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Cities for the People: Evaluating Democratic Spatial Practices in Bogotá and New York City

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ABSTRACT

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The essence of public space has been perpetually challenged at the behest of corporate interests, globalization pressures, and neoliberal policies, resulting in excessive privatization and surveillance of space. This thesis argues that the effects of neoliberal policies have significantly altered the appearance and maintenance of public space. The goal of the research was to gain a deeper understanding how neoliberalism is reflected in the quality of public space and to determine the nature and perception democratic spatial practices in the two cities. To inform this qualitative study, interviews and surveys were conducted through Reddit to engage with residents of each city and ascertain their firsthand experiences in their respective public realms. Determining the extent of neoliberalist practices in each of these cities can inform policymakers, planners, and public space activists that wish to resist against an encroachment on the public space.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The future of public space is at stake. As private entities and public-private partnerships gain greater influence over the manifestation of our parks and streets, the very nature and concept of the public realm becomes further diluted. While public space has remained contested and never guaranteed, the past 30 years have marked momentous shift away from any semblance of openness or publicness. In theory, public space was designed as a realm of free thinking, open controversy, and heated debate. Disagreements and tensions encouraged, the public realm was considerably unrestricted – seemingly open to all those who wished to listen and be heard. In this way, the commons had historically been the place where diverse thinkers could assemble to discuss freely, unfettered by regulation and restrictions and to some extent, protected from the powers of the state. According to Nancy Fraser, public space is intended to be "unbounded, expansive space of social interaction, and free exchange of ideas" (Low, 2006, 43). At the same time, scholars note that in actuality, public space is perpetually contested and always in a state of emergence. Some of what Fraser speaks of can be seen today in some public spaces, particularly regarding protesting which has historically been conducted in the public realm. However, the existence of public space, particularly in the past 30 years has been fraught with excessive policing, monitoring of behavior, the exclusion of "undesirables", and the growing distrust of the manipulative freeloader (Berney, 2016, 8).

The dissolution of public space brings with it concerns of a gradual shift away from democracy and towards authoritarianism - an impending reality for many communities around the globe. Jeffery Hou, in *City Unsilenced* paints a bleak picture of public space as a place for "mobilization and organized resistance and as a space simultaneously threatened by neoliberal urban development and policing… important for examining linkages between shrinking

democracy and urban resistance" (Hou, 2017, 10). The right to public space has become a battle between residents and movements who desire the right to resist and exist, and corporations and the state that wish to maintain order and present an image of the city as a desirable landscape.

The effects of globalization, characterized by the free flow of capital and an increasingly integrated economy, have arisen in tandem with neoliberal policies that prioritize the market above all else, including the public realm. Felt on a global scale, the materialization of neoliberal policies come in many forms, but are unified in their intent to exercise control. Militarization, surveillance, and private-public partnerships are a few of the strategies employed by public and private entities alike in order to craft a sanitized image of the public sphere in order to attract development and capital. In the face of this encroachment on public space and democracy at large, communities, movements, and jurisdictions on occasion are attempting to reframe public space and return it rightfully to the people, a concept known as the *democratization of space*. With a current political environment that brings with it concerns of dissolvement of free speech and the disestablishment of the public realm through excessive privatization, investigating and evaluating methods on democratizing space as a form of resistance against this push are essential.

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate how surveillance, disinvestment, and privatization have influenced the public spaces of Bogotá and New York City, two unique cities that have shared similar, overarching struggles. Additionally, this research looks into some of the acts of resistance that attempt to democratize public space in order to critically evaluate them. By comparing two distinct cities, this research presents a breadth of observations that reflect the lasting and diverse repercussions of neoliberalism in Global North and Global South cities. Investigating these methods is a critical form of resistance and can function as a guiding

framework for cities and communities to push back against this disestablishment of the public realm. The goal of this work is to serve planners, policymakers and public space activists that wish to counteract growing pressures for a heavily monitored and unauthentic public realms. Along with this, the research can direct these groups to best practices for maintaining equitable, just, and accessible public space.

While there has been considerable dialogue behind the motivations of this eradication of the public realm and what these conflicts manifest as across the globe, there lacks a comparative synthesis of democratization endeavors. If analyses of democratization practices are conducted, they typically only exist as individual analysis rather than a comprehensive manual of public space reclamation processes. The work of scholars, planners, sociologists, and anthropologists alike will inform a methodical and in-depth research of the two cities. The following questions will direct the research process:

1. What are the recognizable physical forms or public space uses that illustrate neoliberalism in New York City and Bogotá?
2. What are the democratic spatial practices in use in these three cities?

By addressing these research questions, the research attempts to provide indicators that determine and quantify what neoliberal tactics of control appear as in public space and underscore what it means to reorient cities back towards the people.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Concerns of a shrinking public realm are universally felt. Researchers from many disciplines have studied the shifts from public to private, self and society, open and enclosed. With each analysis comes different facets of study, some approach the neoliberalization of the public realm through a political economy lens while others may view its deterioration through an anthropological or social theory-based understanding. Regardless of methodology, these multidisciplinary scholars have designated one of the main catalysts of this disinvestment as neoliberal politics and policies and its response to addressing unfavorable behavior. Along with exploring the motivations behind the phenomenon, researchers have attempted to elucidate the impact and significance of democratic spatial practices.

1. How Did We Get Here?

As we see a notable shift between today's public spaces and those of earlier times, we may speculate as to what has led to this drastic reconfiguration. Unsurprisingly, there are several factors at play as well as large-scale economic and cultural shifts that have significantly tested the ebbs and flows of the public sphere. While some of these shifts have been witnessed on a global scale, others are more location-specific and arise in response to specific concerns or pressures of a city, region, or country. But it is generally acknowledged that the restructuring of the role of government, the rise of market-centric policies, and the decentralization of the economy at the hands of globalization have played an integral role in creating an increasingly contested public realm.

Setha Low and Neil Smith in *The Politics of Public Space* point to the decay of 20th century American liberalism as an essential catalyst for the coordinated disinvestment in public space and public services (Low & Smith, 2006, 1). Low and Smith note that the eradication of

liberalism was sparked by "reactions against the liberatory maelstrom of 1960s politics" (Low & Smith, 2006, 1). An aversion to more progressive and liberal political agendas was supported by lagging capitalism and fiscal crises of the 1970s that legitimized questioning the value of public institutions (Blackmar, 2006, 66). During the 1980s, the growing support of neoliberal policies and politicians laid the foundations for the Reagan administration to exercise a "well-orchestrated assault" on the sense of public responsibility for the collective social life (Katz, 2006, 111). This was exemplified by the "tax rebellions" that prompted significant reductions of all forms of social welfare and programming while advocating for the privatization of education, childcare, health care, and public space and social security (Katz, 2006, 111). Governments during the 1970s and 1980s, bolstered by an increasingly decentralized economy, bemoaned the ineffective expenditures on the public realm as unnecessary. During this time, laissez-faire capitalism became the norm, which Nancy Fraser in *Rethinking the Public Sphere* argues does not foster socio-economic equality (Fraser, 1990, 74). The reestablishment of the market as the dominant institution endeavored to minimize state intervention and regulations (Blackmar, 2006, 63). This burgeoning neoliberal political atmosphere came in tandem with the property rights movement which invoked the tragedy of the commons to effectively discredit any economic regime other than that of the free market (Blackmar, 2006, 73). This disregard for public services, which began towards the latter half of the 1970s, has continued today and shaped how the public realm is perceived and maintained.

Although the melding of fiscal conservatism and neoliberal politics, denoted as *revanchism* by Neil Smith, may have initially been a right-wing prerogative, its effects reached across party lines to additionally influence so-called liberal administrations (Michell, 2003, 164). Revanchism, a type of revenge against the liberal extravagance and overspending of the 1960s,

took American politics by a storm as it boldly claimed its goal to reinstate traditional values back into American society. The goal of this political movement (which was part of the overarching neoliberal regime) was to reinstate lawfulness and order into a nation that had supposedly been riddled with subversiveness (Mitchell, 2003, 164).

The growing dominance of neoliberalism in the 1980s coupled with advancements in technology brought the additional factor of globalization as a key player in the solidification of the neoliberal political landscape. Globalization occurred synonymously with decentralization, which Harvey notes is one of the primary vehicles for producing greater inequality (Harvey, 2012, 83). According to Jeff Hou in *City Unsilenced*, the neoliberal city is constructed by the following factors: urban renewal driven by global and international developers and investors, gentrification-led restructuring of urban centers, the marketization of cities through branding, and the outsourcing of manufacturing to the Global South (Hou, 2017, 6). The effects of globalization are felt across the globe, where pressures to appear globally actualized or world-class push cities to become advertising campaigns. In this process, the notion of public responsibility is jettisoned as the workforce is redefined and globalized, delegating the responsibility for social reproduction to the private realm across disparate geographies (Katz, 2006, 111). Ananya Roy in *Are Slums the Global Urban Future* notes this conundrum in Mumbai, where mounting pressures to create world-class city prompt gentrification, displacement, and attempted erasure of informality and blight (Roy, 2014). Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil in *From Global to Globalizing Cities Theory* articulate that in a city's process to realize their global city ambitions, patterns of polarization and contestation emerge, especially in cities in the Global South where western urban ideals are superimposed on cities that have vastly different methods of spatialization and urban form (Keil & Ren, 2018). When the state becomes

increasingly focused on the accruement of capital on a global market rather than the quality of public goods and services, the very essence of public realm becomes muddled.

David Harvey in *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* discusses how the Wall Street has "ruled unchallenged" in the United States for far too long (Harvey, 2012, 159). Wall Street's influence has extended from the legislative to judiciary realms where their appointments are approved and influenced by Presidents and those in Congress. According to Harvey, Wall Street's universal principle is that there shall be no challenge of the "absolute power of money to rule absolutely". In this case, public spaces and public goods are seen to inhibit this accumulation of wealth, particularly when public space is seen as riddled with subversiveness (Harvey, 2012, 159). The strategy involves employing taxation practices that permit them to eradicate the public coffers, implementing complicated regulatory systems, and endeavoring to exclude the public from much of what passes for public space (Harvey, 2012, 160). The latter spractice is typically executed by utilizing surveillance and if needed, criminalization and incarceration to inhibit those who do not broadly adhere to their mandates. This method of control not only exists within private property but has expanded its influence to the public realm.

Scholars and researchers have pointed to the decline of the public realm and general understanding of civics at the hand of larger political movements. But this shift may have been additionally bolstered by changing cultural norms and beliefs, particularly those distinguishing between private and public life. Michael Brill in *Transformations in Public Life and Public Place* cites Karl Marx's argument that capitalism affects society's behavior and predisposes them to invest more feeling in the private realm and less feeling in neighborhood life as a whole (Brill, 1989, 13).

The evolution (or devolution) of public space has been largely prompted by the shifting political landscape. The rise of neoliberalism, the formalized reestablishment of a capitalist regime, and the effects of globalization have influenced how public space is maintained today.

2. Privatization in Practice

The repercussions of neoliberalism and neoliberal politics of public spaces take on multiple forms. They may vary in their approach but often share the similar nexus of desire to control. Setha Low and Neil Smith in *The Politics of Public Space* note that the control of public space is a very central strategy of neoliberalism (Low & Smith, 2006, 15). Our public spaces have been shaped intentionally in the shadows of neoliberalism and capitalist forces that tend to favor control, order, privatization of formerly public spaces, and easily surveilled spaces that pose little conflict. What do these strategies look like in practice? These practices of enclosure and circumscription of the public realm range from subtle (or more passive) to more active forms of control. Neoliberal policies of control are particularly insidious as they often do not pass as endeavoring to restrict or limit public space use. Although they may appear altruistic, these strategies are implemented strategically to curb subversive and unpleasant uses to conjure up an appealing, commodified spectacle (Mitchell, 2003, 138). Regardless of the specific strategy at hand, the gradual reconfiguration of public spaces at the behest of private interests and corporate investment poses a serious threat to the future of public space, or what is left of it.

State-sponsored disinvestment has muddled the boundaries between what is private or public, resulting in increasing incursions by private entities and other neoliberal practices that have transformed public space and placed it into corporate or commercial hands (Low, 2006, 82). Katz notes that this handoff only reinforced the uneven relations of power and privilege and that privatization of public spaces rendered parks in low-income neighborhoods and less visible

areas to languish unimproved (Katz, 2006, 118). Mark Francis in *Control as a Dimension of Public Space Quality* highlights that public spaces have become increasingly privatized and that private interests—merchants, bankers, developers, and property owners—have become key stakeholders in the making and managing of public spaces (Francis, 1989, 161). Over the past 30 years, these groups have frequently held strong influence over public space design and policy. In fact, the rights of private entities and property developers have superseded the rights of the public as a whole. David Harvey argues that most concepts regarding the public realm are individualistic and property based and do little to challenge the hegemonic liberal and neoliberal modes of legality and state action (Harvey, 2012, 3). Harvey takes this sentiment one step further by arguing that the rights of private property and profit trump all other notions of rights (Harvey, 2012, 3). As a result, urban form and the public realm at large have been especially vulnerable to the asymmetry of power that favors the private sector. Like Low, Smith, and Blackmar, Zukin points to the 1970s as a turning point, where federal funding and the repercussions of fiscal crises compelled governments to prioritize pleasing private investors, including holders of municipal bonds, property developers, and directors of large banks and corporations (Zukin, 1991, 53).

But what does privatization of the public realm look like in practice today? Don Mitchell, Neil Smith and Setha Low note that the "sealing off of a public space by brute force, redesigning it, and then opening it with intensive surveillance and policing is a common precursor to its private management" (Low, 2006, 83). One of the classical examples of private management are Business Improvement Districts. Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are organizations where a group of businesses or property owners collaborate and allocate funding to bolster service and maintenance of streets and public spaces that the state might initially have been responsible for

maintaining. BIDs are especially powerful as private organizations as they can tax local businesses and retail establishments to provide private services that include special policing, trash removal, or street renovation (Low, 2006, 83). Setha Low in *How Private Interests Take Over Public Space* notes that BIDs exemplify one of the major strategies for privatization as they effectively hold the agency to monitor and control local streets and parks (Low, 2006, 83). In New York City and across the United States, BIDs effectively privatize public space, where parks within a BID are fenced and guarded by private security guards to eliminate the presence of homeless people (Low, 2006, 83). These nebulous organizations have allowed wealthy residents of countless cities to pay for landscapes of social reproduction for only themselves, solely improving the spaces within their gaze, but leaving others out (Katz, 2006, 118).

Another common privatization strategy in the United States are park conservancies, which under the guise of stewardship for public spaces, leave private citizens in charge of funding and running formerly public spaces. As one would expect, this poses a conflict of interest, as the motivations of private entities may not align with the supposed responsibilities of the state. Lastly, a more globalized privatization strategy includes the practice of gated communities, conservation easements, generalized enclosures and even the purchasing of public land by private entities. These appropriations are welcomed and even encouraged by the state, which rarely rejects a proposal that will require that it to spend less than it already does.

When private entities co-opt public space, a radical transformation in the dynamics of ownership are at play (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, 151). Private property owners hold the preemptive right of exclusion. According to Jeremy Waldron, public property is essential to all people, but especially those who face homelessness, as public spaces are the only places where homeless individuals can actually exist (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, 151). The ways in which

public property is governed and maintained establishes which individuals and groups of people are allowed into or barred from the public realm (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, 151). When the upkeep and policing of public spaces falls into to the hands of business owners (through BIDs, conservancies, or otherwise) the very essence of publicness is drastically altered. As mentioned previously, the need to shore up images of civility and control in public space is part of a long dialogue regarding the institutionalized effects neoliberalism, capitalism, globalization, and the repercussions of numerous fiscal crises during the 1970s and 80s. According to Mitchell and Staeheli, the need to tame public space has earlier connotations in urban renewal practices, white flight, and state-sponsored disinvestment that has been at play since the 1950s. These aforementioned practices, in addition to the overarching political and ideological shifts, were hinged around maintaining carefully controlled spectacle (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, 153). In this way, gated communities, business improvement districts, park conservancies effectively turn public space into *implicitly privatized space*—spaces that are formally owned by the state and the public but are "subject to control and regulation by private interests" (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, 153 Maharawal, 2017, 38). Don Mitchell, in *Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* notes that the appropriation of public space by private entities has become increasingly commonplace and even expected, where proper behaviors are articulated by signage, surveillance cameras, and other strategies of control (Mitchell, 2003, 2).

3. The Embourgeoisement of the City: Parallels in 19th Century Paris

One may think that the relinquishing of public responsibility by the state is a novel shift. However, the tale of selective investment and systematic enclosure is not new by any means, as similar sentiments can be found in the 19th Century bourgeois renewal of Paris under Napoleon III, and to a lesser extent, the United States in the mid to late 1800s. The delineation of an

"appropriate public" that is permitted to use public space harkens back to 19th century Europe and much of what is seen in public space today holds integral similarities to its Parisian counterpart.

