

The struggle to belong
Dealing with diversity in 21st century urban settings.

Amsterdam, 7-9 July 2011

**City Centers – Heterotopias
of Belonging**

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Paper distributed at the International RC21 conference 2011 Session: nr.
12 Belonging, exclusion, public and quasi-public space

The loss of belonging

“We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed” (Foucault, 1986, p. 22). Fragmentation of urban spaces and dissolving time-distance constraints characterize recent urban developments, replacing the utopias and planning schemes of modernist urban planning. However, since modernist urban planning was to remove the gloomy experiences of the pre-modernist urban experiences, the shortfalls of modernist urban planning invoked the discourse on psychological and emotional meanings of urban space settings. Modernist urban planning was considered not just to foster a dull state of mind and behavior but to endorse the alienation of city dwellers from their immediate urban environment, fostered by suburbanization and the decline of inner city areas (e.g. Kohn, 2001, p. 71; Pinder, 2005, p. 138f.). In particular urban planners dedicated to the principles of the functionally divided city neglected emotional affiliations of city dwellers with urban spaces and places. Starting in the 1960s urban scholars like Lefebvre or the Situationist movement referred to the modernist transformation of the urban form as morphing the authenticity of urban places and spaces into homogeneous precincts and drew on the compelling denotation of emotional relations of and with urban sites. The production of “human spheres”, livable and smart, where residents find identity and feel “at home”, has become one of the utopias of the post-modernist city. The new urban utopias recall romanticized childhood experiences of urban life as well as idealized representations of an urban life style in art (Zukin, 1995, Kohn, 2001). Notions of livable urban environments have promoted a mixed-used concept of urbanity, incorporating safety, cleanliness and order (Kohn, 2001) or as Allen puts it, a vision that “echoes ‘past’ traits that have seemingly been lost” (Allen 2006, p. 442) and, by this, evokes a sense of belonging. Respective utopias of urban culture and lifestyle have crystallized in the meanings associated with city centers. “The city, ... planners and developers ... believed, would counter the visual homogeneity of the suburbs by playing the card of aesthetic diversity” (Zukin, 1995, p.12). City Centers have become the focus of the cultural representations of what the middle classes envision as urban culture by referring to re-presentations of high culture and a romanticized narrative of an urban life style. Emotion and sentiment and their mutual linkages with the physical form have moved in the center of urban discourses. Disembedding and alienation, volatility and the ephemeral, individualization and spaces of flow as the characteristic traits of recent urban societies and urban forms are paralleled by the discourses on emplacement, emotional space settings and forms of the construction of the self, its identity and belonging. When transferred into space, conceptualizations of belonging center along three lines: (1) Belonging in terms of the relation of space settings, (2) Belonging as a mythic trait of spaces, narratives and emotions attached to these spaces, (3) Belonging as ‘other’ space settings. These virtually constructed lines pervade individual constructions of (spatial) belonging and perpetuate to socially rendered ‘universal’ symbols of belonging.

However, rendering ‘universal’ symbols of belonging is a means and a technology of power. Akin to the notions of Foucault, power relations are essential in the formation of ‘universal’ spaces and places of belonging. Power relations constitute a network that is constructing and shaping discourses, belief systems and hegemonies, eventually spanning the matrix of a *dispositif*. Space is fundamental in any exercise of power: e.g. imposing a vision and re-presentations of cultural identity and belonging on urban spaces and sites is an expression and a technology of power. Spatial re-presentations of (cultural) identity and

belonging symbolize who belongs to specific places. However, the *dispositif* is a fluid conceptualization of power. Unintended effects and contradictions continuously negotiated, adapted, and re-interpreted (see Dahlmanns, 2008; Pløger, 2008).

Regaining universal symbols of belonging

In fragmented post-modern urban environments, city centers have become the re-presentations of universal spaces of belonging, to be understood in their set of relations with other spaces. The meaning of place and belonging is less associated with 'face to face' contacts "but in terms of their networked relationships with other locations" (Savage et. al., 2005, p. 106). City centers rather than immediate neighborhoods are identified as the spatial re-presentations of belonging of city dwellers as well as of the residents in the suburban areas. Culture, in particular high culture, just like related cultural activities are the characteristic traits attaching city centers with feelings of sense of belonging. As idealized representations of belonging, city centers are perceived as 'other spaces', distinctive from the everyday spaces. City centers are experienced as a "world apart" from the normal, ordinary daily life and associated with meanings of 'sacred' and 'mythic' places enhancing an auratic character of a 'special' place, removed from the daily routines (Savage et al., 2005, p. 122). Escapism seemingly is one of the seminal features of these places. Transposing the notions of Foucault on heterotopias, escapist places are "formed in the very founding of society" (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). The 'mythic' and 'sacred' contexts and affiliations of spatial entities invoke a theoretical framework for reading the urban form as a mediator of the mythic and real contestations of the space we live in in terms of mythic and real contestations of belonging.

From urban utopias of belonging to heterotopias

In his rationale of heterotopias Foucault denotes a conceptualization of "real and unreal urban spaces ... onto which the whole world comes to enact its symbolic perfection" (Foucault, 1986, p.24ff.). Foucault delineates heterotopias as spatial mediators of utopias and "real" space. Urban utopias imply visions on a perfected form and representation of society, hence, when in compliance with the utopia, a perfected vision of belonging. The relation between 'the mythic' and 'utopia' is provided by the Swiss writer Max Frisch: "Without utopias we would be creatures without transcendency" (Max Frisch, cit. in Der Spiegel, 1991, p.264). However, utopias are places without a real place. When put into practice, urban utopias are transformed into 'heterotopias' – real and unreal urban spaces – or 'a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live' (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). Foucault identifies two functions of heterotopias: "To create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned...", and implicitly incorporating the inherent contingency of the dualism of good and sinister places, "...to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy" (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). (Historic) City centers seemingly represent one pole of this dualism of sinister urban precincts and perfected places affiliated with even mythic and sacred meanings. The relations of meanings just as the physically experienced (visual) relations take on an "almost mythical quality" (Savage, 2005, p. 122).

Heterotopias as 'other spaces' are essential for every society and civilization. However, their meanings and functions change over time according to the culture and the synchrony of culture in which they are found. Heterotopias have to be understood in their relations to other spaces and places and to be read in the set

of relations of meanings. As perfected places Heterotopias “have the ... property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect” (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). Perceived and experienced relations are pivotal in the conceptualization of heterotopias as these relations are decisive features in the conceptualization of belonging: “... we build on the argument that people’s connections – both imagined and lived – to other places, are fundamental to their sense of belonging” (Savage, 2005, p106).

