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Emergent placemaking

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Abstract

Most public places are designed as finished products with little room for further input or evolution. But cities are constantly changing and urban spaces that cannot adapt to the needs and desires of diverse users are prone to disuse and decay. Placemaking of any kind is an emergent process; the interactions among the space, its users, and natural processes over time is what produces the place, and the outcomes of these interactions cannot be entirely predicted. However, many public spaces appear static and emphasise control. Much effort is made to limit unplanned interventions, which is sometimes a losing battle, and generally represents a missed opportunity to benefit from the creativity and energy of citizens, and the ecosystem services provided by nature.

Public places can be designed for more than passive enjoyment by instead inviting citizens to engage in the ongoing making of them. The potential advantages are multiple and include the empowerment that comes from visibly improving the places we live and the social capital that develops through collective action, along with the resulting creation and maintenance of diverse and adaptive multifunctional urban spaces. Making space for emergence requires new forms of co-management involving citizens, community organisations and local government, who in turn extend the invitation to other contributors both in the present and the future. Like placemaking, engagement is a dynamic process and rather than bemoan the lack of an adequate budget or enough active citizens to maintain what has been created, the focus should be on leaving space for new visions to emerge and generate new energy. This paper explores the process of emergent placemaking and identifies both site characteristics and governance structures that support it.

Introduction

In November 2008 the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal launched a new exhibit called *Actions: What you can do with the City.* This simple phrase and the featured 99 'Actions' from cities around the world both portrayed and encouraged an unfamiliar relationship between citizens and urban space. It was not the usual guidebook about what to do *in* the city, nor a planning document describing what to do *to* the city. Instead, it suggested that "experimental *interactions with* the urban environment show the potential influence personal involvement can have in shaping

the city, and challenge fellow residents to participate" (CCA, 2008). 'What you can do with the City' was an invitation to embrace emergence, which judging by the exhibits and the entries posted on the accompanying website was being widely taken up.

Emergence results from the interactions among different elements or components of a system. These interactions are what makes a system greater than the sum of its parts. This paper focuses on three key elements: people, nature and urban space. It posits that attending to the emergent characteristics of this system can open up opportunities for transformation in urban dwellers' relationships with nature, place and each other, which can in turn support the emergence of more socially and ecologically resilient public spaces and cities. This social-ecological resilience is generated through fully incorporating the skills and creativity of citizens, along with the ecosystem services provided by nature, into the process of placemaking. This is likely to result in more diverse places with greater adaptive capacity.

The paper draws on several disciplines including urban design, resilience science and cultural geography to propose an approach to placemaking that fully embraces emergence. It suggests ways to design an invitation to citizens and nature to collaborate with urban space in resilience-enhancing ways and identifies enabling conditions for this process.

Making space for people-nature interaction

'Nature'[1] receives relatively little attention in discussions about placemaking—beyond how to 'manage' it. This is somewhat surprising given that most successful public spaces include some element of nature. Kellert and Wilson (1995) argue that humans have 'biophilic' tendencies that draw us to nature. We seek out environments that would have augured well for human survival in the past (Appleton, 1975; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Orians, 1986; Ulrich, 1986). Perhaps as a result of feeling we are safe and provided for, contact with nature is linked to a range of benefits for human health and well-being at individual and community levels (Barton & Pretty, 2010; Nurse, Basher, Bone & Bird, 2010; Tzoulas et al., 2007).

Beyond nature as an attractive and beneficial element for humans, it is important that urban spaces incorporate natural process and provide habitat for other species, given that "urbanized areas have become the most rapidly expanding habitat type worldwide" (Faeth, Bang, & Saari, 2011). The surrounding 'countryside' is increasingly dominated by industrial forms of agriculture with monocultures and

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[1] Nature' is a problematic term because it refers to an imprecise construct based on a people-nature dichotomy that has been strongly disputed. It remains difficult, however, to find an adequate substitute. Lachmund (2013, p. 237) states that although "nature has to be seen as fundamentally socialized, the term is indispensable when getting to grips with a specific set of human practices and concerns."

pesticides that constitute inhospitable environments, so that urban areas have become refuges for some species (Fuller & Irvine, 2010).

