

## **Spaces of Activism – Physical and Social Thrombogenesis**

**Cigdem Sivri**

Grimshaw Architects

57 Clerkenwell Road, EC1M 5NG, London, UK

cigdemsivri@gmail.com

### **ABSTRACT**

Some recent urban transformation projects as a consequence of social activism show that society has the power to specify the problems generate solutions for them and heal its environment for a sustainable future. They also propose different type of public experience in terms of participation, activity and production. These transformation projects come forward as a subject of research for raised consciousness, triggering activism and transformative public sphere they foster.

Furthermore, social activism, resulting in transformation projects, changes the city structure and contributes to physical conditions. Many left-over plots and buildings are turned into lively portions of public scene. These potentials are mainly brought forward by the activist initiatives. Spatial needs, responsibility and sensitivity for the city propose spatial transformation and lead to urban developments.

Last but not least, this type of public space contributes to productivity, identity and improvement of neglected part of the society. It does not only allow participation and bring different groups together, but also encourages self-exploration and personal transformation. Overall, concept of social activism proposes possible organizational formations and spatial ideas for transformative public spheres.

**KEYWORDS:** public sphere, communicative action, activism, transformation, physical thrombogenesis, social thrombogenesis

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

Sustainability implies ‘fostering conditions physically, functionally, culturally and institutionally that prolong and nature life-generating forces for man’ (Phillips, 2003). It requires not only adaptation to changing conditions of life, but also continuous social progress. Social sustainability might be referred to as one of the most prominent issues of today for a society that is capable of adapting and being transformed. Society embraces complex relations of politics, economy, cultures, ecology; and these relations generate spaces of action. Through these actions, society has the potential to build collective consciousness for a sustainable future. Transformative public spheres might be generated by providing social forces that emerge through the creative power of art, culture or politics. This brings public spaces that foster this condition of activism and consciousness into focus.

Concerning the changes that came with capitalism, consumption has been the focus of public investment. Members of society are considered only as consumers instead of responsible actors of social progress. Consumption is being imposed on daily lives of individuals, making consumerism a big part of family life. Communication and social productivity is being detached from public life, and public discourse is being formed in other realms including science, art, morality, and jurisprudence formed by

scientists, artists, art critics, philosophers, socialists and people from many other professions. Subjects of these fields are hardly concerns of public sphere. Cities have been developing and transforming according to mentioned aspects of public life as well. Investments are mostly concentrated on iconic profitable consumption structures and business centres dominating the city. These accentuated districts leave rest of the city separate creating a strong division not only physically, but also socially. There is segregation between the urban clusters, the social groups living there and their public spaces. This physical and social division results in limitation of functions, users and, correspondingly, limited experiences, confrontations and social non-productivity.

What public spheres offer and cannot offer today opens up an investigation field for a public space which derives its force from communication and which is transformative for society, as in the first phases of modernism. The focus of this paper is the public spheres which contribute to social transformation and the physical environment. Some of the public intervention projects that have been recently realized, like the Station Chapelle-Kapellekerk and its surroundings in Brussels, het Schieblock and former Hofplein Station in Rotterdam, Volkskrantgebouw in Amsterdam, and formations of activists constitute promising and inspiring cases to investigate the possibility of aspired public spheres based on three main aspects:

The first one is the contribution of social activism to public sphere. Social activism can be explained briefly, as the state of being active in the fields which contribute to social transformation (arts, culture, science, politics, etc.), and expression of dissatisfaction and generated alternative solutions to existing practices. It is mainly experienced in speech actions and demonstration events, and is capable of raising social issues in public agenda and forming a public discourse. The communicative power behind this is the key concept that Jürgen Habermas introduces for transformative public spheres. The organizational structure and spatial conditions of these formations inhabit potentials for desired public spheres.

The second aspect is the contribution of activism to city structure and generated urban interventions. Many intervention projects have been developed for the unused, non-functioning parts of the city. The potential of these areas in the city are mainly discovered and exposed by activist formations and initiatives. Spatial needs, responsibility and sensitivity for the city propose physical transformation and lead to urban developments.