Perhaps the most prolific example of the reconfiguring of a city to appeal to bourgeois taste is Haussmann's famed restructuring of Paris during the Second Empire. Ordered by Emperor Napoleon III, Georges-Eugene Haussmann worked diligently to create a Paris that was far removed from its squalid and dense past. David Harvey in *The Political Economy of Public Space* cites a Baudelaire poem entitled "Eyes of the Poor" that captures a range of themes and beliefs that arose with Haussmann's interventions (Harvey, 2006, 19). The poem tells the story of a conversation between Baudelaire and his lover who sit out in front of a café that abuts the corner of the new boulevard. Whilst sitting and remarking upon the splendor, Baudelaire and his lover see a haggard, impoverished man carrying with him a small group of weak and sickly children. The sight of this poor family evokes an almost strange sort of fetishization of the poor from Baudelaire, while his lover immediately declares the sight of the children as "insufferable" and requests Baudelaire to have them sent away. Harvey notes that this prose highlights the contested nature of public space and exemplifies the porous nature between the boundaries of public and private (Harvey, 2006, 19). Harvey declares, quoting Richard Sennett, that the "right to the city" had been appropriated as a bourgeois prerogative in the mid-19th century. And in the case of Baudelaire and his lover, the right to the city and to public space extends towards those who have the privilege of turning a blind eye to images of poverty and insufficient support.

Haussmann's work was just as much a process of beautification of Paris as it was a coordinated exercise of exclusion, effectively dispelling industry and the working class from the central city (Harvey, 2006, 21). The splendor of the boulevards was remarkably controlled,

which Haussmann mandated with a sort of 19th century form-based code equivalent that mandated design criteria and aesthetic forms for construction (Harvey, 2006, 21). The reinvented Paris which Haussmann so diligently pursued aimed to not only exemplify imperial splendor and bourgeois affluence but also military security, as the widened, improved boulevards allowed for military forces and heavily armed police to take control.

But what significance does Paris' Haussmannization have on the plight of public space today? Although some aspects may differ, the bourgeois expectation of class homogeneity remains present in how public space is surveilled and controlled today. Former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani enforced, to the best of his capacity, class homogeneity in removing homeless and panhandlers away from the bourgeois gaze (Harvey, 2006, 22). Mike Davis speaks of a similar reality in Los Angeles where residents live brutally divided between "fortified cells of affluent society and places of terror where the police battle the criminalized poor" (Davis, 2006, 224). Public space has faced a gradual enclosure and circumscription to create a sense of safety and sanitized splendor for the 20th and 21st century bourgeois. This alluring spectacle of a city driven by capital solidifies the notion that the "right to the city" is not a privilege to be shared evenly. Haussmannization as a movement that sanctioned reshaping of a city represents not only the militarization of the city but a consumption-driven, capitalist city in which dedicated areas of commercial activity were designed for the bourgeois Parisians. When described in this fashion, Haussmannization is not as distant as one might have initially speculated, but in some forms is still present in countless revanchist administrations" (Low & Smith, 2006, 2). Although Zukin, in *Landscapes of Power,* speaks of the neoliberal entrepreneurialism of over a century later, the sentiments are still remarkably pertinent to Second Empire Paris: "While most people really want to enjoy the pleasures of fine buildings and beautiful urban spaces, the processes that

create them make the city more abstract, more dependent on capital flows, and more responsive to the organization of consumption than the organization of production" (Zukin, 1991, 54). In pursuing imageable and appealing spaces that evoked gentility, the Paris of yesterday and countless cities today have transformed in response to pressures of commodification and capitalism—an eerily familiar conundrum. At its core, Haussmannization was an example of political suppression, driven by the fear of internal insurrection that could pull at the seams of social order. And to some extent, we see an adapted form of this coordinated social and spatial control in many public spaces today.

4. Appropriating the Commons

The co-opting of common property at the behest of private entities is legitimized through the argument that private organizations are inherently more effective and efficient than their public counterparts. Referring to the often-quoted piece, *The Tragedy of the Commons,* Harvey builds upon this discourse to discuss the threats of commodification of the commons. Traditionally, the "tragedy of the commons" was a prerogative coined by biologist Garett James Hardin regarding the belief that the welfare state was to blame for the overexertion of natural resources. Hardin refuted the statement that "decisions reached individually would be the best decisions for society" by arguing that an individual would be most likely inclined to act in a way that would maximize his or her personal benefit (Blackmar, 2006, 64). Utilizing the analogy of cattle grazing in a communal field, dubbed as "the commons", Hardin stated that each individual would increase the number of cattle on the field until the natural resources of the common were completely eradicated. As one can naturally surmise, Hardin believed that the welfare state was woefully incompetent and inefficient in ensuring that the commons were not overutilized and used this sentiment to advocate against most Human Rights discourse.

Elizabeth Blackmar in *Appropriating the Commons* notes that Hardin's piece somehow made its way into the throes of the burgeoning property rights movement in the 1970s and 1980s (Blackmar, 2006, 64). Private property enthusiasts equated Hardin's "commons" to the public realm, utilizing his argument to declare the public sphere as over-exhausted, wasteful, and inept. Property rights advocates utilized Hardin's argument to effectively discredit and attack the public sector and common property, while celebrating the "stewardship of private property and privatization (Blackmar, 3006, 65). Hardin may have not intended to have his argument appropriated by those who were concerned with the overstepping of the state, but at its essence, his work fanned the wariness and skepticism of many who believed that the government as a welfare state was imparting more harm than it did any good. It allowed property rights activists (who were increasingly gaining ground in the political system) to admonish and relinquish funding of the commons for fear of enabling "freeloaders" that relied on government handouts without reciprocity. This growing animosity towards the misinformed perception of a free-loading, low-income individual elicited a gradual depletion of investment in public projects, including housing, support-programs, and parks and recreation.

David Harvey in *Rebel Cities* notes that the superimposition of the Tragedy of Commons analogy on the property rights movement is mistaken. According to Harvey, Hardin's conundrum of common land losing productivity at the behest of individual interests cannot be utilized in the privatization discourse because "private property in cattle and individual utility-maximizing behavior that lie at the heart of the problem, rather than the common-property character of the resource" (Harvey, 2012, 68). In Harvey's belief, private property rights advocates falsely equated the *Tragedy of the Commons* to the inefficiency of public space when its initial goal was to point out the inherent self-interest that motivates individual behavior.

Regardless of its intent, the *Tragedy of the Commons* has been utilized to legitimize the exclusion of freeloaders that exhaust the system and only allow members of an appropriate public to engage in the use of a very privatized public. Mitchell expresses that this so called "public" in the shadows of a capitalist society as actually a "voluntary community of private (and usually propertied) citizens" (Mitchell, 2003, 133). Or to put it more succinctly, enclosing and limiting access to public space so that it is made available by an appropriate public (Mitchell, 2003, 122). This exclusionary appropriate public often adopts a language of inclusiveness, exemplified in Robert Tier's belief that anti-homeless laws in public space will ensure that all can enjoy, including "those with Armani suits and those with nose rings; elderly people and gay couples; residents and visitors; rich, middle, and struggling classes" (Mitchell, 2003, 16). Even ideals of inclusivity are commodified, so that every person seemingly has a right to public space even though those who have nowhere else to be are excluded from this sentiment.

It is also important to note that while public space advocates often criticize the strategic enclosure of space, not all forms of enclosure are inherently harmful or detrimental to the public realm (Harvey, 2012, 70). Recalling the acts of enclosure to protect environmental areas and species, Harvey states that the "production and enclosure of non-commodified spaces in a ruthlessly commodifying world is surely a good thing" (Harvey, 2012, 70). The issue arises when the public commons are sealed off from certain members of the public to become exclusionary commons. These appropriations of the commons come in the forms of previously mentioned organizations such as Business Improvement Districts, Conservancies or Friends of Parks organizations. The appropriating of public property at the hands of private interests undermines the core tenets regarding whom public space is for.

Those who would have bemoaned at the languishing and inefficient public property scheme would be pleased with the perpetual commodification and circumscription of the commons. Elizabeth Blackmar in *Appropriating the Commons* virulently criticizes the property rights movement's tactless berating of public commons by stating that it "runs an endless loop of propaganda, continuing to invoke the tragedy of commons to discredit any economic regime other than that of the free market while paying lip service to voluntary community control where the market doesn't quite work" (Blackmar, 2006, 73).

This commodification that Mitchell speaks of with the "Armani businessmen" is supposed to construe feelings of ubiquitous benevolence. But this could not be further from reality. This well-packaged appealing, aestheticized image is a cohesive strategy to allow capitalist forces to create this Disneyfication, a well-orchestrated image of a controlled, theme park spectacle, that has supposedly crept beyond the theme park to infiltrate public spaces. Mitchell argues this commodification and packaging of archetypal public spaces to create a consumerist landscape, is a *pseudopublic* space where "control-led diversity, bound up in the homogenizing forces of brand-oriented consumption, is more profitable than the promotion of unconstrained social difference" (Mitchell, 2003, 139). Essentially, this *pseudopublic* invokes idyllic images of public space without the inherent contestations. This so-called constrained diversity appears in corporate plazas to privately owned public spaces. According to Sharon Zukin, this disneyfied *psuedopublic* space endeavors to create marketable landscapes instead of unscripted social interaction, which may threaten exchange value (Mitchell, 2003, 140).

Michael Sorkin offers a similar appraisal of commodified, transitional public realm. Sorkin goes one step further to argue that the proliferation of technology has removed place-based existence from the rhetoric to create a city without place attached to it (Sorkin, 1992, xi).

Denoted as a television city or a city as theme park, Sorkin dubs this as the architecture of deception that is predicated on the idea of pure imageability and pays little attention to those that inhabit the space (Sorkin, 1992, xv). The appropriation of space as a form of advertising exemplifies the city becoming the new selling point. In the words of M. Christine Boyer, "spatial design codes and architectural pattern languages become increasingly important in selling the look of an upbeat environment…livability, visualized and represented in spaces of conspicuous consumption, become important assets that cities proudly display (Boyer, 1992, 193).The public realm either becomes fragmented and packaged to designs and developments that allude to a utopic rendering of the quaint, conflict-free urban where a very specific set of people can move about freely, leaving many others out.

5. Fortress Cities

The strategic circumscription of the public realm and the tactics of surveillance and monitoring associated with it have become imprinted in the built environment through the concept known as fortress cities. A term originally coined by Mike Davis, fortress cities exemplify the systematic enclosure of cities, characterized by gated communities and overall heightened security. While the rise in fortress cities have arisen with the growing movements of capitalism and neoliberalism within the state and in private entities, it has been bolstered by more recent events such as 9/11 that have prompted increased interest in anti-terror practices. These practices endeavor to create easily controllable environments and target potentially dangerous behavior.

Mike Davis, in his landmark piece, *Fortress Cities* speaks of this systematic erasure of cities as a consequence of creating a strategically militarized city. His characterization of an American city evokes a sort of apocalyptic vision where the city remains spatially and

ideologically fragmented with gated communities, security cameras, bollards, and public infrastructure in a state of perpetual disarray. Davis speaks forebodingly, claiming that we live in "fortress cities brutally divided between fortified cells of affluent society and places of terror where the police battle criminalized poor" (Davis, 2006, 224). Pulling from the observations of Setha Low, Neil Smith, and Elizabeth Blackmar, Davis considers that the old liberal paradigm has been replaced by a rhetoric of social warfare that calculates the interests of the poor and the middle class as a zero-sum game (Davis, 2006, 224). But going one step further, Davis articulates that in the past 40 years, there has been a growing tendency to amalgamate urban design, architecture, and the police apparatus into a single comprehensive security effort. While personal safety is important, Davis argues "security" today is appropriated to legitimize increased isolation in residential, work, and consumption pursuits from blighted and unpleasant groups. This observation is reminiscent of the same desires of physical and ideological separation that bourgeois Parisians strived for.

Jeremy Németh notes the co-opting of security efforts post-9/11 to further spatial isolation from those who are deemed hazardous or "dangerous". While Oscar Newman's Defensible Space might have been a strategy to promote community-based surveillance, Németh argues that the tactics have been commandeered by the state and private entities through implementing barriers, bollards, and strategic street closures (Németh, 2010, 20). Looking specifically at New York City, the city has long used the rationale of "security concerns" to legitimize the closure of countless spaces. Since 9/11, these has been a consistent discourse and systematic effort to fortify streets, sidewalks, and spaces to create limitations on the right to public space. Németh articulates that the city's penchant for security has effectively secured the city *from* the public rather than *for* it. Zooming in on two neighborhoods in Lower Manhattan,

Németh discovers that 36.3% of the Civic Center's public space is limited or closed and 17.7% of the Financial District's public space is comprised of these so-called security zones (Németh, 2010, 25). Németh argues that security zones do not necessarily alleviate the cause of the attacks, but the overzealousness by which they exist represents an unfortunate shrinkage of public space (Németh, 2010, 31).

On September 12th, 2001, the NPS decided to close the block of street adjacent to Independence National Historic Park in Philadelphia (Németh, 2012, 8). While the days and months immediately post 9/11 prompted a significant number of security measures at all levels of government, the area surrounding Independence National Historic Park was excessively circumscribed with numerous security zones and the solidification of a once-temporary street closure. Nearly two years later, the National Park District bolstered these endeavors with hiring a private security company to encourage the safe crossing of a street adjacent to the Park (Németh, 2012, 8). While this initial attention to security may have been prompted by the events of 9/11, the sustained interest in antiterrorism begs to ask how much of how much these design strategies have anything to do with mitigating terrorism or dangerous behavior at all, but rather eliminate people who may appear to have the potential to be "dangerous" on face value or eradicate the potential threat of unsavory behavior. Consequently, the use of technology to disproportionately surveil and monitor these individuals is particularly troubling. Margaret Kohn in *Brave New Neighborhoods* notes the disconnect between the original intent of the internet versus its actual uses. While the internet was initially designed to encourage the free transfer of information without the influence of hierarchization, it has recently been appropriated and privatized to serve as a means by which to track people and criminalize them (Kohn, 2004).

Fortress Cities also represent the increasing incorporation of private security in maintain the appropriate public from the inappropriate one. In *City of Quartz,* Davis notes how public law enforcement has taken on a supporting role to private security institutions. This tag-teaming involves non-unionized, low-wage private security individuals that take on labor-intensive roles coupled with public law enforcement which provides access to internal, exhaustive crime databases (Davis, 2006, 251). This enthusiasm for securing a city from disorder and vice comes from not only larger social movements or the reestablishment of capitalism (which certainly play an important role) but a landmark study of George W. Kelling's and James Wilson's oft-quoted Broken Windows Theory, published in 1982. Kelling and Wilson believed that any sign of disorder, even perhaps a single broken window would indicate a lack of care about the space hereby inviting in more serious and threatening behavior (Mitchell, 2003, 200). Employing an incredibly convincing notion of politics of fear, Wilson and Kelling's logic extended beyond disorder to sanction the policing of those who may toe the line of merely being unconventional. Wilson and Kelling were generous in their definition of disorder, allowing to it to refer to not only those that could potentially cause harm, but those who do not check the requirements of an appropriate public. They described "panhandlers, drunkards, vandalism, unlicensed peddling" as potential threats who functioned as so-called gateways to more serious forms of crime. Tolerating petty crimes would effectively condone minacious and detrimental acts of violence. So, complacency regarding disorder could perpetuate greater disorder, resulting in countless revanchist politicians and policymakers interpreting Broken Windows as a zero-tolerance policy against behaviors and actions that were considered "worrisome" (Mitchell, 2003, 201). The evidence of overly-secured public spaces exists in multitudes, and its tactics are often discreet enough to avoid notice or attention by a park user, unless they are the targeted population.

The crackdown on disorder involves physical security systems (both public and private) coupled with architectural policing and urban design practices to effectively create a physical and ideological fortress. This city observed through watchful eyes evokes Bentham's panopticon, an environment in which the behavior of everyone is monitored and controlled through the threat of surveillance. According to Frers and Meier in *Resistance in Public Spaces*, the establishment of a fortress city occurs in three steps. The first step involves establishing surveillance and social control, such as placing "codes of conduct" signage or fencing off certain areas of public space. In the second step, what was once public becomes privatized which is often done using Business Improvement Districts, Conservancies, Friends of Parks organizations, private-public partnerships, and selling public lands to private institutions. The final step involves altering the specific design of places to create wide and accessible streets or square that allow for military forces to take control, such as the wide Parisian boulevards that were critical in Haussmann's redesigning of Paris (Frers & Meier, 2017). This transformation employs both spatial and architectural practices along with the implementation of behavioral regulation upheld by security cameras, private guards, or police.

This privatization of the public realm, in Davis' words, illustrates the death of an Olmstedian vision of public space (Davis, 2006, 226). Davis writes that public space no longer serves its original purpose as a place of ethnic and class mixing but rather "furthers corporate-defined redevelopment priorities" through militarized security and hostile architecture (Davis, 2006, 227). According to Davis and Sorkin, we have indeed reached the end of public space, where society desires only private communications and utilizes public space only as a place of a commodified tableau or spectacle.

