy as discussed above.

4. How does co-production change our understanding of the role of planners in praxis and in teaching?

Urban development has always been a multi-layered, discursive and complex process. The phenomenon of co-production brings a new level to the planning process, namely that of self-organized participation in urban development. Self-organization implies that solutions to complex issues of urban space must be sought in an inclusive and agile manner, and increasingly by means of social consensus.

In practical terms, this means that we will increasingly require planning processes offering diverse actors sufficient room to act, and that we must take into consideration public needs and ensure a more flexible adaptation to changing framework conditions. In terms of teaching, the question arises as to how this new understanding can find its way into planning and whether, to make this happen, we have to expand not only the methods but also the

locations where we teach and learn (Humann 2019).

The role of design in co-production is also to present an alternative model, one that resists the unequal developments taking place in urban production at the present time. In the spirit of Henri Lefevbre's "right to the city", the open planning process of co-production can, for example, lead to the desired new points of access and to a self-management of resources and production surpluses (Harvey 2012). In this way, the abstract space is no longer established and controlled by urban planners and architects alone (Lefevbre 1991) but also by users and initiatives. Within this process, we have to ensure that planners do not consolidate existing power structures while making it appear as if processes have become participative. If we are to resist hegemonic processes, it is necessary to recognize "other spaces of knowledge production... to enfranchize other spatial rationalities" (Lu 2012) as well as to transform the role of the professional planner into one who designs infrastructure "into which citizens literally add their own programmes, labour, materials, and aesthetics. Here, high and low taste-cultures, static and dynamic processes, professionals and laymen all mix to produce a complex yet highly organized landscape" (Salomon 2012 in Mahaffey & Wolf 2016).
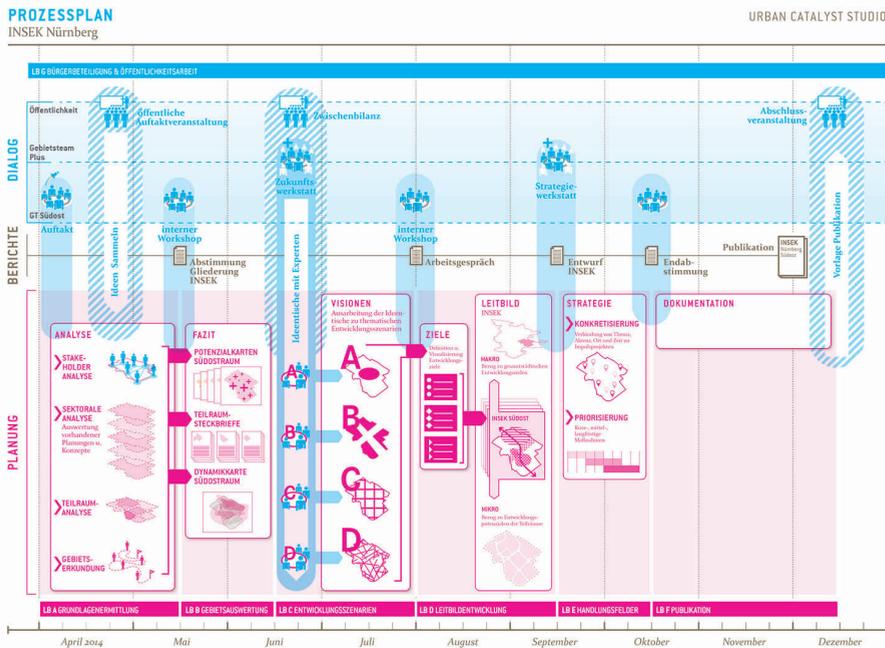
Figure 5. Planning process design with participation. Credits by Urban Catalyst

The new understanding of the shared "making of the city" and the co-production of urban spaces also brings forth the initial question of whether and how actors without a background in professional planning can "express their voice", as it were, in terms of the spaces to be developed. Here the spotlight turns to the co-creative design approach. This implies the shared development of spatial situations in teams made up of planners and urban residents, owners and other stakeholders. The term "co-creation" originally described a form of collaborative management in which companies directly involved their customers in product development and design (Bhalla Gaurav, 2011). Regarding urban development as a task to be resolved by society as a whole, this approach can be seen as an opportunity to include actors in urban development processes. In this case, planners are accorded the additional role of broker. Co-creation is not based on author-centred, urban development design work; rather, it is essential to translate dialogue and negotiation processes into the spatial dimension of the city.