Finally, the third motivating aspect for the research has been the contribution of space to productivity and identity of neglected groups as well as integration of different social groups. Urban decisions and practices are important for the public structure of the city. The use of public spaces and the daily habits in public life can be improved or hampered by these decisions. How activist groups fit into the urban tissue, how they function and their structure can constitute a model for attracting different groups by the activities, comfort of use, practicality and sense of belonging. The conclusions derived from this research might propose possible programs and spatial ideas for transformative public spheres.

Following these findings, this paper focuses on one of the discovered transformation projects trying to answer the question, 'Can social activism be a healing force for the public sphere, the city structure as well as the social integration?' Public sphere has been a key subject for many authors like Jürgen Habermas and Hannah Arendt. Habermas introduces social reproduction as the necessity of a progressive society. He states that the emancipatory, liberating and progressive character of first phases of modernity created a new public sphere which is based on social reproduction (Habermas, 1989). He emphasizes its opportunity of formation of public opinion which will in turn influence the organization of society. This implies freedom of speech and expression as an important feature of a productive public sphere. Moreover, Arendt identifies the essence of public sphere as plurality (Arendt, 1958). Regardless of the social and economic backgrounds, and opinions of different social groups, they should have the same opportunity to use a public space. The contribution of the discovered transformation projects for public sphere will be based on these descriptions.

## **2 HIDDEN POTENTIALS**

Activism, the inception of transformation projects, occurs in different ways. It might start with few people and enlarge to millions, forming hubs in different countries. It might last only a few weeks, or for years, depending on the aims. Some movements gain rigid organizational structure; others occur only temporarily through assemblies. Some have legal activities; while others organize illegal events or function outside the law. The common characteristic of all is their spatial existence. They are generally based on the non-profit aims of activists and of the collective public, requiring space for their functioning without having financial or any kind of support from the authorities. They must create ways of financing themselves to get a space, or try to fit in the city structure illegally. Some of the movements are formed specifically for the transformation of space. Left-over structures can provide a great background for many creative activities and future investments. They might also attract the attention of authorities for further development in the area.

OT301 is one of the many examples of projects which, in Amsterdam, began with a group of activists claiming a space for their artistic works. (Web-2) The empty building offered an environment for living, working together and sharing. The Haunt of the Immigrants in Athens is another formation which used the potential of an old historical building, turning it into a political and cultural venue (based on the interview made with a member of the community, Greek Master Student Alexandros Petalas, on 28.07.2011). Many activists, as in these two cases, fit into areas of the city structure which are left-over and, therefore, affordable. Urban Resort, again in Amsterdam, however, is formed specifically to transform the unused city structure. The aim is to make empty buildings, like Volkskrantgebouw, meaningful parts of the public structure, engaging the public through cultural events (Web-4). Another activist formation which will be analysed further in this paper to discuss what they can physically and socially offer is Recyclart in Brussels. Recyclart is a non-profit organization not only functioning as an artistic laboratory and a creative centre, but it is also participating as a responsible actor in public arena through its role as a training centre (based on the interview made with the Artistic Coordinator of Recyclart Dirk Seghers on 07.04.2011). It was started with the intention of transforming a certain part of the city structure into a common space for public.

## **3 PHYSICAL THROMBOGENESIS**

Brussels is a city of contradictions. Similar to most other European cities, it has the rich historical European silhouette, but loosing most of it at the same time. Several traumas in the city have led to serious loss of history. The connection of the north and the south stations caused the demolition of most of the old structures in the city centre creating empty, undefined plots, and producing a totally new silhouette incompatible with the old structure (Figure 1). The presence of industry and flooding of the river left behind a problematic and neglected area in the city. There has not been much investment in the west side, and the streetscapes are marked by old, almost demolished facades, left-over spaces, rubbish, and industrial stockings. This part of the city is lacking in public services. The most important identity of Brussels is, now, that it is the capital of Europe and housing main departments of European Union. This brings some problems to the city as well as many possibilities. Requirements for accommodation, office and public structures required fast development. The location of bureaucratic structures today follows the historical pattern of bureaucratic settlement which is concentrated on the eastern part of the city (Figure 2, 3).