Just as space needs to be made in cities for species that have nowhere else to go, people look for opportunities to pursue activities previously carried out in less urban environments, including interacting with other species. Buijs, Elands, & Langers (2009) describe a move from a utilitarian view of nature to an ecocentric view that sees nature as independent of people (and best kept separate from human activity) to a current trend of seeking a more interactive relationship. Teel, Manfredo and Stinchfield (2007) describe this as a 'mutualist' value orientation, which manifests itself in a number of ways, including feeding wildlife: in parts of Europe, North America and Australia, between one fifth and one third of households provide supplementary food for wild birds (Fuller & Irvine, 2010). This tendency is not confined to richer countries. Similar mutualistic tendencies were identified in the United States, Thailand, Estonia, the Netherlands, Mongolia, Malaysia, Uganda and Kenya (Teel et al., 2007). The shift is positively correlated with urbanisation (Manfredo, Teel, & Bright, 2003).

Urban dwellers also seem to want to get their hands dirty, and to physically transform their environments, perhaps pursuing an urge to create a habitat for oneself. Urban gardening continues to grow in popularity (King, 2008) with benefits for health and wellbeing (Guitart, Pickering, & Byrne, 2012; Leeuwen, Nijkamp, & Vaz, 2010; Turner, Henryks, & Pearson, 2011). Similar individual and community benefits of engagement are attributed to active involvement in activities like tree planting and urban greening (Austin, 2002; Inerfeld & Blom, 2001). As people increasingly live in densely populated areas, public spaces play an important role in providing space for such activities (Guitart, Byrne, & Pickering, 2015). This interaction among people, nature and urban spaces is potentially a tremendous resource for placemaking.

Inviting citizens[2] to contribute to the development and maintenance of public space offers a number of advantages relative to having this work carried out solely by institutions and their contractors. Citizens demonstrate willingness to contribute their time and energy (Jones, 1998) and their diverse ideas, knowledge and skills, which are effectively brought to bear through the adaptive management[3] and social learning[4] approaches they tend to employ (Hamdi, 2010). This gives them some advantages over many local governments which struggle with reduced budgets

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[2] Citizen' refers here to "an inhabitant of a city or town" ("citizen n. and adj.", 2014). Citizen action issues from a feeling of association with a community or place over which an individual or individuals may seek to exercise influence or to which they may seek to contribute. The compulsion to act is often rooted in ideas about rights and/or responsibilities that are conferred on inhabitants.
[3] Adaptive management is an experimental approach to managing where interventions are tested through implementation and analysed and adapted accordingly. It is assumed that, as the system is constantly changing, the process of adaptation is ongoing (Salafsky, Margoluis, & Redford, 2001).
[4] Social learning is the collective learning through action and reflection that results in enhancing a group's ability to change its underlying dynamics and assumptions (Tippett & Searle, 2005).

combined with institutional inertia or 'persistent traditions' (Hommels, 2005). Citizen involvement in designing and implementing an intervention will foster a sense of ownership that will encourage long-term care (Hamdi, 2010).

For its part, nature has the capacity to provide a range of ecosystem services[5] within public spaces. Its contribution in the built environment is often understood in terms of 'green infrastructure'[6] which adds value because it works with, rather than against, natural cycles. The multifunctional aspect of green infrastructure is seen as a particular advantage. Unlike conventional infrastructure, which tends to serve only one purpose, the same green space that offers drainage, air filtering and microclimate regulation can also provide habitat to support biodiversity conservation, and serves as a place to play or learn or relax. Clearly there are opportunities for public spaces, which can be considered part of an urban area's infrastructure, to fulfil such multifunctional roles.

Collaboration between people and nature may enhance the outcomes. Barthel (2005) identified 24 local stewardship groups in Stockholm's National Urban Park (the most frequently visited green area in Sweden) that were linked to the provision of ecosystem services such as recreation, air filtration, pollination and seed dispersal. Furthermore, the diverse management practices of these citizen stewards, who were also reaping a range of personal benefits, appeared to be linked to a level of biodiversity equalled by only a few areas of the same size in Sweden (Ibid.) This range of positive effects would be difficult to reproduce through direct means. Based on work in various green areas of Stockholm, Ernstson et al. (2010) noted that "ecosystem services [should] be seen as emergent from interlinked processes at different scales. Ecosystem services are thus not controllable in themselves." (Ernstson et al., Ibid., p. 533) The practices of citizen stewards are also emergent, as explained below.