‘Mystification’ of spaces and places is a seminal feature of heterotopias just as in the concepts of belonging. Hetherington notes that “modernity moralises place through the generation of diverse place myths, utopias and heterotopias” (Hetherington, 1997 p. 79). In the rationale of Foucault, space in contrast to time is not desanctified yet. The still prevailing fissions between “private and public, family and social space, cultural and useful spaces and between spaces for work and leisure reveal the “hidden presence of the sacred” (Foucault, 1986, p. 23). Heterotopias can be endowed with one or more, even different myths and meanings. However, the meanings and mystifications, hence the ‘sacred’ imposed on urban spaces and places might change over time, even disappear. When their meanings are becoming obsolete or disappear, heterotopias dissolve. In this vein the enacted *dispositifs* of urban utopias as modernist urban planning schemes, urban renaissance, brownfield redevelopments, planning the globalized or low carbon city bear similarities to heterotopias. Heterotopias can come in various shapes and forms, however, it has to be expected that there are no universal forms. By describing the traits and formulating six principles of heterotopias, Foucault implicitly argues that the more traits and principles apply to particular spaces, the more are the spaces approximating to the universal form of heterotopias or highly heterotopic places.

The following sections seek to deploy Foucault’s notions on heterotopias as a theoretical framework for reading the observed transformation of the Historic City Center of Vienna into a perfected symbol of belonging in particular and the contestations and constraints of urban spaces and places endowed with sense of belonging in general. In contrast to most of the recent discourses on commodification and privatization of the public realm of cities, Foucault’s concept of heterotopias goes at least one step beyond and delineates the intrinsic meanings of heterotopias for urban society and its spatiality that might be capitalized or not. In the research on heterotopian spaces, either in themed planned communities or gated communities (e.g. Bartling, 2005; Low, 2005) the intrinsic function of marketing strategies in terms of an “illusionary reversion of the everyday” (Heynen, 2005, p. 313) unfolds. “The combination of spatial and marketing strategies ... qualifies these spaces as heterotopias” (Heynen, *ibid.*). The capitalization of heterotopias is one of the signifiers of their exchange value (see Lefebvre, 1996, p. 66) for urban society and it is a means among others for performing the traits of heterotopias as ‘other places’. The dissection of the Historic City Center as a perfect place of belonging follows the six principles of heterotopias as formulated by Foucault.

First principle: Distinctiveness

The main characteristic of heterotopias is their distinctiveness to other places, defined by the ‘normal’ and ‘ordinary’ meanings of everyday life (see Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008). Even if evoking senses of belonging is related to ‘everyday’ routines, the spatial connection of feelings of belonging is related to the distinctiveness of specific sites that makes them different from the normal, everyday spaces. However, it is

not just the physical characteristics that make these spaces stand out in relation to all other places, it is the meaning of these places in their relation to the meanings of (all) other places. Deviation from the 'norm' is the common denominator that makes heterotopias distinctive from other places. When Foucault identifies heterotopias of crisis or heterotopias of deviation in terms of deviant behavior, "heterotopias now realize or simulate a common experience of place. ... Today heterotopia, from theme park to festival market, realizes 'places to be' in the non-place urban realm" (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008, p. 5). In this vein Savage et al. (2005) identify distinctiveness of uses, activities, occasions and visuals as common denominator of 'universal' sites of belonging, superimposing distance relations and social relations in terms of face-to-face contact. When transposed to Foucault's rationale, 'universal' sites of belonging unfold as heterotopias, essential in developing and evoking spatial feelings and senses of belonging.

In the city center of Vienna, the Austrian capital, the political and economic power in the country as well as an abundance of important architectural symbols tied to Austrian identity are concentrated. St. Stephen's Cathedral, the Imperial Palace and the State Opera House are buildings that can be seen as parts of the symbolic capital of the country. As representative space not only the concentration of architectural symbols reflecting Vienna's and Austria's entire history makes this space distinctive from all other spaces of the city. The city center is the highest priced location within the city. Apartment prices (6690€/m²) are the highest in Vienna, three times above the city's average (immopreisatlas.at). With 31% of the residents holding a university degree in 2001 (city average: 12%) it is also the center of the social 'elite'. But the historic city center serves as the functional center of the entire city as well. More than 100,000 employees (13% of the entire workforce of the city), 19.000 employees of government institutions (27% of the entire city) and about 40% of the work places in finance and insurance businesses are concentrated there. Despite the proliferation of new spaces of consumptions and the suburbanization of retailers and consumers, with about 226,000 square meter sales area the city center is still at the top of the retail hierarchy of the city (Hatz, 2010b). The city core still is the uncontested center of the city and an exceptional space in relation to all other sites. Still, it is also the use of the space just like specific planning regulations imposed on the historic city center that are unique in relation to other places in the city.

The 'otherness' of the city center and its 'universal' symbolic meaning of belonging are becoming visible in a survey of about 1000 Austrian visitors to the city center (IFES, 2009) and a follow-up study of about 500 students in Vienna (Hatz, 2010a). By analyzing the drawings of the student's mental maps, the city is perceived primarily through the city center and its symbolic representations. The more distant from the city center, the more the image of the city is dissolving. Even new architecture such as new highrises in new urban centers at the borders of the densely built up area, symbolizing a modern and dynamic city, are not represented in the mental maps, implicitly indicating their insignificance as signifiers of belonging.

Distinctiveness and exclusivity in relation to the 'normal' and 'everyday' are decisive features for evoking senses of belonging. By using explorative factor analysis the underlying dimensions of uses and functions for the sample of students in that survey have been extracted. For these respondents the city center serves as a site for collective assemblage and is used as an exclusive site for performing an exclusive life-style. Implicitly the uses listed by the respondents in this survey refer to the construction of personal, social, cultural and spatial identity. The city center is used for meeting friends, window shopping and shopping - part of constructing the self and social identity (Hatz, 2010a). Scholars (Savage et al., 2005, p.

116; Zukin, 1995; Zukin 2005) agree that consumption has become not only a means to attract people to the city's core but in particular conspicuous consumption has morphed into an integral part of the individual's definition of the self. When linked to space, conspicuous consumption has moved on to the consumption in and of spaces, which constructs the consumer's identity, and eventually, when related to space, connects the consumer and the spaces of consumption by a sense of belonging. Using the city center for cultural activities points at the formation of cultural identity – and belonging and in this vein 'sightseeing' relates to the formation of cultural identity and identity and belonging of and with a site (Hatz, 2010a). Savage (2005) associates senses of belonging in particular with the city centers with 'high culture', cultural activities and shopping, however as an exclusive and selective activity. Aloof from everyday routines, the activities performed in the city center mark the escapist trait of the site.