Figure 1: the construction of railway tunnel connecting the north and south stations



Figure 2: distribution of office space in Brussels



Figure 3: old and new city structure together

‘It is a city that has lost touch with its roots, with the water: a buried river, the soil turned over, its inhabitants evacuated, a disrupted and fragmented urban tissue, disproportionate dimensions, a strangled city in the grasp of its institutions, abandoned by its old inhabitants, overwhelmed by offices, by architecture which is the result of marketing and that despises quality’ (Plissart, 2004).

Where Recyclart is located at the moment is in the scared tissue of Brussels. Station Chapelle-Kapellekerk is part of the south-north railway connection within the historical ring. Disconnected from the central activities and the eastern bureaucratic development, Station Chapelle-Kapellekerk had

developed into a neglected waste area over the years. As the Artistic Coordinator of Recyclart Dirk Seghers explains, Recyclart started with the initiative of individual professionals with the idea of transforming the Station Chapelle-Kapellekerk area. With this aim, they collaborated with the municipality and European Commission. During this time, they got into touch with more people around the same goal. Their effort turned into a fruitful project for the city in terms of physical structure. The group initiated the Urban Pilot Project Recyclart in 1996 in cooperation with the Delegation for the Development of the Pentagon (Urban Development Department of the City of Brussels) and various other services. The project was submitted by the City of Brussels to the project group within the European Fund for Regional Development for approval. The European Commission approved the project in July 1997 for a period of three years. Part of the plan was to renovate and redesign the station area. (Web-1)

The Station Chapelle-Kapellekerk, which is not functioning as a train station anymore, has been transformed into a multi-functioning social centre. The station rooms have been converted into a unified whole of multifunctional areas that house a wide range of art forms and festivities, a café-restaurant, technical and artistic studios and a secretariat. The building disposes of all basic conveniences like heating, sanitary fittings, furniture, lighting and sound. The venue has a capacity of approximately 450 persons (up to a max of 650). The railway bridges function as an urban open-air gallery. The station square is home to loungers and skateboarders, a summer café terrace and open-air events. The spaces are flexible, able to adopt different activities. One side of the station is designed as a skate park by Recyclart and a collaborating architect. (Web-1) As a result, the area functions as an active organ of the live urban structure instead of being a dead tissue (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Recyclart in Brussels

#### 4 SOCIAL THROMBOGENESIS

In addition to the physical contradiction, Brussels displays quite diverse demography. There are many inhabitants with different ethnic backgrounds. This is mostly due to European Union departments with the positions they offer. Number of highly-educated and high-income residents has increased with the EU facilities displaying a great contrast with the working class. There are also people who moved for job opportunities and better life standards. Moroccans, Turkish and Africans constitute the majority of this group. Workers, low-salary group as well as the low-education group of the population mostly consist of these ethnic groups. Demographic maps reveal the fact that the western and northern part of the city is populated mostly by the immigrants (Figure 5). Moroccans constitute the largest foreigner population (8.1

%), followed by Italians (3.3 %), French (2.8 %) and Turkish (2.6 %) (de Winter, Musterd, 1998). Moroccan and the Turkish concentrate in the bordering neighbourhoods of 19th century ring on the west and northwest (de Winter, Musterd, 1998). Decline in industrial activities, for instance shutdown of the Renault Factory in Vilvoorde in 1997, and economic conditions in recent years have hit the working class, increasing the number of unemployed, income-level, level of schooling and access to public activities (de Winter, Musterd, 1998). Deprivation of good education, housing, employment and public opportunities contribute to bad conditions of their neighbourhoods and ‘their marginal socio-economic position’ (de Winter, Musterd, 1998).