6. The Co-Opting of Design to Militarize Public Space

Private property advocates and neoliberal politicians were not the sole proponents of challenging the tenets of public space. In addition, the misapplication of design principles that aim cultivate community-driven safety have caused further confusion and tension in the public realm. In 1972, Oscar Newman, Director of New York University's Institute of Housing and Planning manifested an impressive compendium of built environment best practices called *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design.* The publishing of this document came at a time when large scale, high-rise social housing projects were both being mass produced and rightfully, heavily criticized. This work was released during a time characterized by urban renewal and a systematic exodus by white middle class and upper-class groups, where the image of the "inner-city" as a repository for the poor and minorities was heavily distributed. But unlike the vast majority, Oscar Newman observed that the issues that America faced regarding crime would not be answered "through increased police force or fire power" (Newman, 1972, 1). The goal of Newman's work was to "restructure residential environments of our cities so they can again become livable controlled, controlled not by police but by a community of people sharing a common terrain" (Newman, 1972, 2). Defensible space was to be designed in a way that would naturally inhibit crime through creating the image of a "social fabric that would defend itself." In some ways, this notion of defensible space lies at one end of the Broken Windows Theory, while the zero-tolerance policies that arose from it sit at the other end of the spectrum. Newman's belief was that defensible space would be designed in such a way that would render it challenging to commit a crime and be transparent enough that if a misdeed were committed, its perpetrator would be easily visible. As C. Ray Jeffrey said, "there are no criminals, only environmental circumstances which result in criminal behavior. Given the

proper environmental structure, anyone will be a criminal or non-criminal" (Klinenberg, 2017, 59). Rather than advocating for policies that reduced crime by punishing people, Newman utilized the urban design to secure and improve the places themselves.

Newman argues that a residential space, designed with defensible space principles in mind, would be one in which residents can easily take note of and control the activity that occurs within. This would involve utilizing encounter mechanisms that typically allow ease of community-led surveillance, whether that is through ample and strategic placement of windows or clear sightlines. This notion of strategic, community-held visibility is similarly advocated for in Jane Jacobs' conception of "eyes on the street" and the idea that spaces that are constantly used give the impression of increased visibility. This highlights Newman's choice of utilizing the architectural model of corrective prevention, rather than mechanical prevention, which tends to leave the actual spatialization and design of the structure that lead to the criminal behavior intact (Newman, 1972, 4). According to Newman, it is poorly designed buildings and projects that contribute to higher crime rates. Focusing on the unsuccessful housing projects of the 60s and 70s, creating spaces that improved conceptions of safety and dissuaded criminal activity could be done with *minimal* policing but and through the use of four design-based guidelines: create territorial definitions of space by dividing areas in to zones that have proprietary attitudes, position apartment windows to allow residents to naturally survey the exterior and interior public areas, adopt building forms that avoid certain stigmas of vulnerability and isolation of inhabitants, and enhance safety by locating residential development in "sympathetic urban areas" (Newman, 1972, 9). The goal of defensible space was neither to create excessively uncomfortable or hostile built environments but rather reduce the need to resort to traditional methods of policing and increase a community's sense of ownership over a certain space.

One could imagine, however, the chagrin and dismay that Newman and Jacobs would experience at the sight of what designers and planners have done in the name of creating defensible spaces or promoting eyes on the street. Hostile architecture, deliberately uncomfortable fixtures in public space, and even security cameras have all been placed in the public sphere, falsely equating these hostile interventions with advancing defensible space or "eyes-on-the street" tactics.

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) has also faced a tragic co-opting to create public spaces so ubiquitously sanitized and stripped of basic comfort that they become virtually uninhabitable. According to Paul Cozens and Terence Love, this "dark side" of CPTED emerges when the strategy is not implemented thoughtfully and equitably (Cozens & Love, 2017). CPTED was a design strategy that materialized around the similar timeframe as Newman's Defensible Space. Largely attributed to C. Ray Jeffrey, CPTED today draws influence from Newman and Jacob's work as well, but like Defensible Space, its success lies in the equity, cultural, and experiential implications that come with its execution. Citing Justin B. Hollander, Cozens and Terence cite how CPTED and Defensible Space best practices were appropriated post-9/11, resulting in the loss of once-vibrant social spaces, such as markets, music concerts due to the installation and of bollards and security devices (Cozens & Love, 2015). In many ways, these security zones were extreme applications of defensible space and CPTED principles that certainly made the public sphere physically secure, but devoid of any sense of place.

This extreme use of CPTED, what Cozens and Love called CPTED's "dark side" sounds quite reminiscent of fortress LA or post-9/11 New York City. The co-opting of defensible space and CPTED occurs when it is used to further planning as an "oppressive mechanism of social

control" (Cozens & Love, 2017). Utilizing barriers to access such as walls, street closures and bollards strategically criminalizes and oppresses people of color and low-income communities in the name of creating defensible space. These hyper-defensible or militarized spaces often occur due to excessive target hardening. Traditionally, target hardening supports the four main defensible space strategies and endeavors to make a target of crime less attractive. The concept of target hardening involves increasing security and when applied continuously, can result in spaces becoming "increasingly antisocial, more private, more formal, and more restricted" (Cozens & Love, 2017). This can be seen in the fortress cities that Davis speaks of, in gated communities, nightclubs, and implicitly privatized public spaces. This highlights that although CPTED and defensible space were designed to be used in an egalitarian fashion, they possess inherently exclusionary properties because the practice comes with inherent notions and power dynamics regarding who is considered a legitimate and illegitimate user (Cozens & Love, 2017). Preconceptions and biases regarding race, ethnicity, gender identity, and socioeconomic status can be legitimized by this binary distinction that comes with CPTED policies. Caitlin Cahill in *The Right to the Sidewalk* highlights that instead of facilitating community building, the "eyes on the street" best practices are not practiced by neighbors but rather the "criminogenic eyes of the carceral state" (Cahill, 2017, 95). Countless zero tolerance and tough-on-crime practices and designs are executed in the name of defensible space and creating eyes on the street. These inherently anti-egalitarian policies "under the guise of using CPTED sort people into legitimate or illegitimate categories, deciding who belongs, who does not, and who has access to resources" (Cozens & Love, 2017).

In addition to applying CPTED equitably, Cozen and Love argue that proper use of defensible space and CPTED involves balancing the intervention elements with other factors,

such as walkability, public health, and sustainability (Cozens & Love, 2015). Creating a space that is designed in such a way that it reduces the potential for crime should not be conflated with sanitized space and interventions should also address other social and environmental improvements that allow individuals to feel cared for. Cozens and Love additionally suggest increasing the use of data and critical analysis, promoting CPTED as a "process" rather than a "design outcome", and improving the evaluation and review during the design and implementation of CPTED as well in the review of post-implementation outcomes (Cozens & Love, 2017). In its essence, defensible space, CPTED, and other forms of environmental criminology strategies do not serve as a "silver bullet" and cannot be separated from other forms of quality-of-life interventions and social infrastructure that endeavor to ameliorate the experience of a certain space without disproportionately excluding or policing certain individuals.

7. Public Space as an Ideal

Discussing the inherent contestations and executional shortfalls in public space begs the question whether or not true publicness even exists in its entirety. There are countless interpretations and narratives that discuss the characteristics of authentic public spaces. From the agora to the forum, this hypothetical realm is supposedly a place where political and socioeconomic differences can be cast aside. In many ways, it appears as though public space exists in quotations. Numerous theories abound as to what makes a public space truly public and countless advocates and planners will invoke supposedly archetypal images of public space, whether it is Rome or Olmsted's Central Park, as Mike Davis so openly did. According to Henaff and Strong, true, authentic public space is to "open to all, well-known by all, and acknowledged by all…it stands in opposition to private space of special interests" (Henaff & Strong, 2001). It is

a space that offers uncompromising openness and is accessible to individuals and groups regardless of intended use or demographic.

Mark Francis notes that public space functions as a common ground, a meeting place where civility and this collective sense of "publicness" are expressed. Scholars, in discussing public space, extol imaginative and utopic renderings of a public realm where everything goes. However, it is important to point out that many of these so-called idyllic public spaces were crafted around a series of exclusions. And in pursuing this adamant veneration of an idyllic public, one may undermine the idiosyncrasies that are inherent to the very tenets of public space. What if true public space cannot be separated from the contestations that happen within it? The romanticization of a *psuedopublic* space goes directly against the inherent multiplicities and publics that exist within public space.

The Olmstedian vision of public space that Mike Davis invokes falls short of ever being actualized (Davis, 2006, 226). The envisioned ideal of parks to "function as social safety valves where classes could mix" that Davis speaks of have never existed. In fact, it would be remiss to glaze over the fact that while Olmsted did certainly advocate for Central Park to be a space where gentility and the working class could intersperse, he did not do so without developing his own band of security guards to ensure that the visage of pleasantries did not diminish with the presence of lower-income individuals. What began with the displacement of Black and Irish workers and homeowners to construct Central Park continued with Olmsted's establishment of the Central Park Keepers, a 24-hour police organization that was designed to deter any unsanctioned use deemed unsavory enough to provide discomfort to a bourgeois park user (Taylor, 2009, 289). In fact, certain advocates of Central Park began limiting access to public park chairs by privatizing them and requiring that users pay a fee to sit on them. The chairs that

were best-maintained and located ideally under shade were privately owned while those that were in poor condition and languished under the hot sun were available to the public (Taylor, 2009, 307). The imbalance in accessibility to Central Park could not be more apparent, despite its oft lauded and erroneous depiction as a true public space for the people. If one dissects through these discrepancies, Davis' comparison of Central Park and Fortress Los Angeles does not work as well as initially intended.

But perhaps more than anything this highlights our aspirations for public space to serve as an ideal and the discord between what appears desirable and what manifests in real time. Sophie Watson argues that public space is "always in a state of emergence, never complete and always contested" (Hou, 2017, 2). The fight for public space has never been a fair or equitable one and resistance is the only way in which the right to public space can be maintained and social justice be advanced (Hou, 2017, 7). Our tendency to desire some sort of exemplary manifestation of public space as a tool to compare the outcome of all others is perhaps the root of this perpetual dissatisfaction with the actuality of the public realm. In *Disenchantment of Urban Encounters,* Watson cites the inclination to idealize the Grecian agora, claiming it to be a space of heterogeneity (Watson, 2006, 11). In response to this claim, Margaret Crawford in *Everyday Urbanism* notes that while the agora was open to "citizens", much of the population—women and slaves—were not included in this term (Crawford, 2008, 24). In many ways, the agora is more akin to Second Empire Paris than any pursuable ideal. The adulation of an Athenian public space is particularly problematic, because despite the rhetoric of "accessibility", the very crux of public space exists on the foundations of countless exclusions, whether it be race, gender, or social class.

Nancy Fraser, in her landmark piece *Rethinking the Public Sphere* offers a much more fluid and polycentric analysis of what public space means and what it can possibly look like. Fraser argues that this so-called multicultural, singular public ideal, this discourse of "publicity touting accessibility…and the suspension of status" is a marker of distinction and hierarchy. The notion that individuals of all classes can enter this hypothetical utopic realm and put aside their differences at birth and supposedly enter as equals is inaccurate because it has historically worked to the advantage of dominant groups (Fraser, 1990, 64). Nezar al-Sayyad notes how the pressure for a multicultural, uniform space, or this one-size-fits all, has effectively masked ethnocentric norms, values, and interests (Al-Sayyad, 7). Instead of a singular public space where inequalities are merely bracketed, public space should endeavor to eliminate them (Fraser, 1990, 65). Fraser goes one step further to argue that authentic democracy must ensure social equality. Rather than offering a singular, elysian vision of public space, Fraser claims that the public exists in multiples—or rather, the competing plurality of multiple publics (Fraser, 1990, 66). This ambiguity highlights the complexity and contested nature of democracy where a sort of insurgent public sphere arises that often blurs the lines between historic binaries that counteract the existence of the bourgeois public realm. Seeing the public realm in multiples allows one to observe that there is no single physical environment that can represent an inclusive space of democracy (Crawford, 2008, 25). In fact, doing so, undermines the very concept of public space.

8. The Right to the City

It is impossible to discuss the battle for public space without discussing the concept of the right to the city. Originally coined by Henri Lefebvre, the notion of the right to the city arose in response to the social struggles that Lefebvre witnessed in 1960s, particularly the growing commodification and privatization of space. At its core, Lefebvre's right to the city was the right

to use the space in the face of commodification. It is the radical notion that cities are to be constructed and envisioned for and by the people who inhabit it, with no exceptions. Lefebvre articulates that the right to the city is like a cry and a demand….it is a transformed and renewed right to urban life (Lefebvre, 1996, 158).

For Don Mitchell, this right to the city is dependent upon public space. The right to the city is not an individual right, but rather a collective right—inclusive for all those that reproduce daily life (Mitchell, 2003, 137). The notion of this right to the city also implies the right to the uses of city spaces, and the right to exist within them (Mitchell, 2003, 19). Unsurprisingly, this right is not given to everyone. The discourse of rights is particularly pertinent as it highlights that as of right now, the rights of the housed currently outweigh the rights of homeless and those that live in public space.

Mitchell built upon Lefebvre's work to highlight the applications of the right to the city, and what it means for those who advocate for it. For Michell, the right to the city also needs to address issues of homelessness and implies a "right to housing, a place to sleep, a place to urinate and defecate without asking for permission, a place to relax and a place to venture forth" (Mitchell, 2003, 19). Lefebvre believed that the right to housing was a necessary precondition to the right to the city. While the agenda of the right to the city has largely been taken on by activists, Mitchell and Lefebvre believed that it is an issue that should not be merely limited to that. In addition, the right to the city is also a concept that encourages an active role of each individual to have the ability to mold and shape a city. David Harvey calls this ability to "claim some kind of shaping power over the processes of urbanization, over which our cities are made and remade, and to do so in a fundamental and radical way" (Harvey, 2012, 5).

It may be argued that this right has always been a right that has never been given freely. Whether in the Athenian agora or in the bourgeois public spaces, there has remained an element of exclusion and the discussion over certain groups fighting for their right to the city—to create cities that are truly for all people. Today much of the tampering with the rights of people takes the form of anti-homeless laws or other "quality of life" legislation. In promoting these policies, Mitchell notes how the right to the city is reduced to the right for the appropriate public to be free from the presence and resistance of those who hinder a space's enjoyability (Mitchell, 2003, 189). In response to Harvey's belief that the right to the city is the right to change and reinvent the city, it is evident that not all have been provided this right. In most cases, the right to the city has always been limited because the right has always been morphed into a *privilege*, something that is not guaranteed or provided openly to all. With this in mind, it appears that even the most basic rights, such as the right to free speech or to protest, have been curtailed to become a privilege—something that is given in a limited fashion at the behest of the state or other influencing authorities. The ability to have agency in the future of a city has always prompted hesitation and even violence from those in authority. For Harvey, this depletion of rights, particularly in the past 200 years has arisen from the need to prioritize capital accumulation. This right has become a commodity for those with resources and money as consumerism, tourism, and knowledge-based industries have become key tenets of urban life (Harvey, 2012, 14).

In this fight for public space and the right to possess the ability to shape one's surroundings, the right to the city is a call to action for all those existing in space. It is a call that transcends class, race, gender, although it is focused on ensuring that those who have been ostracized from city building can acquire their rights to resist and contribute to this process. This

right, while not something that can be guaranteed, represents a struggle and the claiming of a space for representation, a place where people can make themselves visible.

9. Public Space as Resistance

The struggle to democratize space is not a linear, easily-categorizable endeavor. Resistance against a neoliberal, capitalist-minded regime spans countless tactics and strategies. As per Mitchell's argument that public space is only won through concerted struggle, we see that this struggle and resistance take many forms. These encompass state-sanctioned initiatives such as neighborhood greenways to more citizen-level initiatives and informal activities that involve co-opting and molding public space to create new uses (Hou, 2010, 9). This spectrum of formal resistance to insurgent public space underscores the integral role of the urban to function as a site of political action, revolt, and resistance.

While ideals of "publicness" have faced encroachment and eradication over the years, public space has become one of the few places where democratic notions can be expressed. Protests, sit-ins, squatting, informal vending, and even walking push at the preexisting neoliberal limitations of social order and control. These new ways of manifesting citizenship highlight the possibilities for public space to function as a vehicle to mobilize various groups towards common goals, and collective citizenship (Rios, 2010, 101). The co-opting of public space for seating, eating, celebrating and voicing dissent represent a people-driven practice of everyday urbanism and occasionally, insurgent public space. For Michael Rios, this resistance in public space practiced by the general public (and the consequent pushing of boundaries) falls into three main categories. First, adaptive space, involves environments appropriated for everyday use including vacant properties, streets, or parking lots. Next, assertive spaces represent spaces that are politicized to challenge a dominant order. Finally, negotiative spaces represent the leading

edge of cultural interchange in the public realm (Rios, 2010, 100). All of these practices function as a form of resistance and push the boundaries of the public realm. They serve to de-professionalize the right to design a city, originally an urban planner and architect's agenda, to the everyday public.