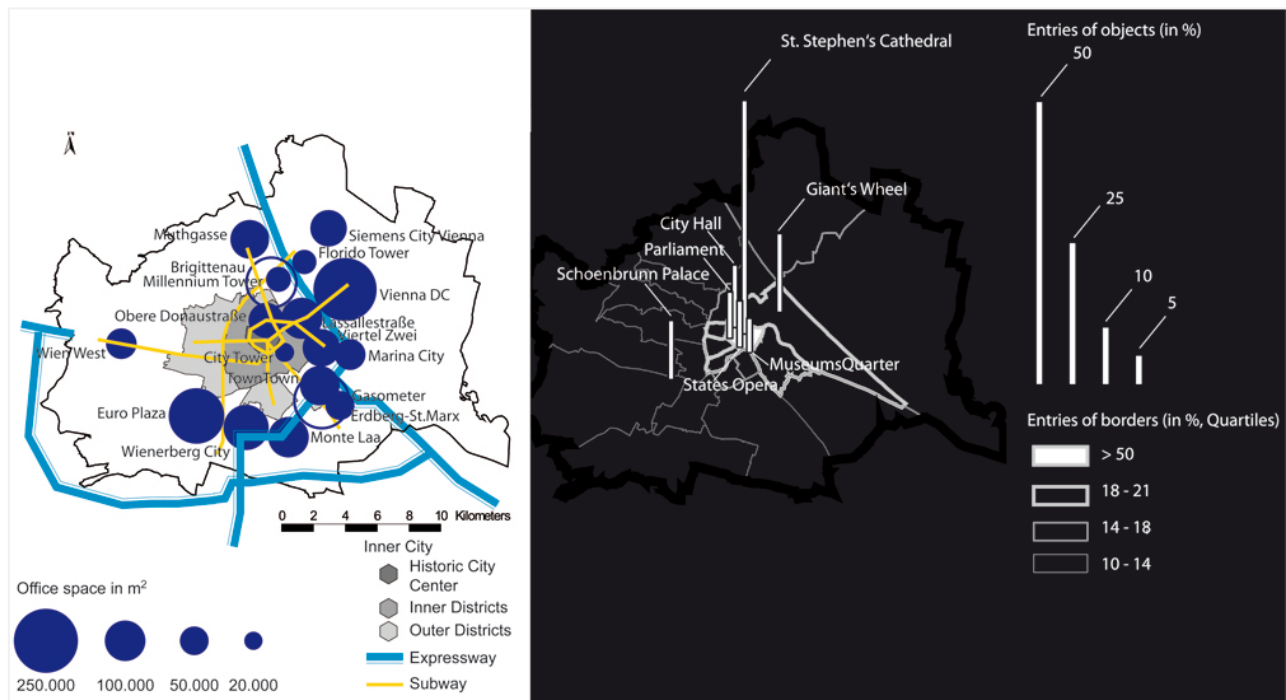


Figure 1: New urban centers (left) vs. spatial representations of Vienna in mental maps (right)

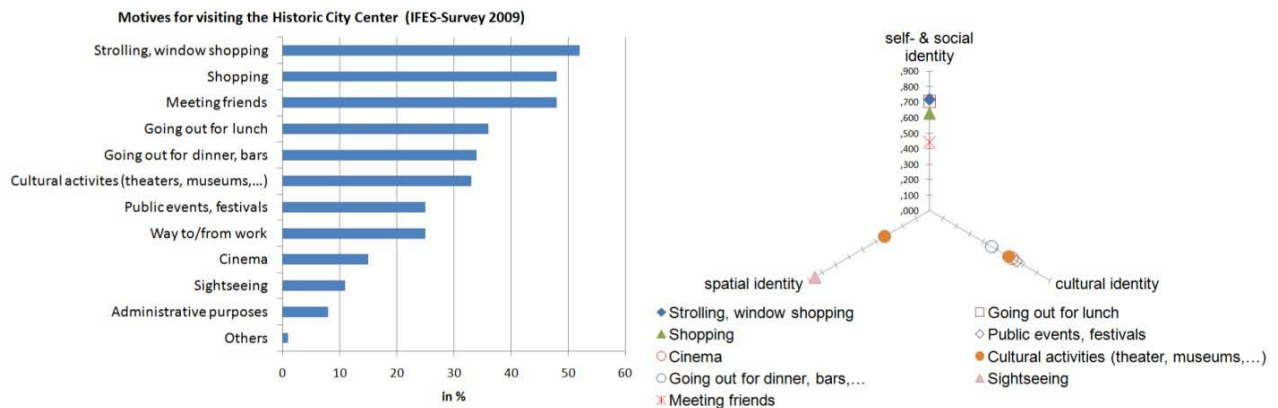


Figure 2: Motives and dimensions of uses of the city center

However, even though the center itself is uncontested, this does not hold true for the uses, the meanings and functions affiliated with the center. The changing meanings associated with the center of a city refer to the second principle of heterotopias.

Second principle: Cultural synchrony

“The second principle of this description of heterotopias is that a society, ... can make an existing heterotopia function in a very different fashion; for each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another” (Foucault, 1986, p. 25)

The second principle of heterotopias is represented in the changing meanings of the city center marked by its transformation from the functional center into a place of symbolic representation of the cultural heritage, identity and belonging. The city center has ever since been perceived as the center of the city not just in Cartesian coordinates. It is the meaning and the function of a ‘center’ that makes a place ‘central’. Following the second principle of heterotopias the meanings making the city center the center of the city have morphed over time in synchrony with the prevailing culture that shaped the dispositif imposed on the city center. The dispositif of the city center used to be and still is continuously negotiated and contested.

The cultural re-representation of the Historic City Center goes back to the time when Vienna developed as the capital of the Austrian Hungarian Monarchy, an empire comprising more than 50 million inhabitants. With the end of the Austrian Hungarian Monarchy the cultural production of Vienna’s glorious past was history. When modernist urban planning schemes dominated, the Historic City Center was out of the focus of urban planners. Since the 1970s the production of a livable historic city center, focusing on the ambient qualities as a signifier of the cultural heritage and symbolic (corporate) identity of the city has come to the fore. The visual representations of Vienna’s ‘glorious past’ became the narrative and the myth, the cultural re-production of the Historic City Center is built upon at the turn of the Millennium. Following the notions of the symbolic economy ‘Vienna, the imperial city’ or ‘Vienna the world capital of music’ became the unique selling propositions of the city. At that time the city center was incrementally being posed under preservation orders, transforming the meaning of the city from the functional center to a museum’s backdrop. Visual strategies and the aesthetization of the public realm have extended over time by performing urban culture. The transformation of the historic city center towards a heterotopia of belonging does not only imply the transposition of meanings. Each step **has been** accompanied by approaching the traits that delineate the principles of heterotopias and has to be dissected in that contextualization. The stages of transformation are overlapping and interlinked with each other.

The transformation of the Historic City Center into a perfected site of representations of belonging presupposed tightened regulations. As these regulations do not address the other sites of the city, this makes this place – according to the traits of heterotopias – distinctive from everyday spaces unrevealing the site as the highest regulated place within the city, and, eventually meeting the traits of the third principle of heterotopias.