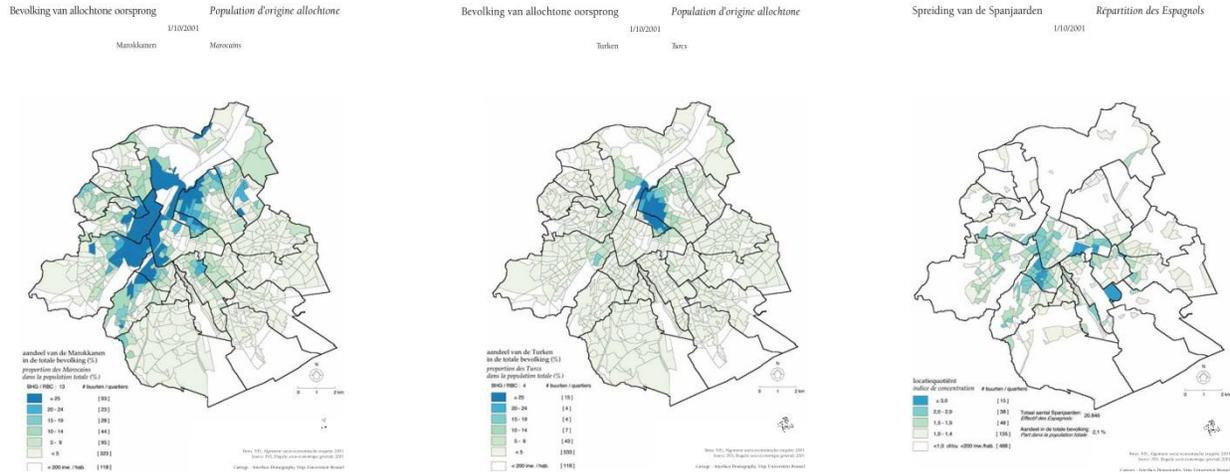


Figure 5: Distribution of Moroccan, Turkish and Italian population in the city

As demographic maps also reveal, there is a strong spatial and demographic division in the city. Income, unemployment, and ethnic background constitute the key variables for separation (de Winter, Musterd, 1998). There are large differences in the proportion of underprivileged groups and privileged high-income groups. While southern and eastern parts, with all the monumental, royal, administrative and public structures, are housing the prosperous citizens and constituting the priority for investments, the northern and western parts are mostly resided by the groups with low-income, low-education and without jobs (Figure 6, 7). While living together, social groups remain separate from each other without any integration.

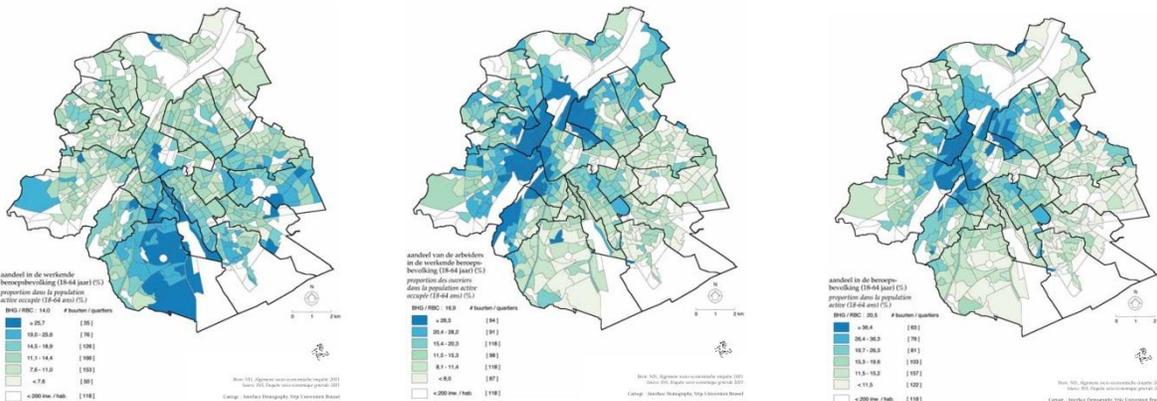


Figure 6: Distribution of population in the city according to work conditions: businessmen, self-employed and professionals; workers; job-seekers