About emergence and regarding resilience

Ecologist C.S. Holling is credited with pioneering thinking about resilience in social-ecological systems in the 1970s. His research on the long-term ineffectiveness of pesticides to control spruce budworm outbreaks in spruce-fir forests led him to question both forest management practices and the concept of dynamic equilibrium that had dominated ecology for many years. Holling and colleagues went on to explore how management practices and ecology were intertwined in ways that

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[5] Ecosystem services are the benefits that people get from nature. They can be roughly divided into four categories: provisioning, such as the production of food and water; regulating, such as the control of climate and disease; supporting, such as nutrient cycles and crop pollination; and cultural, such as spiritual and recreational benefits (Ranganathan et al., 2008). In cities, these would normally include air filtering, microclimate regulation, noise reduction, rainwater drainage, sewage treatment, and recreational and cultural values (Bolund & Hunhammar, 1999).
[6] Green infrastructure is understood "to comprise all natural, semi-natural and artificial networks of multifunctional ecological systems within, around and between urban areas, at all spatial scales." (Tzoulas et al., 2007)

sometimes led to surprising outcomes, concluding that these constituted a complex 'social-ecological system' where change could happen in any part and affect other parts in unpredictable ways. The properties of the social-ecological system are thus 'emergent', i.e. they cannot be attributed to any particular part of the system but are a product of the system acting as whole (Gunderson & Holling, 2002).

Holling and fellow researchers have documented dozens of significant case studies of social-ecological systems throughout the world, including a growing number in urban areas. However, challenges have remained in applying social-ecological systems concepts to cities and some scholars (e.g. Ernstson et al., 2010; Evans, 2011) have suggested this is a result of insufficient attention to the social side of the social-ecological system equation. Trosper (2005, p. 10) maintains that the social aspect is treated too simplistically because "most socio-ecological studies focus on material relationships, without sufficient attention to cultural issues". He proposes dealing with the complexity of the social through a focus on emergence. He sees human culture as a primary source of emergence resulting from people monitoring and regulating ecosystems according to a variety of cultural constructs (Trosper, Ibid., p. 1).

In order to address what he saw as inadequate attention to culture, Trosper turned to the work of sociologist Margaret Archer whose analysis of emergent structures yielded two helpful ideas for understanding social-ecological systems. First, Archer distinguishes among three emergent structures in a system: material, cultural and people. This effectively splits the 'social' into 'culture' and 'people', where the former refers to institutions (in the larger sense of the word) and the latter to individual people with the capacity to act. This recognises the strength of cultural institutions while still crediting people with agency. Secondly, Archer points out that cultural structures consist of sets of ideas that are related to each other in a variety of ways, and that it is these relationships that produce the emergent properties of the structure (Archer, 2000). Contemporary cities with their large and diverse populations are the source of multiple cultural constructs--and a great deal of agency.

Other scholars would claim that cultural frameworks are only one source of emergence and that agency is not solely the province of humans. Proponents of Actor-Network Theory would ascribe agency to all the components of a social-ecological system, or rather an 'assemblage'[7]. The people, the nature, the urban space are all 'actants' (Latour, 1996) and when humans interact with non-humans, all are changed. Loftus (2012, p. 9) explains (based on an analysis of the works of Karl Marx and Neil Smith) that "nature is understood to be a co-constitutive agent, making people through the actions they perform". An example of this in relation to the current question might be a citizen interacting with nature in a public space becoming attached to the nature/place and consequently actively engaging in

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[7] An assemblage can be defined as "a multiplicity constituted by heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them" (Deleuze, cited in (McFarlane, 2011, p. 653).

placemaking; in this case all of the elements are acting on each other and being changed in the process. Agency can also be seen as deriving from a human-nonhuman collective as Bennet describes:

I experience agency as the outcome or effect of a certain configuration of human and nonhuman forces. When humans act, they do not exercise exclusively human powers, but express and engage the agency of a variety of other actants… There is a difference between a human individual and a stone, but neither considered alone has real agency: the locus of agency is always a human–nonhuman collective. It seems to me here that what is called landscape is a paradigmatic example. (Bennett & Loenhart, 2011, p. 23)

These somewhat different conceptions of emergence and agency are consistent in heralding the possibility of a rich variety of outcomes from the interactions among people, nature and urban space. While these may be difficult to predict, they will certainly be diverse--and diversity is a key feature of resilient systems (Walker & Salt, 2012). 'Resilience' can be defined as "the capacity of a system to continually change and adapt yet remain within critical thresholds" (Stockholm Resilience Centre, 2007). This is a crucial capacity in an era of rapid change and uncertain social, economic and environmental futures and thus 'resilience'[8] is increasingly held up as a key goal for cities (Evans, 2011).