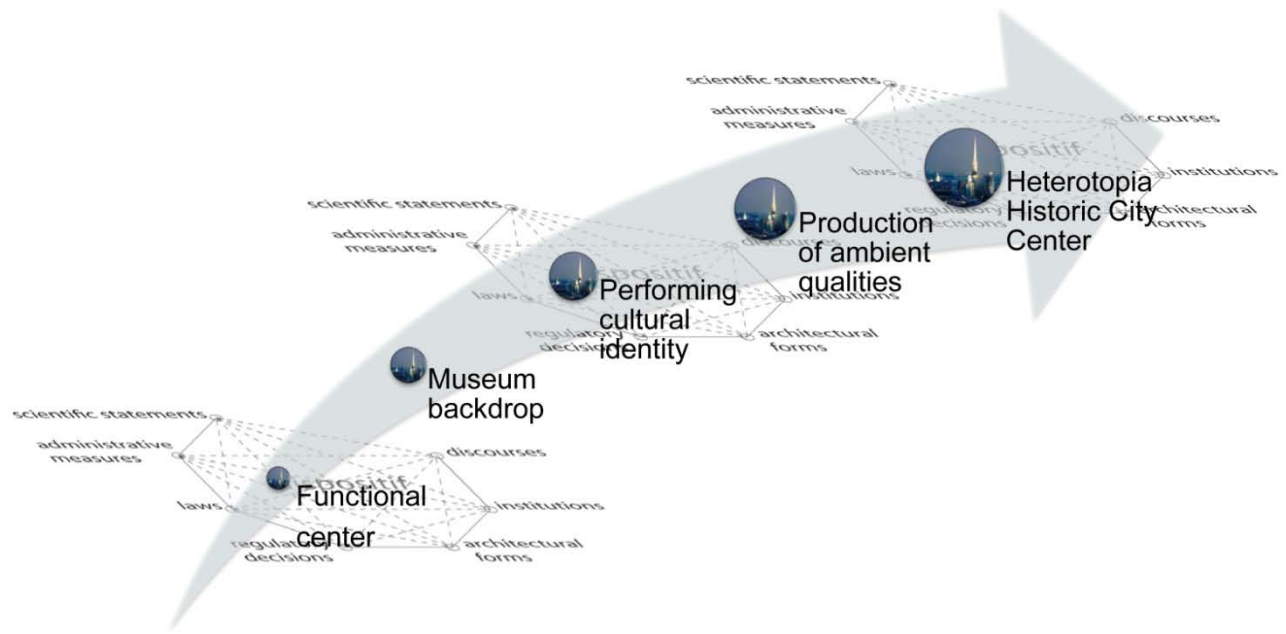


Figure 3: Fluid *dispositifs* and meanings of the Historic City Center

The third principle: A highly regulated microcosm

In the third principle Foucault points at two essential traits of Heterotopias: (1) the capability of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible (Foucault, 1986, p. 25), and (2) the description of Heterotopias as highly regulated places onto which the whole world comes to enact its symbolic perfection. These heterotopias are sacred places but “even a sort of happy, universal heterotopia” (Foucault, 1986, p.26). In this vein Foucault denotes the theater bringing onto the stage, one after another, “a whole series of places that are foreign to one another”, just as the superimposed meanings of the traditional Persian garden: “...a sacred space supposed to bring together inside its rectangle four parts representing the four parts of the world ... [by its vegetation] ... with a even more sanctified place in the center represented by a fountain or spring ... in a sort of microcosm” (Foucault, 1986, p.25f.).

In its microcosm the historic city center puts together all the functions that make up a ‘typical’ city: Work, living, governmental and administrative functions, culture, recreation, shopping, leisure and entertainment. Functionally-specific spatial units have developed, indicating a certain kind of their incompatibility to each other.

Dissecting the traits and transformations of the functionally specific spatial units reveals that in contrast to the remaining spaces outside the old city the functions represented in these spatial quarters do not only display functional and spatial perfections of the dominant uses but even the transformation of these functions and their related spatial representations transpose the urban form and its functions towards what was regarded an approximately universal form of heterotopias by Foucault. The functionally divided spatial units have developed around St. Stephen’s Cathedral, in the first place marking the sacred site in

the center of the city core, however, its meaning has morphed into a sacred symbol of identity and belonging not only of Vienna but of the entire Austrian nation as well (see Figure 1 and Figure 2).

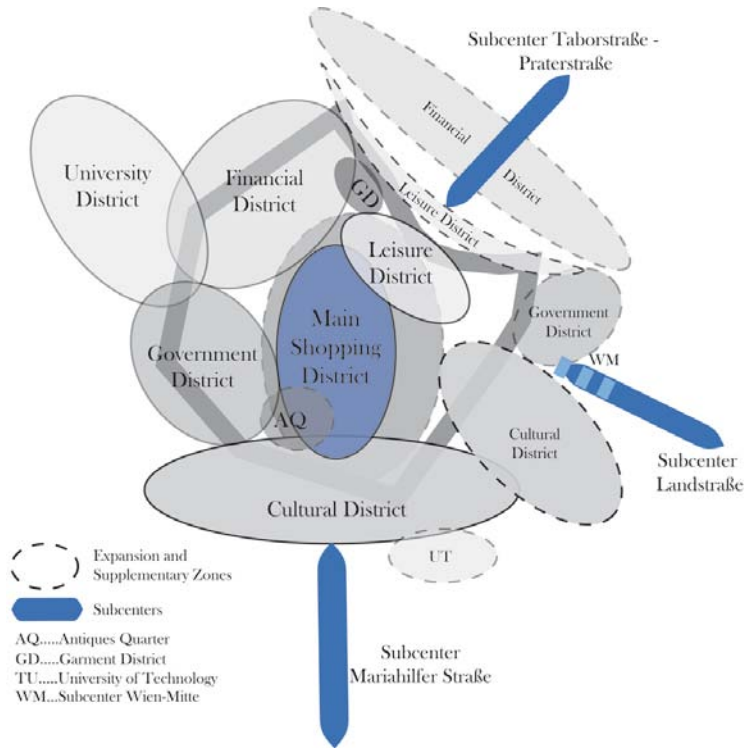


Figure 4: The ‘microcosm’ of the city center

The main shopping district is represented by outlets of internationally operating upscale chain stores that can neither be found in other parts of the entire city nor in other cities or retail agglomerations in the whole country. Strategies of urban planners and retail businesses are working together. The representative facades of the monument protected historic buildings provide a perfect scenery of a shopping environment in accordance to the idealized vision of a flâneur, by itself an urban myth and utopia (Shields, 1994). The most recent refurbishment by the city has exclusively been aimed at improving the ambience of the main shopping district (see Figure 5). The old fashioned downtown areas approach the concept of shopping malls, following the visions of controlled diversity, mixed or multi-use city centers and the logic of inclusion and incitement. Store fronts have as well become the focus of monument protection and landmark preservation. A shopping mall like ambience of safety, cleanliness, and “the soothing lightning, the polished surface ... and enticing displays, where [nothing] ... can disturb the illusion of a harmonious world” (Kohn, 2001, p.76), has been imposed on the Historic City Center.