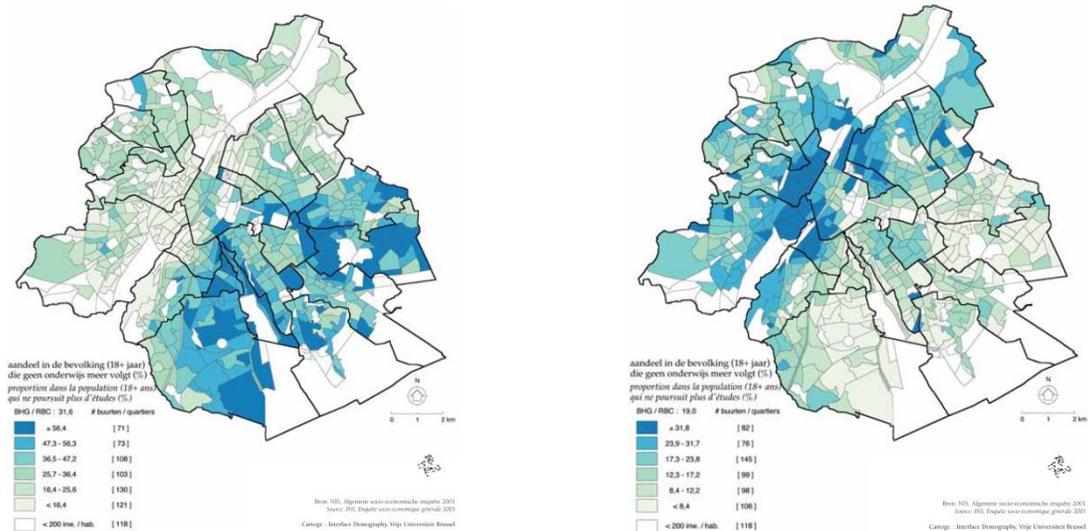


Figure 7: Distribution of population in the city according to education: high-education; low-education or without diploma

The Station Chapelle-Kapellekerk is almost a threshold between the two separate parts. It is within the neighbourhood of immigrants, facing the lively centre of the city. Potential of the area with its proximity to the centre attracted some housing investments on the south inviting prosperous groups. However, the surrounding of the station still remained as an empty unpleasant area separating immigrant groups and the new-comers. The purpose of Recyclart was not only to renovate and redesign the station area, but also to create a common ground for these disconnected groups, reconstruct the public domain and develop cultural and socio-economic activities that would reveal the potential and creativity of the townsfolk. Correspondingly, Recyclart is a non-profit organization which offers various activities for participation. It currently functions as an artistic laboratory, a creative centre for cultural confrontation, an actor in the municipal public arena, a training centre and a place for meeting and experiment.

In order to understand how they intend to respond to different groups, it would be helpful to have a look at the structure of the organization. The organization consists of 3 main sections: Art, Fabric and Bar/Restaurant. All kinds of artistic events and actions fall under the Art section. These events can be exhibitions, artistic projects or conferences inviting professionals, students, creative and active groups of the society. Fabric section organizes all sorts of things related to employment and education. There are 3 main workshops offering daily training and employment programs for long-term lowly educated unemployed: wood, metal and the infrastructure workshops. (Web-1) Participants of the workshops receive certificates after 2 years in the fields of education which they can use for job applications. The organization was aware of the fact that in order to reach the roots of the society, culture would not be the only stimulating factor. They were also interested in providing job opportunities for underprivileged. They aimed at community activities which would provide personal transformation through educational and economic means by picking up the potential and creativity of local people (based on the interview made with the Artistic Coordinator of Recyclart Dirk Seghers on 07.04.2011). Workshops also contribute to development of the individuals by requiring self-discipline. The last section Bar and Restaurant is the informal and spontaneous ground where different groups encounter, observe and exchange.

Subsequently, among many important contributions of the project are the self-exploration and transformation ground for the individual and various platforms to take part in for different social groups. Strategic location of the organization attracts underprivileged groups with the education and job opportunities. The number of unqualified and jobless people decreases in the area. Recyclart is stated to be an amplifier where people of differing wavelengths get together, a transitional area where people find

the inspiration to take their next steps and a laboratory where the mix of various ingredients often leads to fascinating reactions.