Resistance does not always have to involve coordinated, large-scale programming. It can occur in the everyday spaces, the in-between, ambiguous zones that are trivial and commonplace and are not distinctly public or private (Crawford, 1998, 28). The definitions of these uses are hard to define because they occur without fixed schedules or advanced planning. This intentional spontaneity prompts more flexible uses of urban space and advance this notion of the right to be a part of a construction of space. Examples of this everyday urbanism include garage sales, selling food out of an unlicensed stall or vehicle, and even something as seemingly simple as walking through a city (Crawford, 1998, 29). All of these maneuvers have the potential to represent quotidian decommodification, which in a neoliberal, surveilled city, is no small feat. Michel de Certeau likens walking to be a sort of calligraphy or engraving into the fabric of a city, a form of art (de Certeau, 161). The act of walking is a powerful feat in which additional spaces and realities are created. Jaywalking is another example of a form of resistance through partaking in an unsanctioned method of utilizing public property. Lars Frers and Lars Meier in *Resistance in Public Space* note how these micro-political practices—be it graffiti, jaywalking, and using space in unsanctioned ways—push against the status quo have the potential to change the symbolic and physical manifestations of a place" (Frers & Meier, 2017, 128).

It is a common response to hear many criticize and question the efficacy of anti-capitalist movements. The criticisms of Occupy Wall Street and other occupation-based protests are typically claim that it "did little in the long run". One finds that most public space scholars and

activists would certainly disagree. Don Mitchell in *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* that taking up space in the public realm is integral as they are places of representation. By occupying public space, social movements can represent themselves to larger audiences as well as mainstream institutions (Mitchell, 2003, 151). According to norms, the prolonged occupation of public space or private space typically requires some form of compensation. Occupation of public space and squatting is particularly powerful as it is an anti-capitalist strategy. Claudio Cattaneo in *Squatting as an Alternative to Capitalism* notes that the act of squatting is a direct interference with the capitalist methods of accumulation, especially considering the prevailing norms of the housing markets (Cattaneo & Martinez, 2014, 7). Squatting in space represents the decommodification or houses and buildings—the idea that one can reside in a certain space without paying rent or some form of transaction. David Harvey notes that the success of these political protests often hinges on their ability to disrupt urban economies (Harvey, 2012, 118). Existing and sitting in spaces illustrates the collective power of bodies which Harvey argues is still the most effective instrument of opposition when other forms of resistance are ignored (Harvey, 2012, 161). Causing a disruption on the status quo allows for increased representation and visibility for certain groups, creating increasing opportunities for resistance-based practices.

The role of street art, whether graffiti, sculptures, and other guerilla forms of art are essential practices in the process of public space reclamation. According to Sophie Watson in *City Publics: The Disenchantments of Urban Encounters* writes how public art (sanctioned or otherwise) brings about important questions regarding who has the right to represent and monumentalize public space (Watson, 2006, 95). Street art also has the potential to encourage conversations regarding ownership and who can utilize public (and private) space and to what

ends. Street art and other forms of interactive art installations have the ability to promote conversation. In *Urban Archives,* Irina Gendelman, Tom Dobrowolsky, and Giorgia Aiello note that murals that were superimposed with unsanctioned street art serve to transform a commodified, one dimensional image into a rich, layered document that highlights the "diversity of street-level discourse" (Gendelman, Dobrowlsky, & Aiello, 2010, 188). It encourages residents, particularly those who do not choose to express their sentiments in more sanctioned fashions, to voice their opinions and share their experiences through visual media.

Resistance through graffiti, street art performances, and tagging pushes against conventional norms and sanctioned rules on what is permissible and illegal in public space. While they may appear singular in nature, they function as symbolic or physical practices that endeavor to question, undermine, or attack the symbols and manifestations of dominant structures, norms, rules or a social order (Frers & Meier, 2017). Michel de Certeau calls these every day and at times insurgent practices as "microbe like, singular and plural practices in which the dominant order was supposed to suppress, but which have outlived its decay…and are far from being regulated or eliminated by a panoptic administration, have reinforced themselves into a proliferating illegitimacy" (de Certeau, 1984, 96). Consider the response to Parking Day, an unsanctioned, illegitimate yearly takeover of parking spaces by community members and designers to illustrate the innate value that a parking space must host a multiplicity of uses that do not involve cars (Chase, 2008, 196). Community members feed the parking space meters to utilize and furnish the parking spot with various amenities for a single day before removing it. The element of agency and creativity in reshaping a space to serve a community's interest represents a form of everyday, insurgent urbanism. Depending on interest, these spaces can be turned into gyms, cafes, or living rooms for people to spend time in. There is some significance

in the choice of parking spaces, as they are typically the smallest unit of urban space, resulting in an incremental form of change (Chase, 2008, 198). The effects of Parking Day illustrate that even without a well-documented mission or overarching goal, altering a space for an unsanctioned enforces the sentiment that the public does have the right to create spaces that serve their interests in the city.

The question of what serves as effective resistance practices is somewhat paradoxical. Several scholars would argue that all practices that push forth new, illegitimate, informal, and creative ways of appropriating space would be immensely significant in the fight for the right to the city. According to Frers and Meier, these small-scale, quotidian practices need to be continuously enacted in order to gain greater visibility and accumulate weight in public space to establish a "different normality…one that is not governed from above but the minimally conscious actions of many" (Frers & Meier, 2017). Conversely, Harvey would argue that even the single event, small scale practices of resistance contribute to a sort of termite effect where forces of resistance slowly eat away at the institutional and material supports of capitalism until they fall apart (Harvey, 2012, 124). Michel de Certeau would claim that the small incursions, simple as walking or jaywalking, leave an imprint on the urban. Irrespective of opinion, all practices of resistance, be they sanctioned, unsanctioned, planned, or spontaneous encourage us to think about what the urban has been built for and how to push beyond whom and what it currently serves.

III. CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

Upon first glance, it may seem strange and somewhat arbitrary to compare two cities that appear to be geographically and culturally unique and distinct. Why these two cities and what is the relevance of seeing how these two different cities maintain and perceive their public spaces? Bogotá and New York City are two cities faced by location-specific, situational problems that have had a history of sharing common, overarching concerns. An emerging global, world-class city, Bogotá has been the site of several key transformations in built and social environments. New York City, conversely, has been viewed as an archetypal Global North city since the late 19th century. In the 1990s, these cities were given the task of addressing issues of fear and danger using security and civility (Beckett & Godoy, 2010, 277). While some of the conditions prompting these alterations in the built environment may have been similar in themes, Bogotá and New York City differed greatly in how they addressed these concerns of disorder, crime, and violence. Pressures of globalization and capitalism have similarly affected the responses of both cities to a certain extent, they remaining differentiated on how to go about improving the quality of life in each city.

1. Fortress NYC

New York City's public spaces have seen significant change over the course of the past several decades. The role of several fiscal crises in the 1970s and 1980s along with the growing trend towards neoliberal and right-wing administrations played a significant role in the crackdown against disorder in the city, and especially the public realm. The aftermath of these crises coupled with a growing taxpayer reluctance to pay for the labor necessary to maintain public space led many of the public spaces in the city to lay abandoned and deteriorating (Blackmar, 2006, 71). In the aftermath of the collective repercussions of a fiscal crisis, Julian Brash notes that the city was

"quickly seized upon by an alliance of New York City elites, led by bankers, corporate, real estate as an opportunity to reorient municipal policy and restructure the city's ruling coalition by drastically reducing the power of labor and minorities" (Moss, 2017, 105). While it is difficult to reduce this ideological reversal into a singular event, the inauguration of Ed Koch in 1978 provides an integral commentary on the changing dynamic. In Koch's inauguration speech, he proclaimed, "From its early days, the city has been a lifeboat for the homeless, a larder for the hungry...and a refuge not only for the oppressed but also the creative" (Moss, 2017, 107). The speech appears initially benign but then Koch pivots to state, "that is why, in large part, it faces monumental problems today." Much of Koch's opinions on low-income New Yorkers was epitomized by indifference, which is seen in Koch declaring (at a cocktail party) that "we are not catering to the poor anymore. There are four other boroughs they can live in. They don't have to live in Manhattan" (Moss, 2017, 109). Koch's term as mayor essentially legitimized the growing predominance of a revanchist, neoliberal regime over New York City. This rhetoric paved the way for rapid change, beginning with Koch to Rudy Giuliani and then in the 21st century with Michael Bloomberg.

In the 1990s, New York City remained with a host of concerns. In particular, crime was a significant issue, with the city holding one of the highest crime rates in the US (Beckett & Godoy, 2010, 280). During the 1990s, the administration of Rudy Giuliani launched comprehensive and aggressive anti-crime policies in order to increase public safety. Giuliani took a zero-tolerance approach and application of Broken Windows Theory that emphasized the need to crack down on disorder and blight in order to reduce serious crime (Beckett & Godoy, 281). The city's first response towards a decline in the safety and quality of public space took a rampantly aggressive approach.

Giuliani's conservatism was apparent in his administration's choice to double the city's police budget from $1.7 billion to $3.1 billion dollars during his tenure as mayor. Whether anti-homeless initiatives, intensified enforcement of quality-of-life crimes, or the enactment of stop-and-frisk policies, Giuliani's conquest against crime and disorder left little unaddressed (Beckett Godoy, 2010, 284). To make the city "safe again", Giuliani criminalized more behaviors including drunkenness, panhandling, and even jaywalking (Beckett & Godoy, 2010, 281). This was part of a larger agenda to "define deviancy up" and criminalize quality of life offenses that are typically done out of necessity. In the words of Jeremiah Moss, Giuliani went after graffiti artists, newsstand owners, and hot dog vendors with such vehemence that *The New York Times* accused Giuliani of "waging a war on the New Yorkness of New York City" (Moss, 2017, 112). In addition, to attacking the collective sense of public life, Giuliani attempted to curtail the acceptable uses of public space. Blue collar-workers on strike, protesters, gardeners, and supporters of public parks were all viewed by Giuliani as the "Red Menace", instruments propagating anarchy (Moss, 2017, 114). Giuliani's administration went after squatters in public space, sending police officers in riot gear, helicopters, and armed personnel carriers to demolish squats despite a New York Supreme Court order to cease and desist (Moss, 2017, 114).

With investment in surveillance and policing came reductions of government expenditures on supportive services as well as privatization of public assistance, parks and recreation, and higher education (Beckett and Godoy, 2010, 289). While Giuliani's policies attacked blight and vice, it did little to improve the public realm and the lives of people of color. It focused on eradicating concerns of disorder and unfavorable behavior by assuming that if it was criminalized, it would cease to exist. As Eric Klinenberg states, most policies that aim to

focus on reducing rime focus on punishing people rather than improving places (Klinenberg, 2018, 59).

At the turn of a new millennium, New Yorkers were hopeful to witness a new era of "democratic" leadership. But this vision was deferred with the effects of September 11 that sent waves of terror surging through the city. Setha Low, in *The Erosion of Public Space and the Public Realm: Paranoia, Surveillance and Privatization in New York City* notes that the deleterious impact of 9/11 coupled with the consequences of forty years of privatization and physical barriers on streets created a city devoid of any semblance of public life (Low, 2006, 43). In the name of improving security and reducing terrorist threat, Giuliani and successor Michael Bloomberg's administrations utilized forms of design, management, and ownership to obliterative behavior that was perceived as dangerous. Prior to September 11, many New Yorkers may have been reticent to live their lives under the gaze of surveillance, but the New York Civil Liberties Union found more than 2,397 cameras in public spaces by 2004 (Low, 2006, 45).

Giuliani's successor, CEO and billionaire Michael Bloomberg continued much of Giuliani's war-on-crime, security-enhancement policies. According to Jeremiah Moss, Bloomberg encapsulated what was the essence of neoliberal ideology, where city is run like a corporation. The administration coupled aggressive anti-crime legislation with strategic changes in land use that involved pursuing upzones in areas that were less white, less wealthy and had fewer homeowners (Moss, 2017, 160). Conversely, downzoning happened in areas what were whiter and had higher incomes and higher rates of homeownership. Bloomberg's tenure as mayor also brought about changes that are reminiscent of the carefully calculated bourgeois spectacle that Haussmann so artfully pursued. Bloomberg's administration endeavored to

rationalize and clean up the streets of the city and effectively eliminate anything that appeared unsightly. They attempted to standardize aspects of the street, including newsstands, and replaced them with identical boxes to eradicate the "hodgepodge" (Moss, 2017, 163).

Many New Yorkers proclaim that since the administrations of Koch and Giuliani, the city has been stripped away of its working-class character and the role of the city in creating a place that offers public resources to all residents. While this might gloss over the disparities that certain groups (such as people of color) have faced *irrespective* of the political leanings of an administration, it is evident that the city has become a playground for those with privilege and power while leaving public spaces to either languish or effectively be stripped of their very publicness in the first place. The right to the city is very much a necessary fight for the residents of New York City.

Despite the rather concerning landscape of public space in New York City, several scholars and organizations have pushed creating discourse on cultivating authentic, open public spaces in the city. Setha Low notes five guidelines that can empower citizen decision making to maintain the "public" in public space. Firstly, Low notes that public space functions as a space for representation. If individuals do not see themselves represented in urban parks, they will not use the park. Secondly, access to parks must incorporate economic, circulation, and transportation considerations as well as awareness of cultural patterns to create spaces for all social groups. Along with this, Low articulates that successful public space needs to be flexible by accommodating the different ways in which various social classes and groups may use public space. In addition to preserving historical scenic features, Low argues that preservation should extend to restoring facilities and other diversions that may attract people to the park. Lastly, Low

notes that an effective park should find innovative ways to communicate cultural meaning cultivate cultural diversity (Low, 2006, 48).

Low, Taplin and Scheld's work in *Rethinking Urban Parks* offers an in-depth evaluation of parks across in cities across the United States, including New York City. Looking specifically at Prospect Park, Low et al analyze New York city parks to argue the significance of utilizing cultural diversity practices in designing and maintaining public spaces while noting the aspects of park design that can inhibit a full spectrum of uses. Low, Taplin and Scheld note how various racial and ethnic communities tend to use public spaces in unique ways (Low et al, 2005, 64). For example, the authors note that park use tends to be split along cultural lines regarding landscape values, where people of color, specifically Mexican and other Hispanic populations, utilized Prospect Park for group gatherings and picnics, while those who came for "personal communion with nature, landscape or wildlife" were disproportionately white (Low et al, 2005, 65). In addition, they found that the actions of the Prospect Park Management (a public-private partnership were often discriminatory and perpetuated the fragmenting of park resources in uneven ways. Renovation fencing divided up the park, leaving users on the east side of the park to feel as though they were being fenced out of the more affluent west side of the park (Low et al, 2005, 65).

These larger management decisions additionally serve to reflect on Prospect Park's organization as a public-private partnership, where private funding and management results in the Prospect Park Alliance operating under the discretion of memberships and board of directors, rather than the public interest at large (Low et al, 2005, 38). That is not to say that only publicly funded institutions act under the interest of the greater public, but rather that private interests may play a significant role in what aspects of park maintenance and design are prioritized.

According to the Alliance Director, the Alliance solely functions to manage the park while all decisions are made by the city. However, the formalized goal of the Alliance to uphold the park's "Olmstedian" origins can be interpreted as legitimizing the circumscription of certain behaviors and park uses, as Olmsted's visions for parks as "civilizing" spaces heavily orbited around "class-bound prescriptions for moral behavior" (Low et al, 2005, 48).

Former New York City Transportation Commissioner, Janette Sadik-Khan, inspired by Bogotá's concept of active street occupation, introduced Summer Streets in 2008 (Sadik-Khan, 2017, 118). During its first year, the programmed street closures offered free kickboxing classes, dance lessons, and rock wall climbing (Sadik-Khan, 2017, 118). Numerous people walked, ran, took part in city-organized activities, or simply sat and conversed on temporary-turf pads placed on pavement where would have driven just one day before. Reciprocating with NYC residents' enthusiasm, NYDOT offered additional attractions, such as tennis courts, basketball hoops, and even created swimming pools out of converted shipping containers (Sadik-Khan, 2017, 119). Sadik-Khan notes that this intervention went even further by opening a car-only tunnel below Park Avenue to pedestrians for the first time. This was particularly monumental, as allowing residents to experience their streets is one of the main tenets of street reclamation. However, Sadik-Khan notes the complicated process of funding these "shared streets" concepts in discussing the establishment of a joint nonprofit, Neighborhood Plaza Partnership (Sadik-Khan, 2017, 124). This nonprofit, while endeavoring to place plaza projects in under-financed neighborhoods and training previously incarcerated individuals in landscaping and other employable skills, was not only funded by the city but with the help of Chase Bank and other private profit-oriented institutions. Although building communities and accessible green space is certainly an asset, this legitimizes these institutions to exercise limitations on the acceptable

behaviors in these refurbished spaces—as the plaza's image and success become tied to the company itself.

2. Bogotá: A New Way of Creating Citizen Culture

Bogotá as a city has witnessed rapid change in the built environment and in its political administrations in the past 25 years. Researchers Beckett and Godoy analyzed Bogotá's attempt to revive the city and its public spaces. Much like New York City, Bogotá struggled with issues of disenfranchisement and crime. Rachel Berney in *Learning from Bogotá* notes that the city from the 1960s to 1990s was a difficult and challenging landscape after many years of political unrest and violence. After the assassination of beloved Mayor Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948, the city was thrown into a wave of rioting known as the Bogotazo (Berney, 2017, 12). This violence continued until 1953, and Berney argues that the assassination of Gaitán indicated an end to public spirit, civility, and conviviality that would remain in place until the administration of Mayor Antanas Mockus in 1995 (Berney, 2017, 13). Subsequent administrations after Gaitán did little to pursue coordinated city planning and despite rapid urbanization, much of the growth was informal with the proliferation of informal settlements. This is reflective of the disproportionate hold that the private entities had over the planning process and the dearth of formalized support from the state to guide the city's growth.