A number of key features of a resilient system (as identified by Walker and Salt, Ibid.) are likely to emerge from citizens collaborating with nature in public spaces. These include:

- Promotes and sustains biological, landscape, social, and economic diversity
- Embraces ecological variability
- Recognises, values, protects and enhances ecosystem services
- Builds social capital
- Fosters innovation and learning
- Adaptability and transformability (has capacity to manage the social-ecological system and transform it when it is not tenable)
- Overlap in Governance, which implies that there is a tremendous opportunity for local government and other institutions to work collaboratively with citizens. This allows each to fill gaps left by the other and experiment with different and complementary approaches.

Observations of a Manchester alleyway cared for by citizens serves as an example of how such features of resilience are manifested.

Two neighbours are speaking to one another in their greened alleyway where dozens of new plant species have supplemented the weeds poking through the stones that previously represented the

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[8] This understanding of resilience should not be confused with the engineering definition of resilience, which equates rate of return to equilibrium after perturbation. The application of this 'recovery' or 'bouncing back' interpretation to SESs is at odds with the non-linear, multi-state system described by Holling and more in keeping with the equilibrium model of ecology that he sought to reject (Holling, 1996). References to 'bouncing back' in discourses concerning resilient cities should therefore be questioned.

extent of the vegetation. They are surveying the fruits of their labour and remark enthusiastically on the presence of bees in the alleyway with one commenting that "We must be doing well if we've got bees!" (8 May 2012)

The researcher is able to see the diversity of plants, an example of primary production, which is a 'supporting' ecosystem service. A number of the plants are edible (and are eaten, and sometimes shared by a diverse group of neighbours during communal meals in the alleyway), thus providing 'provisioning' and probably also 'cultural' ecosystem services. The bees are busy carrying out their work of pollination, i.e. providing a 'regulating' ecosystem service. The attractive alleyway where the neighbours gather provides a cultural ecosystem service. The compost bins are turning waste to resource and the rainwater collectors are diverting runoff to irrigation, while the increased vegetation and soil coverage reduces risk of flooding.

The neighbours chatting together about their collective work is an indication of social capital. The neighbours' knowledge of the important role of the bees and pride in their work having helped the bees to fulfil their role shows that they are recognising, valuing and enhancing ecosystem services. By asking a few questions, the researcher finds out that one neighbour has learned from the other about these things. A visit to neighbouring alleyways that are indicative of the former state of this one attests to the capacity of the group of volunteer residents to transform their alleyway-scale social-ecological system and to continue to manage it

How then might more such people-nature-urban space interactions with their potential for emergent resilient features be encouraged?

Approaches to emergent placemaking

Ideas about the need for urban design to respond to constant change and uncertainty have been circulating for some time now. Mehaffy (2008, p. 70) quotes Rem Koolhaas's 1995 suggestion that "urbanism is now the art of accommodating generativity, rather than the futile attempt to ''design'' it." Urbanism should be concerned with "the staging of uncertainty…it will no longer aim for stable configurations but for the creation of enabling fields to accommodate processes that refuse to be crystallized into definitive form." (Ibid.)

Ernstson et al. (2010, p. 538) emphasise that the roles and relationships of the actors (and actants) are a key part of the necessary response to change and uncertainty:

"In order to build resilience and face uncertainty and change means to harness the interactions between stakeholders. This requires an involvement of society in its broadest sense towards a change of culture that makes "collaboration" between society and the environment (rather than mere "interaction") the central focus of attention. (Ernstson et al., 2010)(538)

Fred Kent and colleagues at the *Project for Public Spaces* embrace emergence by emphasising that places are never finished, that it is more important to focus on the process than the product and that the key player in this process is the citizen expert. They strive along with other organisations like *City Repair* to empower citizens to develop their own visions and overcome obstacles to change (Silberberg, Lora, Disbrow, & Muessig, 2013, p. 27).