## 5 PUBLIC SPHERE

As stated earlier, Hannah Arendt identifies the essence of public sphere as plurality (Arendt, 1958). Jürgen Habermas also emphasizes the necessity of freedom of participation and access to channels, and mentions encounter, observation and self-expression as the essence of communication. Recyclart provides this preliminary condition of public sphere for communicative action and reaching understanding by what we call social thrombogenesis, bringing different groups together in a common ground without any monetary, physical or intellectual border. One of the goals of Recyclart was revitalizing the neglected area and public life of neglected social groups. Recyclart opened a stage for diversity and action in a specific part of Brussels. Providing the possibilities of encounter, expression and observation is one of the major features of this public space ‘where I appear to others as others appears to me, where man exists not merely like other living or inanimate things but make his appearance explicitly’ (Arendt, 1958).

Recyclart offers a wide range of indoor and outdoor activities – flexible, probing, open, up-to-date and inquisitive (based on the interview made with the Artistic Coordinator of Recyclart Dirk Seghers on 07.04.2011). Participants range from music students to local inhabitants. Performances including daily events like hair dressing also take place to attract the local inhabitants. Exhibitions of different fields are held with different participant profiles. Students of technical schools and universities arrange exhibitions of paintings, photographs, videos, sound, graphics, etc. These exhibitions are held regularly once in every month with different concepts by different groups (ex. Former drug edicts, homeless people). These monthly events can also be performances based on cultures including music, cooking, etc. Conferences are also organized by artistic section of the community. They can be related to any field of art (photography, graphic design, music, etc.) and also architecture. Disciplines and the public often find themselves in a refreshing confrontation by the diversity of events (based on the interview made with the Artistic Coordinator of Recyclart Dirk Seghers on 07.04.2011).

Furthermore, Recyclart contributes to public sphere by providing communication ground. Based on Habermas’ idea of structural transformation of the society, public sphere becomes one of the key topics embracing all the similarities and differences of the society. Within this diversity and complexity, ‘members of the society are constantly striving to come to terms with it, learning from it, and therefore, they are in a constant process of self-discovery and self-making’ (Habermas, 1984). This process relies very much on communication, one of the prominent aspects of public sphere. Individual knowledge or ideas contribute to all as long as they are exposed, moulded with others and become part of a consensus and, then, a major structured action. It is where individuals can turn their potentials into effective tools of social transformation. Habermas mentions legitimation of power via the medium of public discussions as the basic purpose of the public sphere (Horster, 1992). In his book *Theory of Communicative Action*, he describes communicative action as ‘communication in which people consciously and deliberately aim to reach intersubjective agreement as a basis for mutual understanding so as to reach an unforced consensus about what to do in the particular practical situation in which they find themselves’ (Habermas, 1984). Through the events that are organized like debates, discussions, conferences or thematic exhibitions, Recyclart opens up a realm for negotiation and verification of norms or ideas, forming lifeworlds and public opinion as Habermas states.

Individuals play an important role as the source of interests and knowledge as a consequence of their perception of the world, and as the constituents of communication and action; however, they are social beings and their individual worlds are shaped by and adapted to the common ideas. Habermas refers to lifeworld as the ‘horizon-forming context of processes of reaching understanding in which the entire stock of cultural, social and personality-forming knowledge is reflected’ (Habermas, 1984). It consists of the common knowledge gathered so far, collection of individual skills, experiences, the practice of problem solving and the intuitive convictions. Individual and the collective are two

phenomena continuously fluxing to each other. In that sense, activist formations like Recyclart constitute great potential to generate social transformation as the necessity of sustainable future by activating individuals and providing individual transformation. Recyclart develops cultural and socio-economic activities using the potential and arousing the creativity of the townsfolk. The organization offers job opportunities in addition to artistic and cultural public events which would contribute to social integration in the long term by self-discovery and development. This is what Habermas calls social reproduction. At first, individuals are not aware of their skills, what they are capable of and their potential. They are classified as unqualified. Then, they try and learn through the workshops; they start to discover their capabilities, gain self-discipline; they start to produce and express; and in this specific case, they even transform their environment spatially with the products of their self-learning. Activism, here, is rather making actors of life more conscious and aware of their skills and capabilities, and be able to reflect them to common knowledge.