Additionally, Bogotá's structural challenges were difficult to address because of the quick turnover rate of the city's mayors until 1988 (Berney, 2017, 19). This was because city mayors were appointed by the President to further their political agendas. In addition, these mayors served anywhere between nine months to three years, making it difficult to enact any large-scale changes or long-term, capital improvement projects. The social environment during this time was marked by persistent tension. Rachel Berney, in *Pedagogical Urbanism* notes that

suspicion and isolation permeated social classes, further separating the lower-income residents from the wealthier ones. This resulted in an increasingly fragmented and limited public realm. However, the Colombian national government's shift in the 1980s towards decentralizing power to local governments supported an environment in which city mayors could be elected through democratic elections (Berney, 2017, 19) This was one of the factors that played an integral role in laying the foundations for reinstating positive interactions and citizen culture. According to Berney, the administrations of Enrique Peñalosa (1998-2001, 2016-2019) and Antanas Mockus (1995-1997, 2001-2003), called the "public space mayors", endeavored to reignite within Bogotanos a sense of cultural and civic pride and familiarity with each other. For both mayors (Mockus especially) advancing feelings of stewardship and inclusivity were executed through the development of safe and well-designed civic spaces (Berney, 2016). Through the medium of public transportation and public spaces, Mockus and Peñalosa pushed for enhancing feelings of belonging, respect, and responsibility (Berney, 2016). Peñalosa and Mockus' leadership rekindled utilizing urban design and planning as solutions to a challenging landscape and to reinstate sentiments of hope and community in its citizens (Berney, 2017, 21).

The authors note that unlike New York City, Bogotá endeavored to promote positive behavior by drawing upon a broader conception of civility to support social development and minimize the use of coercion when addressing crime and disorder (Beckett & Godoy, 2010, 279). The authors discuss that through former Bogotá mayor Antanas Mockus' concept of *cultura ciudadana* (citizen culture), the city focused on strengthening social infrastructure and public spaces to promote positive behavior. Mayor Enrique Peñalosa pursued this civility with additional emphasis on public space, choosing to target marginalized groups – such as informal vendors, homeless, and drug users – with inclusive social policies rather than punitive ones such

as those employed by New York City. Beckett and Godoy emphasize that Bogotá took on the responsibility to build and support infrastructure that encouraged citizen solidarity which would naturally discourage criminal behavior. In addition to the mayoral administrations advocating for an increase in public works projects, 63,000 Bogotanos voluntarily levied an additional 10% tax to fund public improvement projects (Berney, 2017, 28). The researchers note that Bogotá's choice to invest in public space and to endeavor to democratize it, played an essential role in the city's renewed sense of social cohesion.

Taking a closer look at Bogotá, Rachel Berney states that Mockus and Peñalosa's move from a private to public urbanism was monumental, effectively reversing a global trend towards privatization (Berney, 2016, 2). Berney notes that public space proved to be an essential tool in Bogotá's transformation, hereby utilizing the public realm to urge Bogotanos to build a common identity through the communal use of space (Berney, 2011, 17). Through the use of equalizing networks, hybrid hubs, and civic spaces, Mockus and Peñalosa were able to rewrite the city's public landscapes (Berney, 2011, 6). Linear circulation-based projects, such as the Transmilenio and Ciclovía, served as equalizing networks that enhanced mobility of all Bogotanos across socioeconomic status. Hybrid hubs or cultural facilities placed in public spaces such as the "libraries in the park" initiative encouraged residents to utilize public space in new ways. Civic spaces such as public parks and plazas encouraged everyday interaction between citizens (Berney, 2011, 7). Berney notes that these three components fostered the development of *cultura ciudadana* to transform the city and encourage residents to develop feelings of stewardship and collective ownership.

Mockus' and Peñalosa's administrations attempted to breathe new life back into Bogotá's once-disjointed public realm in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Berney, 2016, 2). This was no

easy feat as Bogotá was reeling from the effects of a recurrent civil war, violence, and the general absence of planning practice (Berney, 2016, 3). The strong hold on the government by upper class groups perpetuated a stringent privatization of the public realm that included the encroachment of sidewalks for parking and illegal closure of public space by citizens to use for private purposes (Berney, 2016, 4). Berney argues that it was from this dystopian landscape that impetus for change arose—a change that sought to regain the trust of the public and cultivate *cultura ciudana*. To guide these feelings of belonging, respect, and responsibility among citizens, Peñalosa took to "increasing the equitable distribution of public transportation, space, and recreational resources" (Berney, 2016, 5). One of these activities that attempted to bring the public back into the public sphere included the Ciclovía, a longstanding program that was bolstered by Peñalosa during his term. The Ciclovía, a weekly street closure program, promotes movement, physical exercise, and has functioned as a so-called "cultural leveler" by encouraging participation of all groups (Montero, 2016, 113). A 2013 study conducted by researchers Torres et al found that the makeup of Ciclovía participants was relatively diverse, with most participants reporting living in low to middle socioeconomic categories along with having low to middle educational attainment (Torres, 2013). With a variated user pool, 62.4% of Ciclovía users were willing to help each other and 73.2% of users stated that they would offer to help in specific situations such as a flat tire or helping another participant get up after a fall (Torres, 2013). The researchers found that the user's positive responses indicated high levels of social capital (Torres, 2013). Additionally, the act of encouraging all citizens to ride through the city promoted greater mobility, as riders would pass through districts of residents with higher or lower socioeconomic levels and increase their familiarity with the city itself (Berney, 2016, 7).

Both mayoral administrations utilized public space projects as a tool to not only convey the legitimacy and competency of the government but also as a means by which to offer communal resources to the public (Berney, 2017, 31). Peñalosa and Mockus endeavored to improve the quality and access to public space as a way in which to promote community building and a "more unified and respectful citizenry" (Berney, 2017, 31). The choice to gravitate towards public space projects was also a pragmatic one, as they tended to require less funding and coordination than larger scale improvement projects such as social housing or public services. These public realm projects were particularly effective because of their immediate success as they could be constructed without buying land (Berney, 2017, 31). Mockus stressed the importance of community-based policing and fostering respect and Peñalosa built upon this community-centered approach by improving access to parks, libraries, and public transit (Berney, 2017, 33). Peñalosa's administration planted 68,688 trees, 183,651 plants and renovated 126 miles of streets and 700 acres of parks. The administration additionally created 82 miles of new *ciclorutas* (bicycle paths). The effects of these changes in Bogotá were palatable and between 1993 and 2003, the city saw a 52% reduction in traffic fatalities and an increase in access to facilities and services, including new community centers and regional libraries (Berney, 2017, 33). Renewed focus on collective spaces that were accessible across socioeconomic groups allowed for Bogotanos to experience increased mobility and positive exchanges with one another.

Rather than addressing crime with zero tolerance policies, Mockus utilized more inclusive and community-driven approaches in encouraging Bogotanos to make decisions that incorporated the needs of others. According to Beckett and Godoy, rather than utilizing stringent zero tolerance notions of control and order, Bogotá "crafted innovative city policies that

prioritized security without divorcing it from other social policy aims" (Beckett & Godoy, 2010, 9). Through the policies of the public space mayors, Bogotá's marginalized groups were incorporated into inclusive social policies rather than being disproportionately targeted by "exclusionary and punitive ones" (Beckett & Godoy, 2010, 281). Whereas Giuliani's administration perceived crime as a byproduct of social and legal tolerance of incivility and the consequent inability to impose penalties, Bogotá's public space mayors emphasized the "responsibility of the state to build and support infrastructure and society that encouraged the development of citizen solidarity that would naturally discourage criminal behavior" (Beckett & Godoy, 2001, 283). Mockus, during his two tenures as mayor, often relied on creative anti-crime programming that utilized unconventional and peaceful tactics to mediate conflict resolution. One such example was Mockus' choice to utilize mimes on the street to dissuade drivers from overtaking sidewalks and other pedestrian spaces (Beckett & Godoy, 2010, 287). Through the medium of humor and performance art, the mimes (who were generally youth) promoted *cultura ciudadana* through what Berney has called "pedagogical urbanism", a mode of planning based in education and reform (Berney, 2011, 16).

Despite the key structural changes implemented by the public space mayors' administrations in the late 1990s and 2000s, there have been additional equity considerations and decisions that have had negative repercussions on Bogotanos and the city at large. As Bogotá revitalizesits public spaces, which had been used to locally improve the quality of life of residents, it has simultaneously functioned to present an image of a world class city, inevitably linking the city's success to its public space (Berney, 2011, 27). Bogotá has experienced increased visibility on an international scale since the turn of the 21st century, and the city holds many accolades and awards including a 2004 United Nations "City with a Heart" title as well as

the Golden Lion Award for cities from the Venice Biennale in 2006 (Berney, 2017, 39). Berney highlights this conflict of interest, for when public space is initially designed for the people but takes on an additional role to present as a well-organized, pleasant image to a global platform, the very essence of public space is compromised. This management and "quality-control" of public space effectively creates a tableaux, landscape, or commodified scene that attempts to detach public space from the very conflict and contentiousness that reproduce it. By utilizing public space as an advertising tool, the consequent management of public resources by Mockus and Peñalosa's administrations resulted in the legitimization of surveillance tactics that attempted to eliminate behavior that was perceived as inhibiting Bogotá's world-class image (Berney, 2016, 11). What may have begun as a shift from private to public urbanism at the beginning of Mockus and Peñalosa's administrations was supplanted by growing public-private partnerships as Bogotá began taking to the global stage. Berney notes that aspirations for the new Bogotá often clashed with previous realities and expectations of the city, where certain uses of public space such as informal vending, sleeping, and sheltering in public space were discouraged (Berney, 2016, 13).

Despite the public space mayors' intentions to activate and reopen public space, the city used agents, civic guides, city workers, and security guards to monitor the space and determine which people belonged and which could potentially pose as a nuisance (Berney, 2011, 22). Berney states that by attempting to reform Bogotanos and guide them towards stewardship and good behavior through scripted public space interventions, the democratic nature of the public realm becomes compromised. According to Berney, this paradox of pedagogical urbanism is that promoting good behavior through public space often occurs through enforcement and policing (Berney, 2011, 17). Despite a desire to create citizen community, the public space mayors'

endeavors to create authentic publics were curtailed by pressures of marketability and globalization, effectively limiting the right to the city to select group of Bogotanos. Homeless groups, particularly displaced refugees and vendors remain persecuted. Some of those who work as vendors even become caretakers that bar entry to people that would "disrupt the public" (Berney, 2011, 17). This tension arises from Bogotá need to demonstrate the city's economic development as the public realm becomes a tool by which to illustrate Bogotá's standing as a world-class city (Berney, 2011, 21).

As a whole, one sees how both Bogotá and New York City's methods to address crime and violence vary significantly and illustrate the distinct ways each city went about to create safer communities. On one hand, New York City during the 1970s through today represents a typical "tough-on-crime" approach, employing zero-tolerance policies to compel the city and its residents into a state of order. In general, Bogotá's chose to address challenging issues of crime and violence in more nuanced, multifaceted approach. In addition to employing standard law-enforcement, Bogotá's public space mayors believed that addressing crime could not be separated from other social issues and additionally focused on improving social infrastructure. But despite this unique approach, Bogotá and New York City continue to face challenges in maintaining the authenticity of public space while facing mounting pressures to appear like an actualized city. To gain a greater awareness of how these pressures manifest in public space, reaching out to individuals from both cities was an essential way by which to elucidate the state of the public realm.

IV. METHODS

Acquiring a breadth of thought, opinions, and experiences from a group of individuals was essential in order to gain a deeper understanding how neoliberalism has influenced public space in Bogotá and New York City. With the incorporation of experiential Reddit surveys from residents in both cities, the project endeavored to draw from people's firsthand experiences in the public realm. The role of these surveys was not explanatory but rather an exploration into illuminating how people's experiences surrounding public space are unique and distinct, depending on how one's identity, intention, and appearance are perceived. Determining the extent of neoliberal policies provided a more thorough interpretation of the key similarities and differences of public space management as well as the democratic spatial practices at play in New York City and Bogotá.

To acquire qualitative data, I distributed surveys online on social media channels, specifically Reddit. The duration of the data acquisition period was one month, beginning on February 22nd to March 22nd. One survey was designed for New York City residents and two surveys (one in English and one in Spanish) were designed for Bogotanos. I individually messaged top participants on four subreddits, r/nyc, r/asknyc, r/Bogotá, and r/Colombia and requested that they participate in the surveys and share their experiences. I sent out a total of approximately 200 messages and received 29 survey responses for Bogotá and 30 responses for New York City. Reddit was chosen as the platform of choice as it is used as a discussion platform across the globe.

Traditionally, Reddit users possess great diversity in thought and ideology and tend to hold a range of opinions. Looking specifically at the United States, Reddit offers expansive free speech opportunities for individuals to express an array of political opinions. A 2016 Pew

Research poll found that 43% of poll takers identified as liberal, 38% described themselves as moderate, and 19% of Reddit users designated themselves as conservative (Sattelberg 2021). This highlights that Reddit users do vary considerably in political leanings and offer a range of beliefs on policy. An analysis conducted on Alphr on Reddit users in the United States found that 30% of Reddit users made less than $30,000 dollars per year, 34% of Redditors fell under the $30,000-$74,999 bracket, and 35% of users belonged to the $75,000 or above bracket.

In order to maintain anonymity for the participants, no questions regarding direct identifiers were included. The only question that requested an indirect identifier was an optional question that asked for the survey participant's reddit username. The question regarding the reddit username was part of a set of introductory demographic questions that asked for gender identification, race identification, and general age range. The survey then asked a total of 23 questions that addressed the two main research questions. To do this, the survey was divided into two parts: determining public space controls and documenting resistance in public space. For the first part of the survey, the questions were open-ended and asked participants to share their favorite public space and requested the responders to recall whether they had seen a variety of tactics of control in their public spaces. This included asking if they had seen security cameras, codes of conduct signs, or the presence of law enforcement or security guards. The latter portion of the first part of the survey asked for responders to rank and evaluate these public space controls on a scale from one to five, with one being more passive and five being more active. Lastly, the second part of the survey requested participants note and describe their sentiments towards spatial practices that are considered resistance, whether that is street art, protesting, or informal selling.

While Reddit does offer considerable diversity in its participant pool, it is important to acknowledge its inherent limitations. First and foremost, utilizing social media platforms, especially Reddit have younger user pools that are typically within the age of 15-35. While this a considerably large age range, 50+ populations do not commonly utilize this social platform. A 2019 survey conducted by Statista found that 22% of Reddit users were 18 to 29 years old while 14% of users were 30 to 49 years old. Reddit tends to additionally have more male-identified users than female-identified users. Although a 2016 study found that 49% of Reddit users in the United States designating themselves as male compared to 51% female, over two thirds of Reddit users tended to skew male (Sattelberg 2021). Although those who use Reddit vary in socioeconomic status, people who struggle with homelessness (who historically have not been able to utilize public space due to blight monitoring) are underrepresented in social platforms. Lastly, there is the consideration that many who may be disproportionately affected by displacement and targeted by policies of control in public space may not have consistent access to technology and the internet. It is also important to note that these studies tend to be focused on the United States (as the US has the largest number of Reddit users) as information on other countries is not as easily available.

After acquiring critical mass of responses for both cities, the data was subsequently mined and coded for determining trends, themes, key takeaways, and shared opinions. For this process, both sets of data were placed in spreadsheets and printed for annotation. After completing general run-throughs in which key statements were marked and highlighted, the main questions were coded for prevalence of shared sentiments. These shared sentiments and themes were then tracked for frequency to determine whether survey participants had similar priorities and interests in public space qualities and controls. Lastly, analysis of demographic data was

conducted to note how the various age ranges, gender identification, and race might have played a role in the nature of the results.

Despite these inherent limitations, the breadth of socioeconomic status, ability, and ethnic background that comes with Reddit was harnessed to provide a deeper, more nuanced exploration of how people interact with their surroundings. While social media has its shortcomings, it is an incredibly powerful tool by which to hear from diverse groups on their experiences and beliefs in public space. The results of the surveys were an essential means by which to prioritize a citizen-driven exploration to ascertain to what extent the parks and public spaces supported their needs.

V. ANALYSIS

New York City

Each of the 30 survey responses on public space in New York City offered integral insight into what people value and look for in a "good" and effective park. While the responses to the first question regarding describing and sharing favorite public spaces were considerably variated, several common contenders emerged. Both Central Park and Riverside Park were the most prevalent responses, with each being chosen four times. The next most common park was Washington Square Park at three responses, followed by Fort Tryon Park and Prospect Park carrying two responses each. Each of these parks are distinct not only in location but also in the general amenities, landscape design, built form, accessibility, and park management.