The observed transformation indicates a widening gap between ‘everyday’ spaces and the exclusive traits of universal sites of belonging enhanced by the exclusivity of the shopping environment and of the shops themselves – about 80% of sales area in the main shopping area account for exclusive ‘Fashion & Style’ outlets and again 80% of the sales are operated by international chain stores (see Hatz, 2010b). Even though considered as a thorough capitalization and privatization of the public realm of the city center, “This ... defines the center as a place that one visits for ‘special’ reasons and which is thereby set apart

from the routines of daily life. Rather than urban centrality, with the core being the essential hub of life, this denotes a rather different meaning of the city centre in which it is available for special purposes, but the day-to-day business of life goes on elsewhere” (Savage et. al., 2005, p. 116). By installing globalized retailers behind the monument protected facades of the shops, the main shopping district simulates a diversified traditional local shopping environment, inverting and contradicting the standardized and homogenized reality of spaces of consumption. The exchange value in terms of rents for retail premises underlines the distinctiveness of the city center from the remaining shopping environments in the city. Rents for retail space in the historic city center climb up to 250,- € per square meter, more than doubling the rates for the most expensive retail space in shopping centers, amounting to 100,- € per square meter (CB Richard Ellis, 2010).



Figure 5: Visuals of the refurbishment – main shopping district (completed 2010)

The governmental district is characterized by the ‘headquarters’ of the government’s administration and the city administration, represented by the offices of the President just as of the chancellor of the Republic of Austria. Most of the ministries are concentrated in the immediate surroundings and the same holds true for the city administration, represented by the city hall. The cultural district is shaped by a concentration of museums, theaters and concert halls, most of them dedicated to the performance and production of high culture. Encompassing the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the city and the entire country they represent a perfected form of what is considered as the country’s and the city’s culture, heritage and identity and relate to Savage’s notion on the seminal meaning of high culture for evoking senses of belonging. The transformation of the city center as a perfected re-presentation of belonging, however, implies a set of regulations for enacting symbolic perfection.

Just like the Persian garden the Historic City Center has indeed been transformed into the most highly regulated place within the entire city, approximating a universal form of a heterotopia. In the course of burgeoning cultural and symbolic economies regulations in particular on the visual coherence have been tightened since the 1970’ies. Aesthetic qualities and a ‘good’ atmosphere’ of urban environments are essential for provoking emotions and evoking senses of belonging (see Savage et. al., 2005). Means of imposing visions of cultural identity mainly concentrate on visual strategies at first in order to preserve and protect the visual coherence of the Historic City Center. Not affected by respective regulations for 70 years, since the 1970s, however, the urban form of the Historic City Center has increasingly been placed under a preservation order, excluding influences of modern architecture. The regulations established since then display a tightening of control over the Historic City Center, a downscaling of control and an extension of the area affected by measures supervising the visual coherence.

In 1972 the Amended Law on Old Town Conservation was passed. A further amendment in 1978 enabled the Landmark Preservation Board not just to protect a single building but an entire group of buildings if designated as a valuable historic, not modern, architectural - ensemble. The entire Historic City Center has been designated as a 'protected zone', comprising about more than 1700 protected structures, 1200 of which residential. Any alterations of the physical structure of the buildings within the designated area have to be assigned to planning commissioners, in particular to architects and art historians. The zoning codes have been refined by limiting the maximum height of the single buildings to the present status quo, a measure originally aimed at closing down options for investors, building owners and developers with regard to converting attics into additional residential or office spaces. In addition, the open spaces (courtyards, green spaces) within the single buildings have become subject to protection, which even refers to landscaping. Since the most recent amendment public parks have been designated as landmarks as well. Under the laws of monument protection public spaces like the lawns of the public gardens have become 'privatized' by the public sector.



Figure 6: Layers of regulations on the visual coherence

In 2001 the Historic City Center was designated as World Cultural Heritage, implementing another layer of regulation, now spreading over the entire city and legitimized by the 'supra-national' authority of the UNESCO. The core zone of the World Cultural Heritage site is surrounded by a buffer zone extending into the adjacent districts. Regulations on preservation were supplemented by means of display and performance when sight axes and sight lines were incorporated. Sight axes and sightlines providing undisturbed views of the Historic City Center are now determining urban development projects all over the entire city. New developments like new office centers and high rises have to be adjusted according to these sight axes. Producing 'universal' spaces of belonging by aesthetization, visual conformity and controlled diversity has become overwhelming and the force of law (Zukin, 1995, p.123f.) by an overall design concept.

The third principle of heterotopias, targeting their capability of juxtaposing incompatible sites at one place has been extended to architectural styles and integrated in the third principle of heterotopias as highly regulated places. The operational guidelines of the UNESCO for the Historic Center of Vienna are based on

an overall design concept, "... building on medieval tradition and developing into an instantly recognizable Austrian form of Baroque culture, a Viennese Gründerzeit idiom, and a Viennese modernity, all of these styles aspiring to meet the challenges of a Gesamtkunstwerk..." (ICOMOS, 2001, p.1). "This ... applies ... to the modification of the existing buildings, with special attention paid to the preservation of the outward appearance, character and style of the building and in particular its scale, rhythm, proportions, technological equipment and colour scheme..." (Stadtentwicklung Wien, 2006, p. 101). Design standards, architectural and aesthetic guidelines are downscaled to regulate every single detail of the visual coherence: "All architectural intervention projects [in the historic city center] are primarily evaluated and reviewed by Municipal Department 19 (MA 19) Architecture and Urban Design. This relates to new structures, additions and refurbishments including e.g. penthouse or loft projects, shop entrances, advertising installations, windows replacements, etc." (Stadtentwicklung Wien, 2006, p. 99). Yet, the vision of a mixed-used old-fashioned city center was considered worth preserving. Designating neighborhoods of the Historic City Center as protected residential areas added another layer of regulation by preventing the conversion of apartments for other uses. By the detailed tightened regulations for the entire Historic City Center a programmatic convergence of the historic city center and heterotopias as highly regulated places becomes unfolded.

The shift from protecting and preserving the setting of the Historic City Center in terms of a museum backdrop towards a perfect and universal place of belonging by performing cultural identity was achieved by introducing another layer of regulation. The "Illumination Masterplan for Vienna" was passed in 2007, putting a comprehensive illumination concept over the City Center, regulating the design of the street lamps and how a structure has to be illuminated. Public and private illumination concepts of the outward appearance have to follow this masterplan. The Illumination Masterplan as well as tightened regulations, demonstrate "the ... organizational power of planning regulations and design controls that can turn the material form of the city to any successful ... magic show ... where illusion is produced ..." (C. Boyer cit. in Miles & Miles, 2004). The 'magic show and illusion, contradicting everyday urban spaces accentuates the 'otherness' of the Historic City Center, by this, converging to a perfect place of identity and belonging.