The current approach to emergent placemaking draws on all of these ideas and takes particular inspiration from 'civic ecology' and citizen-led urbanism. The latter comes in a variety of forms, including where actors engage in 'unintended' use of public space (Hou, 2010). This has been described as everyday urbanism (Chase, Crawford, & Kaliski, 2008), DIY urbanism, pop-up urbanism and tactical urbanism (Lydon et al., 2010) as well as insurgent urbanism or guerrilla urbanism (Hou, Ibid.). Having coined the latter phrase, Hou labels the various types of intervention as: appropriating, reclaiming, pluralising, transgressing, uncovering and contesting (Ibid.). The effect of these unintended uses is the creation of what Franck and Stevens (2007) call 'loose space', where the dominant meanings of sites are 'loosened' allowing the text of cultural landscapes to be re-scripted and therefore potentially invite further intervention.

These interventions can be described as 'critical spatial practices' (Rendell, 2006) which demonstrate, according to Loftus (2012, p. xxi), "the ability of insurgent activists to transform the fabric of the city into a means of artistic production...by using the environment of the city as a laboratory for artistic experimentation, we see how urban interventions open up new conditions of possibility for alternative urban futures." Loftus goes on to argue that "we need to conceive such practices as being inherently socio-natural. They are reducible neither to the social nor the natural but rather are part of a continually changing urban assemblage." (Ibid.)

Civic ecology for its part can be viewed through the lenses of both social-ecological systems and socio-natural assemblages. It is a practice that reflects:

the linked social and ecological systems implications of participatory environmental restoration and management initiatives in cities and elsewhere. Civic ecology emerges from the actions of local residents wanting to make a difference in the social and natural environment of their community and is recognizable when both people and the environment benefit measurably and memorably from these actions. (Krasny & Tidball, 2010, p. 1)

Within this framework, citizens are seen as part of a social-ecological system, thus incorporating the concepts of emergence and social-ecological resilience described earlier. Krasny and Tidball (Ibid.) refer to the work of Andrew Light who identified the emergence of a 'civic environmentalism' that concerns itself with nature in cities, and sees people as part of the ecosystem, as opposed to traditional environmentalism, which focuses on conserving "pristine wilderness" (Light, 2003). Krasny and Tidball coined the term 'civic ecology' in order to better reflect a resilient social-ecological system perspective. Additionally, Karvonen and Yocom have made a link between civic environmentalism and human and non-human assemblages:

Building on Hinchliffe and Whatmore's emphasis on the importance of both civic 'association' and 'attachment', civic environmentalism diverges from deliberative and discursive democracy because of its emphasis on materiality (Hinchliffe and Whatmore, 2006; Hinchliffe et al, 2005). Deliberation is not only comprised of social interaction, but must account for and engage with the physicality of place and complexity of relations between human and nonhuman neighbors. This distinction forms a central tenet of civic environmentalism. (Karvonen & Yocom, 2011, p. 1310)

This emphasis on 'materiality' and engaging with place, i.e. getting one's hands dirty as well as talking about it, is at the heart of the proposed approach to emergent placemaking. If, as described in the last section, we are changed through our interactions with nature and other elements and if we become part of the making of the place, then our engagement with it is on a different level, possibly resulting in a higher level of satisfaction and of commitment. The time we spend in a place, getting to know it, working with it--alone and with others, talking and not talking, can create space for all sorts of ideas and projects to emerge, setting off new diverse and adaptive initiatives.

Extending the invitation to make places

Thus far a lot has been said about citizens and nature, and less about how the characteristics of the space play a role in how citizens and nature come together and engage.

Every urban space presents a landscape to the perceiver. Landscapes are by definition products of nature and culture.[9] This includes urban landscapes, even if there may be little obvious evidence of either nature or culture. Landscapes can communicate forceful messages about places and people's role in them (Cosgrove, 1984; Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Duncan, 1993; Mitchell, 1994; Nassauer, 1995; Smith, 2006). They represent a powerful cultural vehicle for conveying ideas about "what you can do with the city". It is therefore possible to inscribe an invitation to citizens in the landscape.