Central Park, an Olmsted and Vaux Park, is the fifth-largest park in New York City, spanning a total of 843 acres. Central Park offers immense diversity in recreation opportunities while maintaining considerable biodiversity. From wooded wilderness, manicured gardens to open meadows, the Park provides multiple forms of green space to appeal to a wide variety of users. According to the NYC Parks website, Central Park has numerous walking paths, water attractions, playgrounds, soccer fields, basketball courts, and baseball diamonds which can be reserved. Central Park, like many parks in the New York City, is managed through a public-private partnership with the New York City Parks Department. The Central Park Conservancy, a non-profit organization, holds the responsibility for managing and maintaining the park since 1980.

Riverside Park is a continuous four-mile strip of protected waterfront that runs on the adjacent to the Hudson River on the west side of the city, from the Upper West Side to Harlem. The Park offers an array of sport courts and fields, a skate park, as well as a dedicated greenway

that runs through the park for pedestrians and bicyclists. Like Central Park, Riverside Park is managed through a public-private partnership by the Riverside Park Conservancy, whose goal is to "restore, maintain, and improve Riverside Park in partnership with the City of New York. As stated on the Conservancy's website, the private, non-profit endeavors to enhance the park and primary work on park maintenance.

Fort Tryon Park began as a private park that was bequeathed to New York City in 1931 by John D. Rockefeller Jr. Like the previous parks, Fort Tryon offers sport fields and courts as well as playgrounds, bountiful trails, and additionally hosts a branch of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Fort Tryon Park Trust, a private, non-profit partner, works with NYC Parks to sustain and manage the park and provides supplemental staff for the park's upkeep.

Prospect Park is another Olmsted and Vaux park located within Brooklyn that offers 526 acres of dedicated open space. This Park contains within it an Audubon Center, ice rink, athletic and recreational facilities, as well as water attractions. The Prospect Park Alliance, founded in 1987, has taken the primarily role of being responsible for the Park's upkeep.

Lastly, Washington Square Park was mentioned as a few of the participants' favorite park. Unlike the previous parks, Washington Square Park is considerably smaller in size and is centered around a European-influenced, public square. Known for the Washington Square Arch, which commemorates the Park's namesake, George Washington, the Park hosts a variety of events, play areas, and a sprinkler fountain. Like most New York City parks, Washington Square Park is also managed by a private, non-profit known as the Washington Square Park Conservancy which conducts maintenance and gardening for the park.

While these were the most common parks mentioned in the survey, other participants mentioned several other parks in New York City as well as streets such as 34th Avenue, which

has been closed to vehicular traffic since the COVID-19 Pandemic and has offered 30 blocks of pedestrian-only walking space. When asked what had driven the participants to pick their public space of choice, a large breadth of responses illustrated the diverse needs and priorities that park users have in determining what makes an effective park. Access to water features, whether lake, river, or sprinklers was a high priority for the participants and was the most frequently desired characteristic, with nine participants mentioning water accessibility as a key reason of visiting their specified park. Tied with water features for the most mentioned was access to biking and walking trails which was additionally mentioned nine times. Participants mentioned the importance of having "great paths for dog walking and cycling" as well as enjoying parks that allowed for one to "go on walks with friends." The second-most sought-after quality of a convenient public space was proximity to other attractions including dining. Having parks or public spaces as conveniently adjacent to restaurants was listed by eight participants. Seven survey responders subsequently stated the exposure to greenery and nature as being a key component as to why they frequented their public space of choice. A participant who enjoyed visiting the East River especially appreciated the green areas around the river, while several other responses noted enjoying the presence of trees and additional planting as well as large grassy areas.

Park	Frequency
Central Park	4
Riverside Park	4
Washington Sq. Park	3
Prospect Park	2
Fort Tryon Park	2

Parks and Open Space Values	Frequency
Water features	9
Dedicated spaces for recreation	9
Proximity to amenities	8
Dedicated green space	7

Figure 1 (*left)* shows the most frequently cited parks by participants on the survey. **Figure 2 (right)** highlights the most common public space characteristics that participants in New York City noted.

Participants specifically noted that having accessible green space that is close to one's home or to an often-traveled route was particularly essential. People cited parks based on the fact that they were close to their home or workspace for ease of access. Five survey responses valued having access to public spaces that were good for kids and especially appreciated infrastructure such as playgrounds, sprinklers, and other play areas that were designed for youth. Both ample seating opportunities as well as aesthetically pleasing views were cited five times and three participants specifically mentioned cleanliness and tranquility as being important factors in their decision of choosing a favorite park. Lastly, proximity to transit was listed twice as being why they had picked their specific public space.

The survey subsequently asked participants to recall the presence of and rank public space controls from more passive to more active on a 1 to 5 scale. Unsurprisingly, due to the rather subjective and interpretative nature of control and perception of public space control tools, responses varied significantly. Survey participants viewed the posting of codes of conduct signage as the most passive, with a total average of 2.17, followed by fencing off certain park

areas at 2.83. The use of security cameras in public space yielded an average ranking of 2.93, deliberately uncomfortable seating acquired an average of 3.07, followed using spikes, boulders, and other inhibitory elements at 3.57. The most active piece of public space control was the perception of security guards or police officers, which was ranked at 4.03.

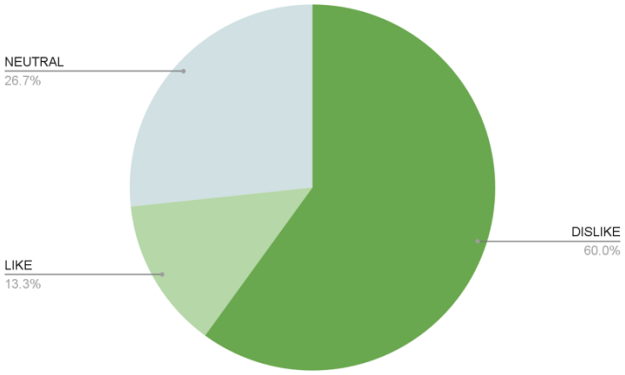
Control Tool	**Average Ranking (NYC)**
Fencing off certain areas of a park	2.84
Codes of conduct signage and/or opening and closing hours	2.17
Seating that is deliberately uncomfortable	3.07
Security cameras in public space	2.93
Spikes, boulders and other elements that make it impossible to sit	3.56
Security guards that watch over public space	4.03

Figure 3 shows the collective average rankings of control tools from NYC residents. Residents were asked to rank the intensity of control tools, with 1 being more passive to 5 being more active.

Survey participants were also asked how they felt about the active and passive measures that they had designated. Eighteen out of 30 participants expressed dislike towards more of the active public space controls while eight participants were neutral, and four participants explicitly

liked more active uses. The most common, shared takeaways from the active surveillance controls were that they "take away from the overall comfort and experience of public space". This rationale was most expressed by those who disliked active space controls, with four occurrences. Responders stated that the use of more assertive controls "said a lot about comfort and autonomy" and that it effectively took away from the "peaceful and relaxing mood of the location." Three individuals noted that the active surveillance measures caused harm and stated that "homeless people are just as entitled to parks as I am…I don't like to support things that make spaces unwelcoming to those who need them the most" and that they disliked "anti-homeless measures strongly…everyone needs somewhere to sleep and if you aren't going to have more housing, what else do you expect"? Two individuals who disliked active surveillance measures noted their tendency to be biased and to more severely police certain populations. For example, one participant noted that there was an issue of consistency, with participants stating, "some cops kick skaters out of certain areas of the park while others won't…some may arrest someone for skating, some may not" and "they are biased". The remaining eight people who disliked active surveillance measures did not provide a supporting explanation.

The 11 survey responders who were neutral or liked the more active controls stated that they were fine with the added security of security guards and police to reduce misconduct and crime and promote "law and order". One participant acknowledged that while they were not personally "thrilled with the idea of active measures, they were sometimes necessary." Another individual stated that the active behavior controls were necessary to a certain degree to ensure the safety of all people within a park. Those who were neutral or supportive of more active measures were either ambivalent or felt as though the active measures did not negatively impact the quality of the public space.



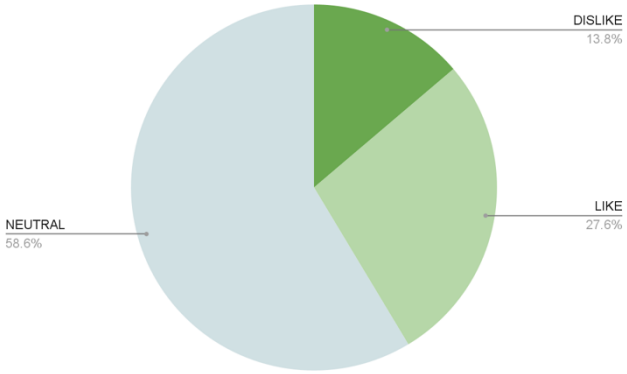


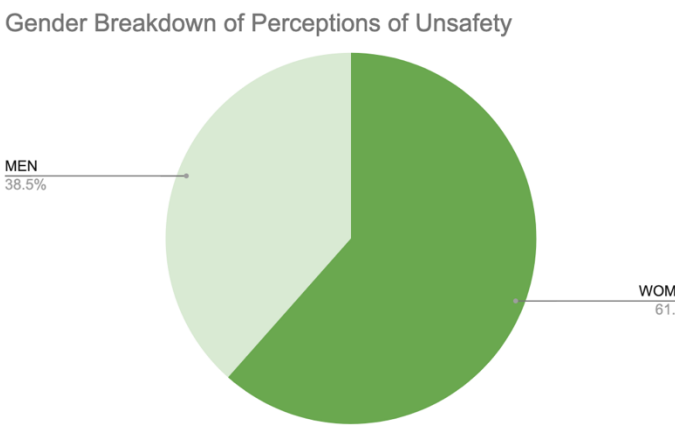
Figure 4 (*left)* depicts the participants' perceptions of more active controls while **Figure 5 (*right)*** highlights the perception of more passive tools. Nearly 60% of participants disliked active control tools but were neutral or more favorable to passive forms.

However, there was significant reversal of opinion with more passive forms of public space control. Seventeen people were neutral to more passive forms of public space control, eight people liked them, and four people disliked them. Overall, the general perception of passive forms of control was more positive than active forms of control. In fact, 14 participants out of the 18 participants that disliked more active measures, specifically liked or were more neutral to passive control tools. Several responders who strongly disliked active forms stated that passive public space controls were "for the best and served to remind people to stay safe and not disrupt each other." Others said that they were not bothered by more passive measures because they did not interfere with one's experience and were simply easier to ignore. The common sentiment was that some level of passive surveillance promoted positive stewardship and respectful use of the park, especially through the use of fencing and codes of conduct signs. Six participants specifically noted that fencing was a necessary tool by which to control traffic to avoid damaging plants or to maintain safe distance from renovation projects.

At the same time, four individuals expressed dislike for passive strategies of control. One participant expressed that "signs don't make me feel safe and I honestly feel they exist for

liability. If something happened to someone after park curfew then the city is not responsible." Another responder felt as though "fences are overused" and took away from the overall experience of a public space. One individual who had ranked security and police officers as more passive stated that security guards and police presence could escalate "quickly from passive to physical". These comments highlight how even passive security measures can be interpreted as inhibitory and ineffective.

After asking participants share feedback on active and passive space controls, the survey asked responders if they would be willing to disclose if they had ever felt unsafe in public space due to any part of their identity or appearance. Thirteen participants out of thirty stated that they had felt unsafe due to some part of their identity and out of this group, eight identified as women and five identified as men. While 43% of the total survey participant pool identified as women, they made up 63% of the response of those who had ever felt unsafe in public space. Three of the eight participants who identified as women feeling unsafe in public space each specifically articulated feeling uncomfortable at night in poorly lit areas. One of these individuals stated that they had felt "less safe in isolated, poorly-lit spaces late at night" while another stated that they "felt the most unsafe when I am alone in public spaces at night – things like walking through a park or on a poorly-lit street". The frequency of mentioning the lack of lighting as an inhibitor to safety by those who identified as women was a clear trend.



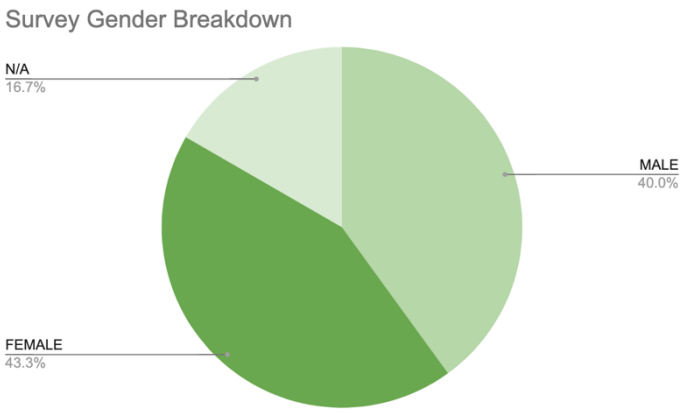


Figure 6 (*left)* depicts the gender breakdown of those who documented feeling unsafe in public space while **Figure 7 (*right)*** summarizes the overall gender composition of survey participants. This highlights that those that identify as female are overrepresented in feeling unsafe in public space.

The role of race and its intersection with safety was also something to consider in the survey results. Out of the 13 individuals that identified themselves as feeling unsafe in public space, five were people of color (three identified as women and two identified as men). In fact, 50% of the people of color who took the survey stated that they had felt unsafe. One responder, who identified as a first generation East Asian-American, specifically noted that the demographic of a public space played a key role in whether or not they felt safe. They stated, "public space is not really public. It's community space. It's demographic that represents the community it's located in and if you do not look like them, they become uncomfortable and place that uncomfortable feeling on you." To aid in ensuring a greater sense of safety, this participant stated that they utilized costumes and mannerisms to provide security. "I have two wardrobes for public spaces and two personas. These reflect my own community spaces and other spaces where folks don't look like me." Both survey takers that identified as Black noted their race as being a factor in their perception of safety in public space. One participant stated:

"as a Black male, I feel there are stereotypes that work for and against me in terms of safety. If I am perceived as threatening, then perhaps my chances of being attacked (by a

mugger for example) are reduced. However, that perception can work against me when it comes to law enforcement. So, I was taught to stay out of trouble becomes sometimes trouble comes looking for innocent Black men…I am never 100% confident in law enforcement, because there is always that chance of becoming another Black man on the news who was murdered by the police just for existing."

This response underscores how certain public space control have always been used to eliminate "undesirable" often lead to policing and harming people of color, especially the Black community. Another individual noted that her identity as a Black female has rendered surprised looks from other individuals as she lives in an area that is primarily white. While 30% of the total survey takers identified as people of color, they comprised 38% of the individuals who stated that they had felt uncomfortable in public space, clearly indicating that people of color and other underrepresented groups experience increased sentiments of unsafety than the dominant group.

The role of build and size in the feeling of safety was discussed by two participants: one that said that they have felt unsafe in public space and the other that mentioned their lack of safety as something that they experienced in the past but no longer experience toay. The former participant noted that they felt "uncomfortable in the subway and other public spaces when I sense a potential for violence as I feel I am not physically imposing and would not be able to use self-defense." The latter survey participant stated that "I used to be very skinny, and there were times when I could feel afraid walking through a very dark park at night. Being so thin, I felt like an easy target who an attacker might view as powerless and weak." Both of these responders identified as men and their responses highlight how the ability to take up space can be a powerful tool by which to feel at ease in the public realm.

New York City survey responders shared an array of opinions and thoughts regarding democratic spatial practices. In regard to informal selling or vending, 18 out of 30 participants witnessed informal selling and street vendors adjacent to their public space of choice or in general. Nine participants had not seen street vendors or selling in their chosen public space and three did not specifically address this question. The general perception of this activity was commonly neutral or favorable towards presence of street vendors, with each option garnering five responses. Responses tended to vary in a spectrum of sentiments, ranging from "people should sell whatever they want wherever" to "people just trying to make a dime doesn't bug me" to "I think in a capitalist society it's not right to restrict somebody's attempt to make money". But three individuals explicitly described distaste towards informal selling, stating that "some of it should be banned" and that the presence of vendors inhibited access to streets adjacent to parks, calling it the "privatization of public space."