Re-presentations of cultural performances of high culture concentrated in the city core even mark the city center a 'happy' place". The trait of a 'happy place' is enhanced by expanding sites for leisure and relaxation like restaurants and bars are expanding and fostered by recent planning strategies (see Hatz, 2010b). At the banks of the River Danube Canal a vivid "Waterfront Development" has been established, comprising leisure facilities like artificial beaches or a bathing ship. The proliferation of these facilities has not been completed yet. Following the logic of the cultural and symbolic economies just as the economies of experiences cultural institutions are expanding just as public spaces have become integrated in the proliferation of an all the year round festival. The festivalization of the city center, in compliance with the preservation of the historic look and feel of the city center and expanding cultural institutions point at the forth principle of heterotopias.

The fourth principle: Heterochronies

The **fourth** principle links heterotopias to slices in times in terms of 'heterochronies'. Foucault identifies heterotopias linked to an infinitive accumulation of time like museums or libraries. The historic city center

encloses the most distinguished museums tied to Vienna's and Austria's history and cultural heritage – each of which a highly heterotopic place by itself, but even architectural symbols connected to Vienna's and the entire country's past. By designating the entire historic city center as a protected zone and UNESCO – World Cultural heritage, the place has been morphed into a monument and museum by itself. What is increasingly criticized by urban scholars and urban planners alike unfolds as a burgeoning trait of heterotopias. Since the 1990's cultural institutions as museums, theaters or concert halls have expanded in the Historic City center. Theaters and Opera Houses are rededicated to performances of the high culture and public spaces are designated as "art places". In 2000 the 'MuseumsQuartier' was opened replacing the former use as an exhibition hall for national and international fairs and now being one of the 10 largest Museum complexes world-wide. By new cultural institutions like the 'House of Music' or the 'Mozarthaus Vienna', all referring to the city's high culture and established after the turn of the millennium, the city center approaches its perfection as a heterotopia linked to accumulation in time, enhances its distinctiveness to other urban sites, and, by linking to high culture 'purifies' its traits as a 'universal' site of belonging.

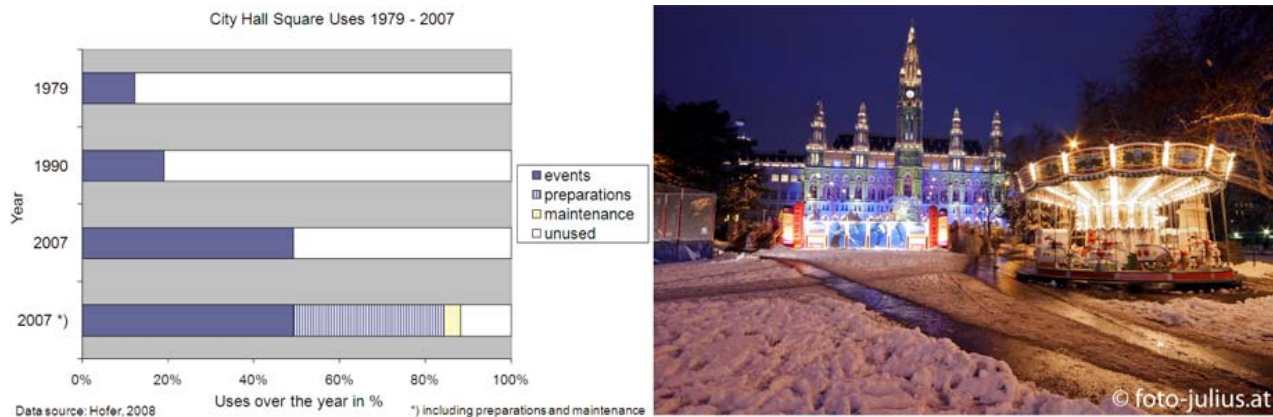


Figure 7: Festivalization of the square in front of the city hall 1979-1990-2007

Contrary to heterotopias that "enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages..." (Foucault, 1986, p. 27), Foucault delineates absolutely temporal heterotopias, linked "to time its most fleeting, transitory, precarious aspect, to time in the mode of the festivals" (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). In the rationale of Foucault these two forms of heterotopias, "the heterotopia of the festival and that of the eternity of accumulating time" (Foucault, 1986, p.27) are not mutually exclusive but might come together at one real place. The Historic City Center seemingly provides the perfect scenery for the 'all year round festivalization' that has not only enhanced the third principle of the Heterotopia 'City Center' as a 'happy place' but also is an integral part of the cultural and symbolic economies. In the city center, festivals and events are expanding at a temporal and spatial axis. Public spaces are taken away from the public but returned as a commercialized, controlled and ordered experience. The square in front of the Vienna city hall has increasingly become "a controlled experience", i.e. has become occupied by events, festivals or respective preparations all year long (see Figure 7). Public squares like Karlsplatz or 'Ringstraßen-Boulevard' are becoming integrated in the growing number of festivals and performances. By accumulating the traits of the first four principles of heterotopias and their transposition onto the city

center as 'universal' symbol of belonging, an apparatus of inclusion and exclusion is established. Inclusion and exclusion in and of the public realm by 'soft', intangible means seemingly evolve as a characteristic trait of 'universal' spaces of belonging and point at the fifth principle of heterotopias.

The fifth principle: Openings and closings

In the discourse on public space and the privatization of public spaces the dialectic of inclusive and exclusive practices has moved in the focal point. In the fifth principle Foucault denotes heterotopias as not as freely accessible as public spaces and points at tangible as well as intangible mechanisms of the openings and closings of these spaces. "Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). These mechanisms relate to rites for entering these (sacred) places where a certain kind of (religious) purification is the common denominator.

For the city center these mechanisms of openings and closings can take various forms and stretch to a 'purification' of the place in terms of a perfected place of cultural identity and belonging. When in gated communities the mechanisms of openings and closings are physically re-presented by walls, fences, gates and guards, having taken control over the isolation and penetrability of these spaces, historic city centers are freely accessible public spaces. Openings and closings in terms of inclusion and exclusion concentrate on intangible – soft means of gating the space and encompass a broad spectrum of architecture, uses, functions and social design that is in compliance with a purified and perfected utopia of the historic city.