Lastly, integration of everyday life is a subject to touch upon as a necessity for spatial co-existence and plurality in a public sphere. It brings casual meetings, spontaneity and diversity for the public space. Differentiation of functions leads to differentiation of users restricting the encounters. Spatial and temporal co-existence of various aspects of everyday life provides the ground for diversity and communication. Educational activities in Recyclart constitute part of daily lives of neglected groups. These activities not only provide them with certain skills and discipline, but also make them encounter other activities and groups, and be part of a bigger community other than their usual.

## **6 CONCLUSION**

With their physical and social impact, activist formations and their transformation projects have been a great source of inspiration for this research. As explained so far, generating transformation in urban tissue, individuals, social groups and public sphere, activist formations are compared to the thrombocytes in blood which heal the tissue through thrombogenesis. These projects contribute to healing the physical conditions of the city, first, by spotting the wounds, and then by initiating transformation in these areas. These locations are, primarily, places where underprivileged groups are concentrated as well. Healing the environment and providing the ground for use, these projects open up a communication field, especially, with these disconnected groups of society.

Left-over spaces, in general, can be forgotten, disregarded, postponed to be invested or even not realized as buildable plots. They can be small in size among other building structures or large between elements like railway tracks. Distance to the city centre and other public functions, inaccessibility, undeveloped environments might make the land or the structure invaluable and thus, ignored by investors. The difference that these activist organizations make is exactly at this point. They see the potential of left-over or neglected as a basis to be treated and turned into a functioning part of the city structure. In the case of Recyclart, Station Chapelle-Kapellekerk was also a wound in the city after being closed and turning into a waste area. It was few individuals who saw the potential of this existing structure for sheltering future public events which would also attract the attention of inhabitants and bring them together. Eventually, the project managed to extend its horizon and reach further than revitalization of the station building. The transformation of the railway arches continued with an addition of a skate park on the side. The area has turned into a lively neighbourhood with social diversity, pointing at other neglected parts close-by, ready to be transformed. This physical thrombogenesis, that these activist projects yield, proposes an alternative approach for urban transformation, an approach based on the creativity of people.

These projects constitute difference for generating social thrombogenesis besides physical contributions. Habermas' concept of public sphere is based on diversity, communication and transformation through building common knowledge and mutual verification as mentioned in previous sections. Most public spaces do not satisfy this condition currently. However, cases like Recyclart show that such transformation projects form public spaces that contribute to communication, exchange, individual and social transformation. Initiatives like Recyclart rather work with people and for people to

create ever-changing places and inspiring melting pots of creative, intercultural and inter-generational exchange (Web-1). The station is both an area for reflection on the urban phenomenon and a hub for generating artistic intervention in the public arena. It devises projects and concepts that link people, various media, expressions and sectors all with a productive end result in mind (Web-1). The place is rather inclusive, accessible to all, inviting and with democratic use. Events that aim especially at social integration make the space informative and even more attractive for neglected or excluded groups of society. These public spaces become 'sites of power, of common action coordinated through speech and persuasion' (Calhoun (ed.), 1992). Considering all the benefits, encouraging and even making such projects part of urban transformation policy would not only heal the wounds of the city structure, but also result in social integration, individual transformation and a more aware, conscious and productive; thus, transformative public spheres.

## **7 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The first steps of this research were taken during my first year Master's Project and Master's graduation project in TU Delft. I would like to thank my mentors Hans Teerds and John Heintz for their guidance through this phase. I also would like to express my deepest appreciation and gratitude to my family, who always supported me even from far away, to my dear friend Jurtin Hajro for his encouragement and support and to Steven Bevan, Lyndal Brown, Philip Rowden and Valerie Saavedra Lux for their time and effort for editing.