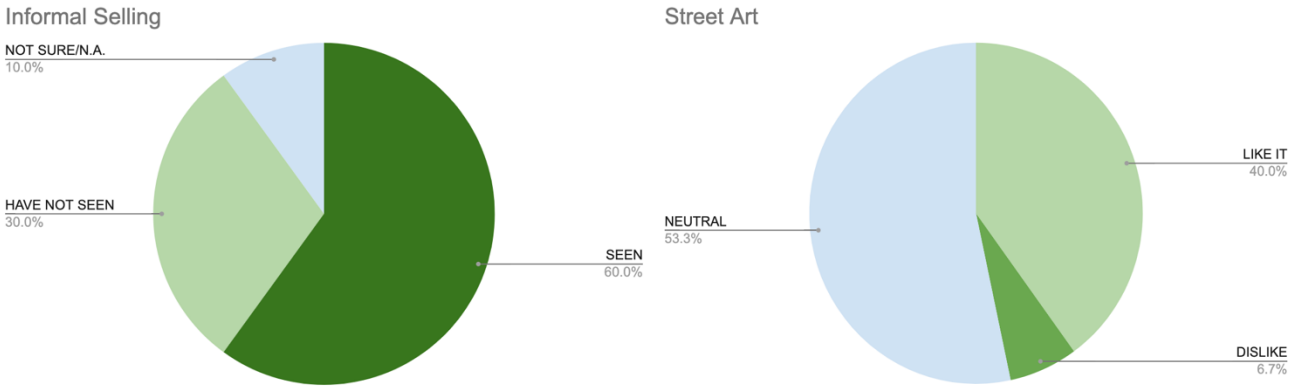


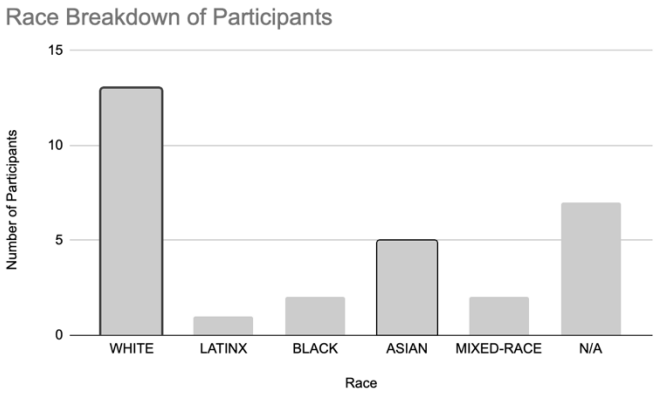
Figure 8 (*left)* shows how many participants recalled seeing street vendors and informal selling in public space. **Figure 9 (*right)*** categorizes the perception of street art in NYC public spaces.

In terms of graffiti or street art, 13 New Yorkers noted seeing street art or graffiti in public spaces with 12 out of those 13 explicitly enjoying the role of street art in the city. One Reddit user noted that graffiti had the potential to add character to an area and another spoke of putting up Black Lives Matter and Fuck the Police stickers throughout the city. At the same time,

25% of those who said that they enjoyed graffiti or street art stated that it was contingent on it being aesthetically pleasing, not gang-related, and not predicated on vulgar content. One responder noted that it does not "bother me if it's community based but extremely irritating if non-sanctioned or gang-related" or it is not meaningful if there is "no purpose and a place is trashed."

The topic of informal squatting was a more contentious one, with 53% of participants stating that they had not seen squatting in their public spaces or in general while 43% of the participants noticed it in their surroundings. Out of the total 30 participants, 14 offered opinions on homelessness, squatting, and informal settlements. 35% of those specifically stated that they did not like seeing or experiencing homelessness and informality in their public spaces. One such participant noted that "so long as they do not look like slums or interfere with normal activities, I don't mind them. But more often than not, these spaces are dirty, messy, and blocking paths or recreational areas." Others stated that it was a nuisance or simply unacceptable. Twenty seven percent stated that homelessness was an issue reflective of the lack of comprehensive and supportive resources available to those struggling with housing insecurity or addiction. One such participant, who is an employee within the city's shelter system, expressed concern with the challenges that those who suffer from housing insecurity face, as they wished that these individuals "had a better place to go…but that's not always the case…it upsets me when police chase them [individuals facing homelessness] out." Another participant asserted that the city needed to do a better job of providing resources and housing for these people, and specifically recommended conducting community outreach to get a greater awareness of the scope of the issue.

New York City survey responders were animated in their beliefs of protesting and expression in public space. Seventy six percent of the participants had seen protests in their public space or in the city at large. Eighteen percent of the participants who had witnessed protests in public space specifically addressed either noticing or being involved in the Black Lives Matter protests over the summer of 2020 and in previous years. Individuals described the protests as "positive, energizing, and peaceful" as well as "extremely healing and necessary." Another participant mentioned the significance in protests allowing protestors to "take over the road or otherwise use space in a way that is "against the rules." It is interesting to note that out of this population of individuals witnessing protests, around 22% remarked the distinction of needing a small amount of control in public space or that protests must be "peaceful" in public space. A participant noted that protests were "fine as long as there's just a tiny bit of control" while another stated that as long as protestors "cleaned up after themselves, I encourage the behavior."



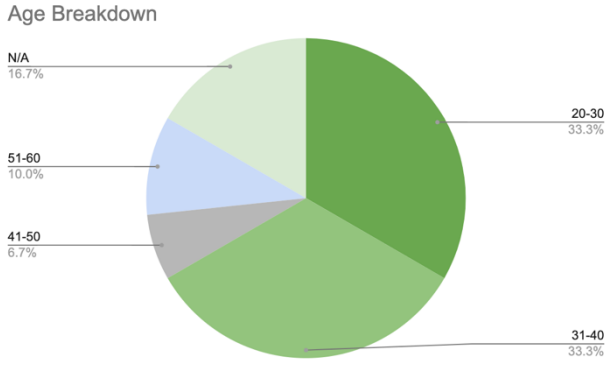


Figure 10 (*left)* highlights the racial and ethnic background of survey participants. **Figure 11 (*right)*** illustrates the age range breakdown of the participants.

Lastly, it is essential to take into account how demographics of the survey participants played a role in the nature of the responses. Around 43% of survey takers identified as white, while 16% of participants were Asian. The age range of participants varied, with 20-30 years old and 31-40

years old each constituting 33.3% of the survey participants. Approximately 6.7% of participants were 41-50 years old and 10% were 51-60 years old. Around 16.7% chose to not disclose their age. The gender of participants was considerably even, with 43.3% of participants identifying as female and 40% of participants identifying as male. As previously mentioned, these factors would have significantly impacted the way in which some of the questions were addressed.

Bogotá

The 29 survey responses that Bogotanos provided helped shed light on what aspects of public parks and public spaces support their interests and priorities. The concept of what makes a good park is somewhat idiosyncratic as individuals may each desire a variety of unique characteristics based on several unique factors, but the survey results can help inform a deeper understanding larger, overarching themes that Bogotanos may share. Residents of Bogotá most frequently cited Simón Bolívar Park as their favorite public space, with four individuals listing it. The next most frequently cited public spaces were 93 Park, Virgilio Barco Public Library and Park, and the Bogotá city center with three responses each.

Simón Bolívar Park is located near the geographic center of the city and was created in the mid-1980s (Berney, 2017, 58). The largest park in the city, it offers a wide range of amenities such as a lake, bike paths, walkways, jogging tracks, and it also sits adjacent to the Virgilio Barco Public Library. The Park has also hosted the Rock al Parque event, which is a yearly festival and concert that is held every summer. The Park is managed by the City of Bogotá's Instituto Distrital de Recreacion y Deporte. 93 Park is located in the north part of the city known as the Zona Rosa, a commercial and entertainment zone. At 0.12 acres, it offers children's activities, exercise classes and is aptly situated next to many restaurants and attractive commercial opportunities.

Constructed between 2001-2003, 93 Park is jointly maintained between the Institutio Distrital de Recreacion y Deporte and the Asociacion del Amigos del Parque 93, a friend of the park group (Berney, 2017, 104). The Friends of Parque 93 Association is a non-profit entity that is responsible for the administration and maintenance of the park. According to its mission statement, the organization's main objective is to "promote culture, civility, and respect for public space". On the organization's website, it advertises various events and activities and highlights its use of El Frente de Seguridad, the Security Front, which ensures the tranquility of the park. Unlike Parque Simon Bolivar, Parque 93 is much smaller in size and more highly programmed.

The Virgilio Barco Public Library is a 173,300 square foot library that is situated within the Virgilio Barco Park that sits adjacent from Parque Simón Bolívar. Located within the central Teusaquillo district, the library includes a bookstore, cafeteria, and an open-air theater, as well as many reading rooms. Lastly, La Candelaria, or the Bogotá city center, is full of popular attractions, including museums as well as historic colonial architecture (Culture Trip). The neighborhood also boasts the Plaza de Bolívar, a Baroque square that sits adjacent to several governmental buildings (Colture). Rather than a specific park or neighborhood, la Candelaria offers a picturesque, quaint, and vivacious attraction to those who wish to immerse themselves in an impressive array of amenities and attractions.

Other places of attraction and interest that were mentioned by survey participants included Virrey Park, Cicloruta Route 11, and el Humedal de Córdoba. In response to the question asking why they had chosen their public spaces, the 14 Bogotanos stressed the importance of having dedicated open space and green space. One participant noted Parque la Esmerelda as their favorite public space due to its "large green areas" while another respondent appreciated having

parks that had areas with “different landscapes and gardens.” The subsequent highest aspect of public space that was referenced by survey takers was the importance of having a quiet and tranquil space, mentioned seven times by participants. Here, individuals mentioned liking their parks since they are “very quiet places” and “feels like an oasis in the middle of an industrial area.”

Park	**Frequency**
Simón Bolívar Park	4
93 Park	3
City Center/Centro de Bogotá	3
Virgilio Barco Public Library/Park	3

Parks and Open Space Values	**Frequency**
Dedicated open and green space	14
Peaceful and quiet	7
Proximity to amenities	6
Aesthetically pleasing views	5

Figure 12 (*left)* shows the most frequently cited parks by participants on the survey. **Figure 13 (*right)*** highlights the most common public space characteristics that participants in Bogotá noted.

The third most frequently referenced characteristic of a park was its proximity to amenities such as restaurants and other attractions. These responders enjoyed having interesting places to visit nearby, such as restaurants and cinemas. Having recreational facilities for sports, infrastructure that was in good condition, ample views of nature and architecture, proximity to home, and size and spaciousness were each mentioned five times by participants. One participant cited that he liked his neighborhood park because “the basketball courts were always in good condition”, another enjoyed the Nacionale Park because it included views of “houses with impressive architecture.” Safety and places to sit were mentioned three times each by survey participants, with one individual preferring Universidad Nacional de Colombia as their preferred

public space because it is “safe and clean” while another enjoyed the city center because of its ample seating opportunities.

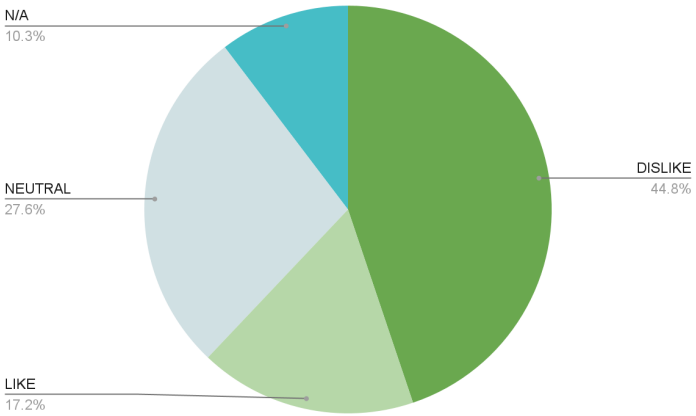
Control Tool	Average Ranking (Bogotá)
Fencing off certain areas of a park	2.57
Codes of conduct signage and/or opening and closing hours	2.77
Seating that is deliberately uncomfortable	3.43
Security cameras in public space	3.33
Spikes, boulders and other elements that make it impossible to sit	3.07
Security guards that watch over public space	3.73

Figure 14 shows the collective average rankings of control tools from Bogotá residents. Residents were asked to rank the intensity of control tools with 1 being more passive to 5 being more active.

In the second portion of the first part of the survey, survey rankings garnered significant diversity much like the New York City ranking responses. Fencing off certain areas of a park had the lowest average ranking of 2.5667 followed by the posting of codes of conduct signage garnered an average score of 2.7667. The use of spikes, boulders, and other forms of hostile architecture was ranked by participants as an average of 3.0667 while security cameras in public

space was a ranking of 3.3333. Deliberately uncomfortable seating brought in an average ranking of 3.4333. The highest ranked, most actively perceived public space control tool was the presence of security guards or police officers at 3.7333.

In response to the subsequent question of how people felt about both active and passive measures in public space, 13 out of 29 individuals expressed dislike, eight were neutral or conditionally approved, five liked the use of active public space controls, while three did not answer the question. The most common criticism of active public space controls was that it took away from the overall experience of public space, with four participants explicitly expressing this concern. One participant who disliked the use of active surveillance measures stated that it renders the experience of public space unpleasant. A different participant stated they disliked active controls because "they ruined the sense of freedom expected of a place of recreation." Another individual who conditionally approved of active surveillance measures stated that it is "important to me to use them not extensively and only for necessary cases, for if it's used extensively the purpose is lost." Two participants stated that it was discriminatory and prompted segregation of public space. "I don't like it; it makes me feel restricted…and in fear of the persecution and prejudice of the State" stated one participant. Another participant states that active space controls "are discriminatory and segregate the space." Those that approved of utilizing active space controls in a limited fashion stated that they enjoyed some of the active space controls, but it was contingent upon how "friendly or aggressive they are with people." As a whole, sixteen individuals either disliked or conditionally approved of these active measures.



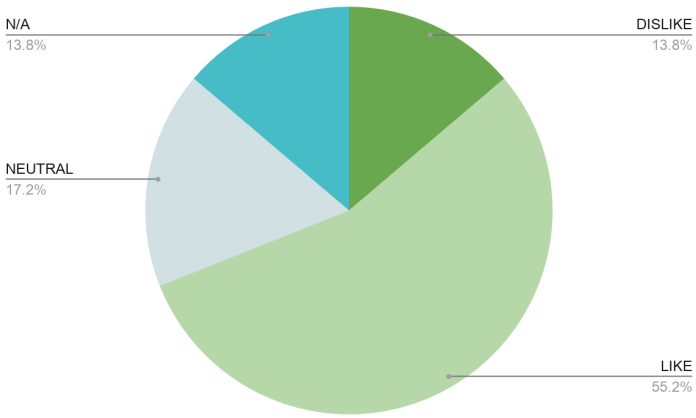
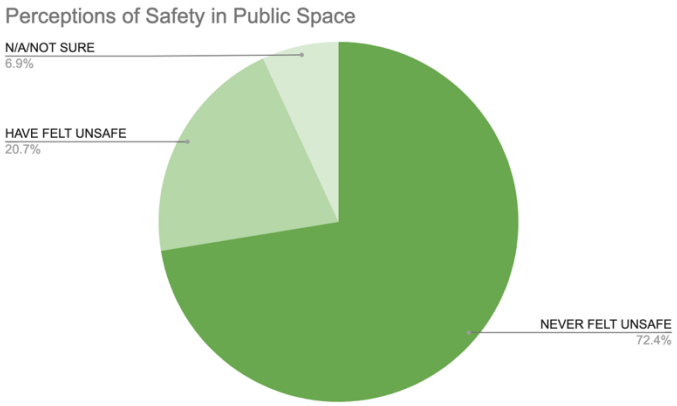


Figure 15 (*left)* depicts the participants' perceptions of more active controls while **Figure 16 (*right)*** highlights the perception of more passive tools. Nearly 62% of participants who disliked active control tools but being neutral or more favorable to passive forms.

Similar to the perceptions of New York City residents, many of those who disliked active forms of public space control tended to be indifferent or favorable towards more passive forms of public space control tactics. Sixteen out of 29 people liked the use of more passive space controls, five were neutral or conditionally approving these measures, four disliked them, and the remaining four did not answer the question. In fact, out of the thirteen individuals that disliked the active public space controls, eight of them were neutral or favorable towards passive methods of control. Statements such as "they make the user feel welcome and at the same time take care of public space" and "they leave clear expectations about the expected behavior for a pleasant use of the space without generating discomfort" were common sentiments. Five Bogotanos appreciated how passive controls cultivate stewardship and encourages the good sense of the parks and public space users. Those that conditionally approved passive space controls noted that they were indifferent, or that they liked them, but did not necessarily appreciate the use of certain tools such as security cameras. One participant noted that that their reception of passive space controls depended on how invasive the people are, pointing out that "the law should be complied with by

decision, *not because there are obstacles that prevent breaking it*," a statement that highlighted the complicated nature of utilizing controls in public space. The four individuals who disliked passive public space controls articulated that they were not very effective and of little use to citizens. Another survey responder stated that there "shouldn't be controls in public space for people to leave."



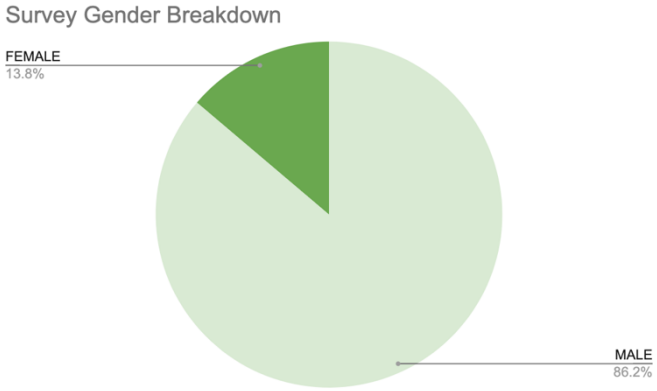


Figure 17 (*left)* depicts the composition of survey participants who documented feeling unsafe in public space while **Figure 18 (*right)*** summarizes the overall gender composition of survey participants. This highlights that the high percentage of male-identifying participants may have impacted the response towards perceptions of unsafety.