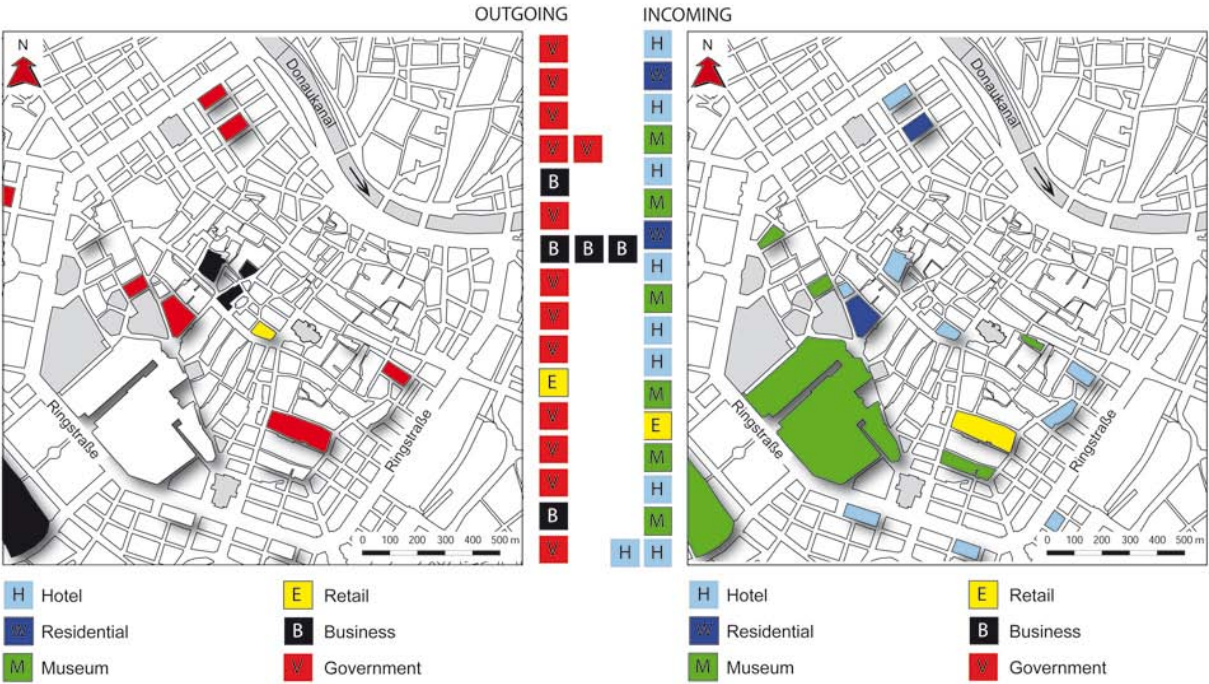


Figure 8: City Center: Urban functions follow the urban form - Exchange of functions 2000-2010

The inclusive and exclusive apparatus of the city slightly excludes or replaces tangible and intangible representations not in compliance with a 'perfected' place of belonging, but includes and enhances uses, functions and modifications of the urban form that transform the place according to the principles of heterotopias, as "real and unreal urban spaces ... onto which the whole world comes to enact its symbolic perfection". The system of inclusion and exclusion has to be read in its relational function. It aggravates the exclusivity of the place in relation to the other urban precincts. By this means, the historic city center becomes more and more disconnected from the 'ordinary', normal and everyday spaces. According to the notions of Savage et al. (2005), the accentuation of this 'otherness', corresponds to the traits of 'universal' spaces of belonging. In context to the synchrony of culture, meanings and representations of belonging are ephemeral and volatile constructs. As a (spatial) mediator of the prevailing urban culture the city center reflects the prevailing utopias of belonging and spatial representations as a reflection of the near and the far order of urban society (see Lefebvre, 1996, p.100ff.) that can be identified by the most recent transformation of the city center.

Various layers of regulations on the visual coherence do not only generate a filter of closing by excluding influences of modern architecture. What is more, it closes down options of private businesses and entrepreneurs. Adapting the building fabric according to the demands of the globalized economies has resulted in uncertainty of costs and unexpected delays. Work places and headquarters of leading companies are relocating as the strong regulations on the ambient quality do not meet the demands of globalized economies anymore. Government departments and offices of the city administration are leaving, giving way for functions and uses that accentuate the strategic role of the city center as an exclusive and perfected space of belonging. Cultural Institutions and event locations are moving in or expanding spatially and by their numbers. Office spaces and spaces left by the governmental institutions are occupied by an increasing number of luxury hotels and exclusive shops for conspicuous consumption (see Hatz, 2009). In addition to the growing number of bars and upscale restaurants the city center morphs into a space of eternal holidays, as it is one of the characteristic traits of heterotopias (Heynen, 2005, p. 313) and implicitly makes the space even more distinctive to the normal everyday spaces. In this vein, the historic city center approaches the traits of 'universal' spaces of belonging, however, re-presenting the characteristics of the prevailing urban culture that is marked by romanticized visions of historic urban ambiances, walkable, clean and safe, hence an inversion of the experienced normal everyday spaces. Consumption and capitalization of culture as characteristic traits of urban societies (e.g. Zukin 2005) manifest themselves not only in the globalized spaces for conspicuous consumption but in the consumption of the space itself. 'Universal' spaces of belonging are strongly related to the consumption of these spaces, indicating that senses of belonging are related with the consumption, even the consumption of emotions.

The apparatus of openings and closings, of inclusion and exclusion unfolds as means of power and technology of power, even in order to remove anything that can disturb the magic show of a historic city center. By re-interpreting a passage leading to art-place 'Karlsplatz' as art-passage, a new illumination concept and the display of art and art installations were to provide an ambience attractive to a 'flâneur' and to design out the rough urban edges, like a highly visible drug scene. Shop owners will have to vacate their stores giving way for re-presentations of culture. The recent amendment of Vienna's law on safety

and security regulations, in force since March, 2010, authorizes police forces to remove any individuals suspected of showing socially deviant behavior, like beggars or drunks, from public space (see Wiener Landes-Sicherheitsgesetz; Landesgesetzblatt Wien). The production of ambient qualities has incorporated the 'social design' of the ambience. By evoking 'controlled' emotions power can be exerted over behavior and minds. Urban design evolves as a technology of designing emotions. By the prevailing power of the ambient quality the meaning of the city center as the functional center of the entire city is weakening. Now the urban functions follow the urban form - in this vein, a heterotopia of belonging.

The sixth principle: A relational conclusion

In the sixth principle heterotopias are described as spaces having a function in relation to all the remaining space. Foucault explicitly focuses on the illusionary character of heterotopias and the function of heterotopias in their 'otherness' in terms of perfected, meticulous, well-arranged and organized places, opposite to the messy, ill-constructed and chaotic, normal, everyday and ordinary spaces. These heterotopian places expose every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned. In this line Foucault refers to the colonies either established by the English Puritans in America or those of the Jesuits in South America. Strict regulations, not only of the daily life but of the spatial layout of these communities as well, were to achieve perfection of the humans, society and a perfected form of 'other' places (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). Connections can be made to the synchrony of recent prevailing urban culture that transposes the historic city center into a highly regulated 'other' place. By symbolizing a perfected place of belonging it exposes and inverts the remaining spaces in the city.