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[9] The widely cited European Landscape Convention defines landscape as "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors." (Council of Europe, 2000, p. 3)

The alleyway described above had a number of features that seemed to attract people to engage with it. There was an 'aesthetic of care' (Nassauer, Ibid.); it was clear that citizens (presumbably neighbours) were looking after it, and they acted as welcoming hosts to anyone who entered (and there were various welcome signs). It was close to people's houses and felt like an extension of home, which probably encouraged them to appropriate it (noting however that not everyone engaged lived in houses that backed onto the alley). The alleyway also had various creative touches and an unfinished look, which encouraged others to add their own piece of art or furniture. People seeing this alleyway for the first time expressed delighted surprise and often began to speak about how they might similarly transform a rubbish-filled space near them.

Many existing public spaces are not inviting in this way. They are designed as finished products with little room for further input or evolution. Inviting landscapes on the other hand should communicate that they are in constant flux as a result of the contributions of changing people and nature, which are both welcome to enter and to participate in further transformation. This must be an inclusive invitation addressed to a wide variety of people with different interests and skills, and with different levels of comfort with respect to engaging with public spaces. Both the guerrilla urbanists and the people who like to participate in specific scheduled activities should feel welcome.
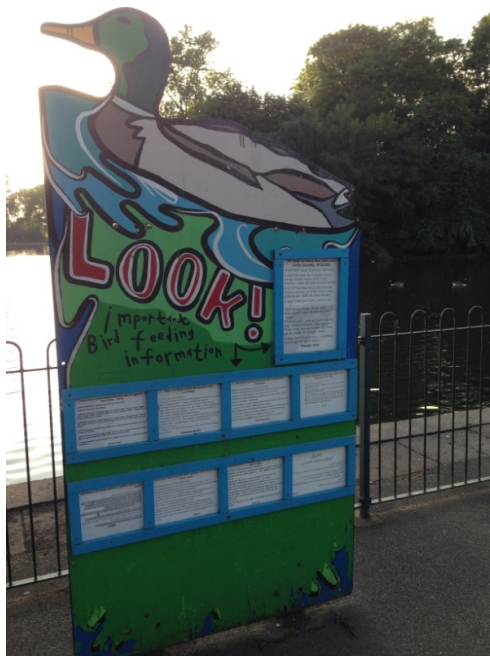
Research carried out in North West England about the characteristics of Inviting Landscapes (Astbury, 2015) indicated that certain characteristics play particular roles at different stages in the process of people's engagement with landscape. These stages of engagement can be classified as 'rethink', 'connect' and 'act'. In the first stage, it is important for people to see landscapes that make them rethink their ideas about people and nature in cities. These landscapes are often surprising and sometimes temporary; art often features. They are most effective when located in places many people visit, like city centres.

A former bowling green awaits citizens and nature to co-create its new destiny.

In the second stage, an individual needs to connect with a specific landscape, which is usually close to home or frequently visited. This landscape should attract interest through its identity, its natural features, as well as the opportunities it provides for learning and interacting with other people.

It should invite people in, make them feel included, and also welcome them to appropriate the space and intervene in the site. It should feel like their place, like home. At some point, citizens should begin to feel that the place needs them as much as they need it. Perhaps it is threatened or it just needs a bit of help to fulfil its potential. From here, they can begin to move into the third stage, that of action. This is facilitated if there are other people with whom they can collaborate and if they feel they can make a difference. At a minimum, the potential placemaker should have a sense that their actions will not be prevented, perhaps by seeing signs of other citizens' interventions. Individuals should feel that their particular skills can contribute to moving things forward, or that there is space to initiate a project of one's own. Results should be visible. The transformed landscape in turn invites other people to engage.

Ten key Inviting Landscape characteristics were identified and these are summarised in the middle column of the below table. They are organised by stages of engagement and are linked to specific features at sites.