## **REFERENCES**

- A. Berlage Institute Project, 2004. Brussels – A Manifesto Towards the Capital of Europe, NAI Publishers, Rotterdam.
- C. Calhoun (ed.), 1992. Habermas and the Public Sphere, the MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London.
- C. Phillips, 2003. Sustainable Place – A Place of Sustainable Development, Willey Academy.
- D. Horster, 1992. Habermas: an Introduction, Pennbridge Books, Philadelphia.
- GUST (the Ghent Urban Studies Team), 1999. The Urban Condition: Space, Community and Self in the Contemporary Metropolis, 010 Publishers, Rotterdam.
- H. Arendt, 1958. The Human Condition, University of Chicago Press, Chicago/London.
- J. Habermas, 1984. Reason and the Rationalization of Society in "the Theory of Communicative Action Vol. 1," Beacon Press, Boston.
- J. Habermas, 1989. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- L. de Caeter (ed.), 2000. Vacant City – Brussels' Mont des Arts Reconsidered, NAI Publishers, Brussels.
- M. Hajer, A. Reijndorp, 2002. In Search of New Public Domain, NAI Publishers, Rotterdam.

M.F. Plissart, 2004. *Change : Brussels capital of Europe*, Prisme, Brussels.

S. Kemmis, and R. McTaggart, 2005. *Participatory Action Research: Communicative Action and the Public Sphere* in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.) "Handbook of Qualitative Research (3rd Ed.)," Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 559-604.

S. Musterd, M. De Winter, 1998. Brussels, DUP.

S. Musterd, M. de Winter, 1998. *Towards Undivided Cities in Western Europe, New Challenges for Urban Policy*, Delft University Press, Delft.

T. Avermaete, K. Havik and H. Teerds (eds.), October 2009. *Into the Open Accommodating the Public in "OASE #77,"* NAI Publishers, Rotterdam.

T. Avermaete, K. Havik, H. Teerds (eds.), 2009. *Architecture, Modernity and the Public Sphere in "Architectural Positions,"* SUN Publishers, Amsterdam.

Web-1: Recyclart, 2011. Available from: <<http://www.recyclart.be/fr/fabrik>>.

Web-2: OT301, 2011. Available from: <<http://ot301.nl>>.

Web-3: het Schieblock, 2011. Available from:  
<[http://www.zus.cc/work/urban\\_politics/162\\_Schieblock.php](http://www.zus.cc/work/urban_politics/162_Schieblock.php)>.

Web-4: Urban Resort, 2011. Available from:  
<<http://www.urbanresort.nl/project/detail/Volkskrantgebouw/3>>.

Figure 1: the construction of railway tunnel connecting the north and south stations (photo). In: A Berlage Institute Project, 2004. *Brussels – A Manifesto Towards the Capital of Europe*, NAI Publishers, Rotterdam, p. 59.

Figure 2: distribution of office space in Brussels (illustration). In: A Berlage Institute Project, 2004. *Brussels – A Manifesto Towards the Capital of Europe*, NAI Publishers, Rotterdam, p. 36.

Figure 3: old and new city structure together (digital image), viewed 13 February 2014, <<http://wikimapia.org/2490/Charlemagne-Building>>.

Figure 4: Recyclart in Brussels (digital image), viewed 13 February 2014, <<http://www.spottedbylocals.com/brussels/recyclart/>>.

Figure 5: Distribution of Moroccan, Turkish and Italian population in the city (map). In: Didier Willaert, Patrick Deboosere, 2005. *Atlas des Quartiers de la Population de la Region de Bruxells - Capitale au debut du 21eme Siecle*, Ministere de la Region de Bruxelles – Capitale, Institut Bruxellois de Statistique et d'Analyse, Brussels, p. 27, 37, 31.

Figure 6: Distribution of population in the city according to work conditions: businessmen, self-employed and professionals; workers; job-seekers (map). In: Didier Willaert, Patrick Deboosere, 2005. *Atlas des Quartiers de la Population de la Region de Bruxells - Capitale au debut du 21eme Siecle*, Ministere de la Region de Bruxelles – Capitale, Institut Bruxellois de Statistique et d'Analyse, Brussels, p. 53, 51, 55.

Figure 7: Distribution of population in the city according to education: high-education; low-education or without diploma (map). In: Didier Willaert, Patrick Deboosere, 2005. *Atlas des Quartiers de la Population de la Region de Bruxells - Capitale au debut du 21eme Siecle*, Ministere de la Region de Bruxelles – Capitale, Institut Bruxellois de Statistique et d'Analyse, Brussels, p. 59, 56.