The relational meaning of heterotopias is reflected in the notes of Savage et. al. (2005), identifying relations of meanings, emotions and perception as seminal in the constitution of senses and feelings of belonging. These relations are spanned between the two poles of everyday spaces and specific exclusive other places. Not to be in these places, but the (emotional) space settings and the settings of relations to these specific places evoke sentiments of belonging. The transformation of the historic city center has to be read in the context of recent urban developments. Following the notions of Sloterdijk (2004), the recent urban forms are morphing into Foam Cities. The emerging Foam Cities consist of 'spheres' – emotional space settings, enabling city dwellers to perform their individualized lifestyles. In recent urban developments, redeveloped brownfield areas, gentrified neighborhoods, themed privatized communities but even themed shopping environments might be considered as such spheres. The spheres are loosely interconnected by (virtual) communication technologies, enabling the city dwellers to shift easily between the particular spheres. When being transferred to recent urban developments, the spheres might be virtually located in a matrix, spanned by spaces for work, housing and, leisure and collective assemblies e.g. for meeting friends, socializing, events and festivals. For the City of Vienna a transformation towards an emerging 'Foam City' is marked by the recent urban development plan, not a spatially comprehensive plan for the entire city, but designating 13 'target areas', each of which dedicated to a specific 'theme'. The city center is one of this 'themes' (see Figure 9).

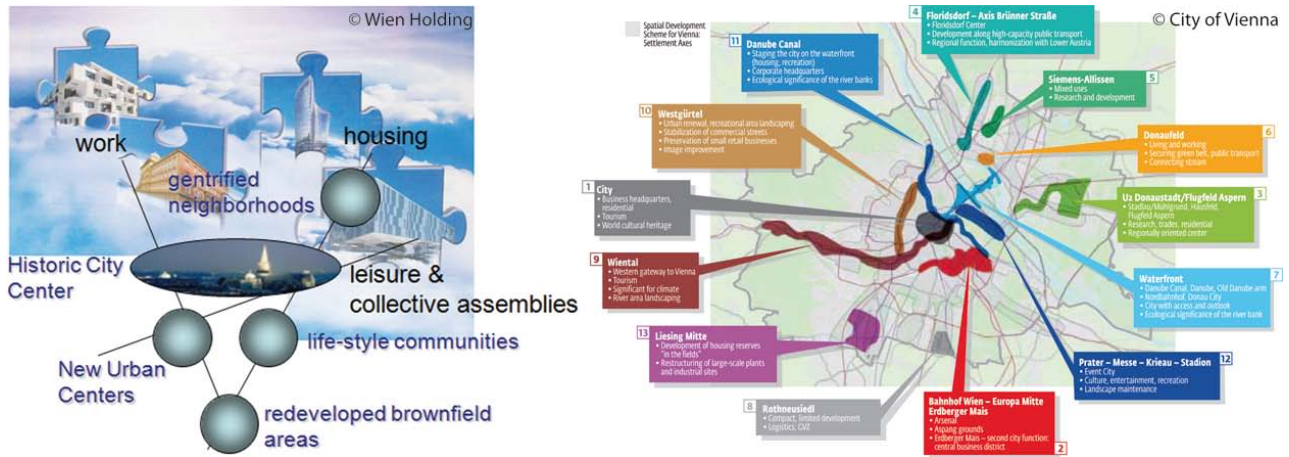


Figure 9: Conceptualization of Foam Cities (left), Urban Development Plan Vienna 2005 (right)

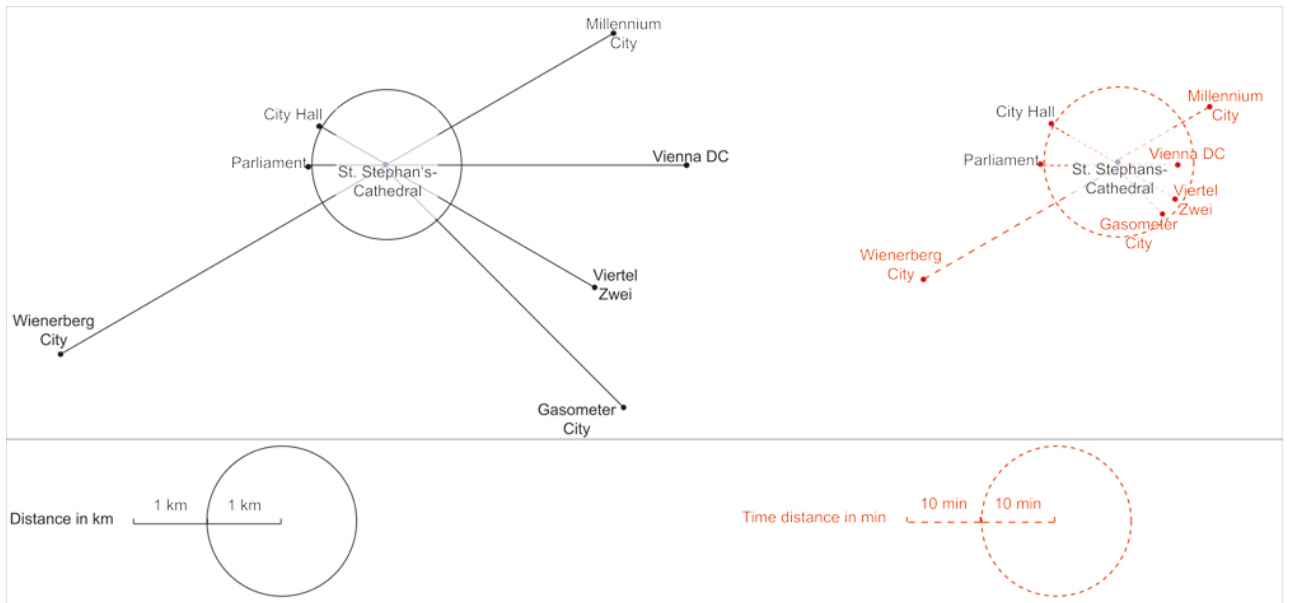


Figure 10: Time-distance convergence: City Center – New Urban Centers

In this relation of space settings, the historic city center serves as a signifier of belonging connecting the different spheres by its overarching meanings as ‘universal’ symbol of belonging of and with the entire city. In commodified and even privatized urban environments these meanings are becoming essential. New urban centers, tied to the global economies, promote their location not only by their short time-distance relation the airports, but also by their short time-distance relation to the historic city center. And, even though not spatially located within the historic city center, related to time distance, they are (see Figure 10). In this vein, the historic city center inverts recent urban development, however, as a heterotopia of belonging the historic city center is inextricably linked to the other spaces in emerging Foam Cities just like other spaces inextricably linked to a ‘universal symbol of belonging, as represented by the heterotopias city center. The notions of Foucault on heterotopias have proven as an adequate theoretical concept, providing a framework for a better or ‘other’ reading of universal spaces of belonging.

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