Table 1 Inviting Landscape Characteristics by Stage

Stage		Inviting Landscape Characteristics	Specific Features
1. Rethink		Surprise	Temporary and creative interventions
		Legibly including people and nature	Nature present
			Nature changing
			Ecosystem services
			Nature in everyday life
			Citizen stewardship
2. Connect	a. Attraction	Safe	Signs of care
			Presence of other (non-threatening) people
			Sightlines and escape routes
		Intriguing	Biophilically attractive (e.g. water, edges, other species)
			Learning opportunities
		Social	Social spaces
			Community events
		Storied	Ecological
			Cultural/historical
			Local community
			Personal
			Creating a new (positive) narrative
	b. Attachment	Welcoming	Permeable
			Welcoming entrance
			Inclusive
			Fluid tenure/space available
			Hosted
		Home-like	Human-scale
			Looks like home
			Nearby
			Defensible
	c. Concern	Needs your help	Threatened
			Unfulfilled potential
			Others care
3. Act		Transformable	Intervention is not prevented
			Evidence of other citizens' efforts
			Inspirational examples
		Work in progress	Unfinished
			Space for new ideas/basis for next step(s)
		Joining in	Seeing others acting
			Feeling needed
		Rewarding of effort	Visible results
			Specific role/project of one's own

Not all Inviting Landscape characteristics need to be present in a specific urban space in order to initiate a process of citizen engagement. Not every landscape
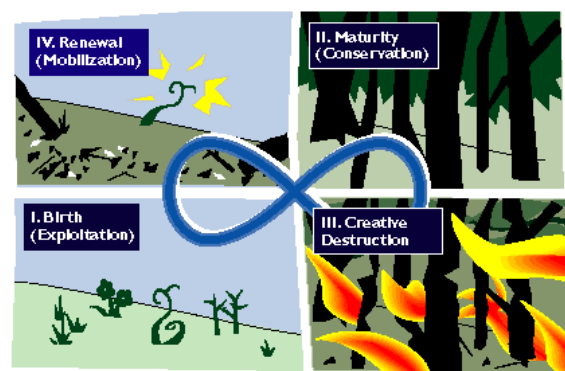
needs to have the visible and surprising characteristics that make people begin to rethink the role of people and nature in cities. A few such landscapes in strategic locations and/or with significant media coverage will ensure that an adequate number of members of a community are exposed to places that inspire them to think about what they might do in another space. Furthermore, not all Inviting Landscape characteristics need to be present to the same degree in a particular landscape. What matters is that the characteristics add up to an invitation that is sufficient for at least some citizens. These 'early interveners' will transform the landscape in ways that make further intervention more inviting to citizens who would not feel comfortable putting the first shovel into the ground.

The potential of the 'unfinished' characteristic of Inviting Landscapes is very important. The landscape should convey the idea that while positive change has occurred or is occurring, the process remains unfinished or incomplete. The landscape should invite someone else to bring his or her particular skills and ideas to the challenge of undertaking the next step. The deliberately unfinished landscape is very different from the usual end product visualised by people who intervene in landscapes. The focus is instead usually on completing the project and then worrying about it being maintained. Another concept from resilience science can potentially be applied to this challenge. Holling's (1986) work on social-ecological systems led to a description of how the systems move through an 'adaptive cycle': a continuous cycle of growth, maturity, release and reorganisation. This is often illustrated using the metaphor of a forest, in which release (or creative destruction) occurs as a result of a fire or outbreak of pests. A resilient system will move through these phases while remaining within critical thresholds. Case studies have shown how adaptive cycles are at play in systems ranging from resource management to health care (Walker & Salt, 2012; Zimmerman, Lindberg, & Plsek, 1998, p. 175).

Figure 1 The Adaptive Cycle
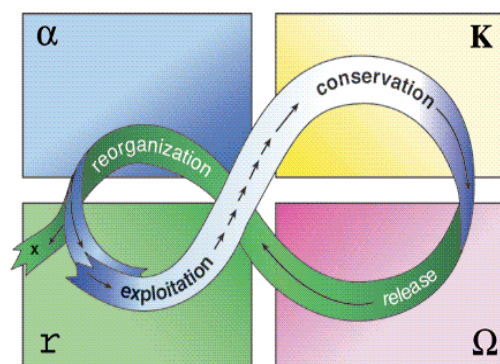
(Gunderson & Holling, 2002, p. 34)   (Zimmerman et al., 1998, p. 175)