Co-creative processes begin with the shared search to formulate the right questions for the respective location. As a quantitative approach using rigid planning specifications, e.g. spatial planning programmes and specifications for building volumes and open spaces, cannot uncover vital factors required for the production of a space, co-creative planning works with questions such as:

Who actually "produces" the city? How can the interests of users be identified and included in the process? And who controls and maintains the city of the future? Jointly worked-out goals and values for the development of spaces can serve as guidelines for co-creative processes, as does the process design itself. Creative components are linked to public events and formal planning processes as a part of this.

Urban developments are often marked by strong individual interests. Therefore, co-creative and co-productive approaches can also (unintentionally) support tendencies towards a one-sided, interest-based preference for individual applications or ideas, particularly when interest groups have the means or opportunities at their disposal to present their concerns with a loud voice or are able to make an impression on the public. To ensure that public interests and the needs of underrepresented groups do not fall by the wayside in this jockeying of individual interests, planners must draw attention to and represent these wider interests. In so doing, according to Lucius Burkhardt, they assume the mantle of a "professional serving society" (Burckhardt 2005). This also helps us understand the key role played by the "spatial translator" in co-creative processes. As spatial experts, planners are assuming greater responsibility by encouraging and shaping the interaction between people and spaces. This gives rise, above all, to interesting questions for teaching practice: How can the subjective perception of a space be presented and com-

municated to others? How can planners acquire knowledge about the everyday experiences of protagonists in the space they respectively occupy? How can planning expertise be shared? Are there suitable tools to facilitate collaborative work on urban settlements?

In some cities and universities, the co-creative approach has already been tested and developed as a reaction to people's increased interest in actively changing their living environment. This runs from city walking tours during which people tell planners about local places to dialogue-oriented planning instruments. The latter encompass walk-in urban development models at scale 1:50 to provide a better understanding of planned construction interventions, or 1:1 prototypes in the urban space that enable the direct on-site exchange of information and ideas, as well as digital tools that give a simulated look into the future and provide access to spatial dimensions in urban development for "non-planners".

Figure 6. Co-creation Tool: Oversize Model 1-4. Credits by Urban Catalyst

It is precisely in the field of teaching that these new tools for the shared "making of the city" can be further developed, tested and questioned. Here is the ideal setting for an increasing number of user-based co-productive planning processes and projects to explore transdisciplinary teaching under real conditions. The co-production and co-creation of urban space will become the culture of inclusive planning.

5. Conclusion

The transformation taking place in planning as it moves from a closed to an open and transparent process involving a wide range of actors is visible above all in co-productive urban development projects.

Co-production goes beyond formal and informal instances of top-down participation in planning processes; instead, an invigorated civil society is playing an authoritative role in the long-term planning and production of space. Co-producers of urban spaces are themselves becoming initiators and funders of long-term transformative processes. In their projects, these new actors are developing cultures of spatial participation while exploring the issues of tomorrow. The focus is on living together, the community and self-organization, design and space utilization, sustainability, participation, the direct economy and local cycles (Buttenberg & Overmeyer 2014).

Co-production often develops due to pressures from civil society, in particular activists, and is certainly also a process that has the potential for conflict. Consequently, the negotiation and planning processes are not always harmonious (Watson 2014).

Figure 7. Cocreation: On-site Participation "Platzstation" in Cologne Chorweiler.
Credits by Urban Catalyst

It is important to remember that the approach of co-production, which can be described as inclusive due to its stronger involvement and emancipation of actors in the planning process, carries the risk of an unintended form of exclusion. The considerable skills and the know-how needed to establish and self-manage urban projects as well as the funding and time requirements

conspire to greatly restrict the groups of people who can manage co-production without outside help.

For this reason, it is not enough to redefine the role of the state, civil society, the public administration and planners; the framework conditions in which co-production takes place must also be redrawn to take into account the resources of the disparate groups of actors.

In the case of the Holzmarkt, we note that the declared goals of the actors to create utilizations geared towards the general welfare, such as a weekly market, large open spaces on the riverbank or a kindergarten, can only be realized within the framework of the project budget. This leads to a situation, for example, where the pressure to finance spaces that are accessible to the public at all times necessitates the establishment of profit-driven businesses offering food and drink.

Despite these contradictions, which require further investigation, co-produced spaces demonstrate how an active role of civil society in new partnerships can make urban development more democratic, more accountable and more transparent. If they act strategically and make effective use of networks, civil society actors can thus become a transformative movement in urban planning and urban development.

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