Adaptive cycles in citizens' engagement are reflected in parallel adaptive cycles in the space in which they intervene. Rather than trying to sustain engagement and maintain the place as is, it should be expected that the effort will eventually lose

momentum and the site will exhibit signs of neglect. Attention should turn to trying to leave behind some seeds (literally and metaphorically) for the next cycle of growth, when a new wave of engagement will further transform the place. This is an issue that most citizen groups face and it is a particular challenge in settings where there is a regular turnover of engaged people, such as in the case of students. Efforts to sustainably transform a campus in Morelos, Mexico resulted in reflections about how to gradually invite deeper levels of participation; connecting the invitation to ride the bicycle powered water pump to subtle suggestions about watering plants at certain times, and then to small opportunities such as preparing a pot and hanging one's own plant on a wall arranged for this purpose. Provision of space and an invitation to develop one's own project within the larger project could follow for those who were ready to engage further.

Enabling emergent placemaking

As enhancing diversity is a key goal for emergent placemaking, it follows that this approach to placemaking is proposed as one among many. As it calls on the largely ignored resources offered by citizens and nature, it will be most welcomed where other resources are lacking, in the neglected public spaces or spaces in transition (post-industrial sites and others that are no longer fulfilling their former function). Sites which are beyond the capacity of local authorities to manage are likely to elicit less resistance to citizen intervention.

Manchester City Council staff spoke of how antagonism toward citizens' groups (which were perceived as anti-Council) diminished when they realised citizens could fill important gaps and revive places that had become no-go areas. Over time, a co-management relationship has evolved where Council staff bring resources and expertise that citizens lack and citizens inspire staff with their ideas and energy. Some staff have had their roles redefined so that instead of being one person carrying out a task, they support a team of volunteers to do a range of things. It is important that staff roles adapt and do not disappear. Volunteers cannot do everything and co-management of public space is, like other social-ecological systems, greater than the sum of its parts. Removal of an important component could undermine its resilience.

Park staff invited citizens to take over part of a formal garden which staff could no longer manage. In addition to other outcomes, the contrasting spaces elicited some interesting discussions.

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A small protected intervention in a place struggling to become inviting

Local authorities and supporting organisations also have a very important role to play in seeding the transformation of uninviting landscapes. Some sites (often post-industrial sites or sites in deprived areas) are perceived very negatively and their users or potential users/engagers are pessimistic about their potential. Deliberate efforts must be made to develop inviting characteristics and sustain them until the place moves into a more inviting state. Examples include: identifying and communicating a positive narrative through unearthing local history and/or renaming the place (Manchester has a good example of the former "Matthews Lane Tip" being transformed into "Nutsford Vale); cleaning up the site and continuing to clean it up until people's perception of the place changes; making changes in projected spaces (e.g. inaccessible spaces on a canal); keeping things small and simple (such as encouraging citizens to hang flower baskets); showing rapid visible results that rebuild confidence in people and place.

All sorts of sites have potential to invite emergent placemaking. They come in different shapes and sizes and may be under different types of ownership:

To members of the public, it is not the ownership of places or their appearance that makes them 'public', but their shared use for a diverse range of activities by a range of different people. If considered in this way, almost any place regardless of its ownership or appearance offers potential as public space. (Worpole & Knox, 2007, p. 4)

Connective spaces and corridors deserve special attention. Many urban dwellers struggle to find time to spend in particular places but some part of each day is usually devoted to movement. People's experience of the city and their quality of life is greatly affected by the character of transport corridors, and the attractiveness of these corridors can affect choices about how to move about with concomitant effects on health and wellbeing. Citizens cannot build and maintain motorways but they can look after the alleyways, towpaths, footpaths

and cycleways near where they live.

Portion of footpath/cycleway created and maintained by neighbours.

Conclusion

Emergent placemaking as formulated in this paper is not about designing places or even processes, it is concerned with designing an invitation. It seeks to create favourable conditions for collaboration among people, nature and urban spaces. Through this process, it aspires to engage a range of actors/actants in making more socially and ecologically resilient public spaces and cities.

The challenges in fully engaging citizens and nature in making and remaking public space remain significant. As Hamdi (2010, p. xvi) states: "the best way to tackle the primary constraints that get in the way of change, participation, emergence, whether in standards, cultural norms or legal dictates, is incrementally and with example." It is good to start small. It creates space for more diverse interventions and experimentation and leaves lots of room for learning and adapting allowing actors/actants to continue creating places according to their needs and dreams.

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