The subsequent question asked individuals to disclose if they had ever felt unsafe in public space due to their identity or appearance. Twenty one out of 29 participants stated that they had never felt unsafe in public space. Thirty three percent of those who felt unsafe mentioned changing behavior or attire depending on the nature of public space due to concerns of being robbed or having items stolen from them. One participant exclaimed, in response to the question, "yes absolutely, depending on what I'm wearing, I would feel more or less secured while walking in public places. I try to not wear too much jewelry in public or take my phone out in the streets or parks. But once inside a store or car, my behavior changes." One out of the four female-identifying individuals who took the survey noted that as a woman I have felt vulnerable

when I notice there are only men present." In a similar vein, a respondent stated that they generally have never felt unsafe, unless it is a "very unsafe part of town, which I try to avoid because I don't like getting mugged. I'd say my sense of safety definitely changes depending on the space." Another participant who identified as male mentioned that while he personally had never felt unsafe in public space, he knew of some women that have felt "uncomfortable and insecure dressing in a certain way, it is common for some men to try to flirt or say inappropriate things." While there may be a variety of reasons behind the lower perceptions of unsafety in public space in Bogotá than New York City, the overall gender distribution of Bogotá participants skewing towards more male-identifying may play a significant role.

When the survey responders were asked about their perceptions of informal selling or vending, 70% of Bogotanos reported having seen informal selling in public spaces. Thirty eight percent of respondents felt neutral or favorably towards the activity. Several responders noted they liked the presence of street vendors because it was convenient or that it was a common characteristic in public spaces in Bogotá. One participant stated that "helping those in need in fine" and that "anyone can do business if they please." Another individual pointed out that informal vending represents misuse of public space and the ineffectiveness of the State in providing support, due to the fact that those selling are doing so out of necessity. Fourteen percent did dislike the presence of the activity, with some considering it to be the illegal appropriation of public space or another participant stating that "adding informal vending in a neighborhood is a quick way to make it really dangerous…here, where there's commerce, there's

criminals." Some others stated that the presence of informal vending was uncomfortable or occasionally disrespectful.

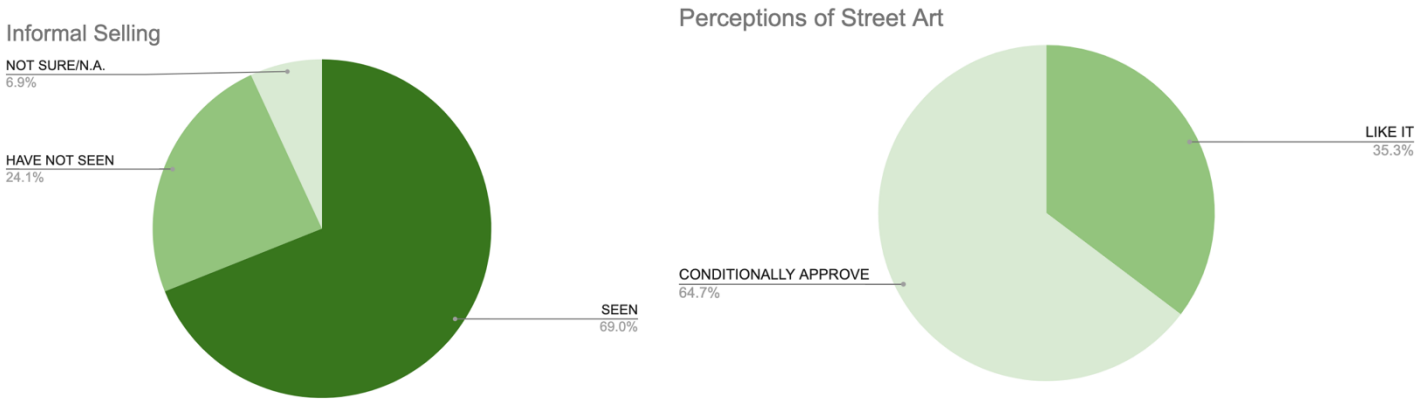


Figure 19 (*left)* shows how many participants recalled seeing street vendors and informal selling in public space. **Figure 20 (*right)*** categorizes the perception of street art in Bogotá's public spaces.

The presence of graffiti and street art was perceived and observed in a variety of different ways. Around 52% of responders stated that they had seen street art or graffiti in their public space of choice while 48% noted that they had not seen it. While no participant specifically expressed dislike for graffiti, 65% of total participants conditionally liked street art, stating that they believed that the activity needed to be regulated more, or making distinctions between vandalism and muralism. Several participants stated that they liked graffiti and were not bothered by it as long as it's not "aesthetically ugly" or when it has "artistic or social merit." A participant stated that they had a "positive perception of street art, as long as it is not done on someone's home or business without their approval." The 35.3% of the participants that expressed unequivocally appreciating street art noted that "the street belongs to everyone…and the people ho decide to personalize or demonstrate an idea or a claim for me have all the legitimacy." A different participant stated that to them, it is a form of expression and that "I agree with what they do, they give more liveliness to the city." The conditional acceptance and enjoyment of

street art was relatively common, with participants stating that their reception of the work would depend on its content, location, or whether or not it was sanctioned.

The perception of informal housing or squatting is additionally quite variegated. Around 48% of the participants reported having seen informal settlements or squatting in their public space of choice or elsewhere in the city while 51% stated that they had not witnessed it. The perception of this activity was quite complex, with 21% of the participants expressing that the presence of housing settlements is indicative of the lack of governmental support. A participant stated, "people need a space to live, and while not the best, sometimes those tents do the job" or "sometimes these people scare me, but I think the state should support them more." Another responder said that those who lived in informal settlements have no choice, "as the State does not meet the basic needs of the people. There is hunger here." Seven percent of participants disliked the presence of informal settlements, stating that they were "radically against it" or that they disliked it because it "creates greater conditions of insecurity." Similar to New York City, Bogotá residents noted that the presence of these communities reflects the state's ability (or lack thereof) to address a complex issue.

When asked about sit-ins or protests in public space, 55.6% of Bogotanos reported having seen protests in public space, 37% stated that they had not seen it, and 7.4% did not directly address or answer the question. Twenty-eight percent specifically stated that they had participated in protesting, noting that "it is necessary to recognize rights" along with "you have to raise your voice…the street is a revolutionary space". An additional participant stated that "it is very pleasant to participate in the union between many people for a common reason." Seven percent of Bogotanos disliked the presence of protests, calling it disruptive or inconvenient as they "block everything, graffiti all of the nearby places and generally makes things worse." At

the same time, 22% of the survey participants specifically cited police brutality and the violent response of law enforcement. One participant stated that "police often exceed the use of force and dissipate crowds with tear gas or beatings, even killing civilians." Another responder felt similarly, "I have participated in protesting…many times the response of the state is to use excessive violence, and I believe that this must change." Many of these participants advocated for the right to take up space and protest, with one participant stating, "you have to raise your voice and it is a right. The street is a revolutionary space."

When asked to share if they had witnessed or participated in any practice that may represent democratic spatial practices or a practice that pushes against sanctioned, designated public space rules, 10% of participants noted consuming alcohol or marijuana in public spaces as a form of unsanctioned park or public space use. One participant stated, "the park is in an industrial zone, and due to the hours in which I frequent it, the probabilities that minors are present is minimal, so on many occasions we do not see a problem in the consumption of alcohol or cannabis." Another responder mentioned a similar statement, "I have smoked marijuana a few times near the university…this is a small park near campus frequented by college students wanting to smoke." In a different sort of form of public space resistance, a participant stated witnessing people filming TikToks of skateboarding and doing Parkour on bridges, illustrating a different, creative use of space. Addressing genocide and the systemic removal and cleansing of certain populations from cities and the public, a participant noted *limpieza social*, where those facing homelessness or gender minorities are killed by citizen groups or government entities.

It is interesting to note the demographics of the survey participants. Regarding gender, 25 out of 29 participants identified as male, while 4 identified as female. In addition, around 70% of

the survey-takers fell under the 20-30 age range while 27.6% were in the 31-40. The general distribution of these factors has certainly played a significant role in the nature of the responses.

VI. DISCUSSION

What do the survey results tell us about Bogotá and New York City and what types of surveillance are seen as essential for maintaining and preserving the image of public space? How has neoliberalism colored the nature of these tactics and consequently affected the perception and manifestation of various democratic spatial practices? As a whole, the results of both cities, while certainly not exhaustive, can illuminate general trends and shared sentiments in addition to highlight distinct perceptions and beliefs about control that each city holds and larger, overarching themes on how the built environment has responded to neoliberal pressures.

First and foremost, Bogotanos and New York City residents valued and prioritized different amenities in a park. The greatest number of NYC park users highlighted water features as the most enjoyable or appreciated asset in a park while Bogotanos cited having dedicated, open, green space as most important. This distinction highlights the shift in cultural preference in park use, where various communities and ethnicities tend to occupy and appreciate different aspects of the public realm. In a study examining park use in 11 Latin American countries (including Bogotá), researchers Moran et al noted that parks are more likely to be used if they are large, have high quality and well-maintained infrastructure, and contain supportive facilities and amenities (Moran 2020). It is interesting to observe that while it was only Bogotá residents who explicitly articulated the importance of their public spaces having infrastructure in good condition, residents of both cities ranked proximity to amenities equally.

Ranking	NEW YORK CITY	BOGOTÁ
1.	Water features	Dedicated open and green space
2.	Dedicated spaces for recreation	Peaceful and quiet
3.	Proximity to amenities	Proximity to amenities
4.	Dedicated green space	Aesthetically pleasing views

Figure 21 shows the top four qualities and characteristics of public space that New York City and Bogotá prioritized.

These cultural distinctions between New York City and Bogotá park users can additionally be seen in some of the commonly cited park choices from both groups. Bogotanos, when asked to describe their public space of choice, were more likely to cite libraries whereas New Yorkers tended to quote traditional public parks. The focus of Bogotá participants on additional forms of social infrastructure exemplifies the monumental role that libraries played in improving access to cultural and educational resources to "increase equity and civic pride" (Berney, 2017, 64). In addition, these libraries endeavored to support social mixing by "encouraging people from different parts of the city to travel to the libraries" by strategically connecting libraries to transit networks (Berney, 2017, 64). The survey results emphasize and support the notion of the library as an integral, connective, social resource in Bogotá.

When participants were asked to recall various public space control tools, the overarching trend observed was that Bogotanos witnessed more active forms of public space controls at a much higher rate than New York City residents. For example, 48% of Bogotá residents reported seeing security cameras in public space while 30% of New Yorkers recalled them. In addition, nearly 93% of Bogotá residents stated that they had seen security guards or police officers "managing" their public spaces in comparison to 63% in New York City. This indicated that

public space controls in Bogotá tended to involve utilizing more external forms of surveillance and monitoring, such as security guards or cameras. More active, externally placed sources of management were much more frequently used and incorporated into Bogotá's built environment. Conversely, New York City saw a greater frequency of internal forms of control that nudged behavior in a more passive form. This can be seen in codes of conduct signage being more frequently witnessed in parks and public spaces in New York City, at 87%, in comparison to Bogotá, where 66% of participants reported seeing these public space rules and regulations. In addition, the use of deliberately uncomfortable seating, such as curved benches, were reported by 30% of New Yorkers while only 17% of Bogotá users noted them in public space. This distinction emphasizes how Parks Department's and other public-private managements in both cities choose to maintain order in differing ways, with New York City utilizing more internal form of control as well as "hostile architecture".

Control Tool	**NYC**	**BOGOTÁ**
Fencing off certain areas of a park	2.84	2.57
Codes of conduct signage and/or opening and closing hours	2.17	2.77
Seating that is deliberately uncomfortable	3.07	3.43
Security cameras in public space	2.93	3.33
Spikes, boulders and other elements that make it impossible to sit	3.56	3.07
Security guards that watch over public space	4.03	3.73

Figure 22 shows the average ranking of New York City and Bogotá survey participants' perceptions of control tools.

At the same time, it is important to note that what is more internal or passive forms of control and more external or active is considerably subjective and can vary on how each public space tool is perceived by an individual. In general, a more internal or passive form of control does not force an individual to change their behavior to the extent that a more traditionally active form of control would. As one can gather, encouraging people to practice and avoid certain behaviors through the use of various tools depends heavily on the individual personally responds to the tool. So, while these numbers are not exhaustive in their ability to comprehensively determine whether Bogotá tends to utilize more active forms of public space control, it provides insight into the prevalence and rate of visibility of these tactics.

It is important to note that while more external and active forms of control were witnessed by Bogotanos, they were still perceived to be considerably active by those residents. While 48% of Bogotanos reported seeing security cameras, the collective average ranking of security cameras in public space for Bogotá residents was 3.33, compared to a lower average of 2.93 for New York City residents. Residents from both cities expressed the use of security cameras as a form of infringement of personal privacy and space, with Bogotanos scoring this tool higher than New York City participants. Security guards were ranked collectively as 3.73 by Bogotanos while being ranked as 4.03 by New York City residents. Residents from both cities stated that they disliked the presence of security officials, with one Bogotá resident stating, “I don’t necessarily feel safe because there is a watchman”. A New Yorker expressed a similar sentiment: “I generally dislike active forms of control…especially hostile architecture and the New York Police Department.” So, while Bogotá may have had a greater presence of active forms of control, residents from both cities tended to hold shared sentiments on the perceptions of these controls.

As previously mentioned, both New Yorkers and Bogotanos as a majority or close-to-majority tended to dislike active forms of public space control. Around 60% of New Yorkers and 45% of Bogotanos disliked more active measures of public space control, stating that the presence of active measures rendered the experience in public space to be unpleasant. These sentiments echo those of Merker's in *Insurgent Public Space* who states that these forms of surveillance create a scripted encounter that represents the commodifying of a public experience, reducing it to a transaction (Merker, 2010, 50). This control and delineation of acceptable behavior is explicitly tied with commercial exchange or economic production, where behavior falls into two basic categories: loitering and illegal and disruptive activity as well as heavily scripted spectacle. Like many participants noted, this maintenance of image and control often comes at the cost of making the use of a public space unpleasant. Rachel Berney in *Lessons in Social Equity from Bogotá's "Public Space" Mayors* notes this predicament by stating that when public space becomes a "vehicle for remaking and branding, rather than just providing public space for citizen use", the desire to present an image of the free use of public space conflicts with the need to control both place and people. Berney highlights that when public spaces become focused on methods of control, the greater meaning of a common realm or existence of various publics becomes increasingly compromised. The fact that many participants disliked the existence of these more visible, external, and active practices illustrates the repercussions of the very erosion that Berney, Mitchell, and Low speak of.

Typically, these active forms of public space control are inherently discriminatory, as they tend to proactively quell blight as a means to render public space as a pleasing, orderly landscape. This sanitization is quite counterproductive, as scholars such as Nancy Fraser, Don Mitchell, and David Harvey have noted that what makes public space inherently public are the

contestations and the struggles for visibility that occur within it. This packaging and presenting of a tableaux is a direct indicator of the growing neoliberal, revanchist obsession with security. Mike Davis notes that in the process of "securing" a city any semblance of democratic space is lost (Davis, 2006).

Conversely, the passive forms of public space control saw a radical shift in perception from both cities. In fact, nearly 83% of survey responders from New York City stated that they were either neutral or favorable towards more passive forms of public space control in comparison to 72% of Bogotanos. This reversal of opinion indicates that a majority of people either believed that some form of control in public space was necessary to create a positive environment or did not notice the passive controls as a form of behavior management at all. Many participants, especially those from New York, felt that codes of conduct signage were beneficial and even helpful as they laid out proper park use to ensure the enjoyment of all users. A need for some semblance of community-enforced public space best practice is understandable, especially to ensure that public property is in good condition for all users. The issue arises when the goal to maintain the quality of the public becomes associated with the exclusion of certain populations or tying unacceptable forms of disorder with a specific group. For example, utilizing a sign or fencing that request park users to not step upon a flower bed is understandable as it keeps aspects of the park in good condition. One participant observed this by stating that in their opinion, "passive forms of control are usually about practical goals, like fencing to let patches of grass regrow or signs reminding people to stay safe." What becomes problematic is when signs utilize restrictions to legitimize exclusion. This can be seen in signs that will state "no loitering, no laying down, or no camping." These signs have less to do with appealing to the good sense of

a public space user but rather ostracize and criminalize certain people from utilizing the public amenity altogether.

The boundary between maintaining public space for all to enjoy and restricting access to open space to an appropriate community is a rather porous one regardless of whether a control tactic is considered more active or more passive, although more active forms of public space management may be inherently discriminatory. What may begin as a simple tool by which to avoid destruction of common property quickly morphs into ordinances, policies, and surveillance to mitigate disorder. Setha Low in *How Private Interests Take Over Public Space* writes about how "building walls and fences with gates and guards is a sensible way to exclude the public where there is a public amenity or resource inside." But, as one would imagine, the presence of behavior controls may improve perceptions of safety for *some* members of minority populations. For example, the 63% of women-identifying individuals who felt unsafe in public space in New York City may have felt safer in parks that had better lighting, clearer sightlines, and improved visibility from the interior to exterior portions of the park. These structural changes fall under CPTED and defensible space tactics and when utilized intentionally, can cultivate community-led surveillance. But as participants in both cities mentioned, the presence of these surveillance controls, especially the more active ones, may not ameliorate perceptions of safety if they appear to be discriminatory or biased. A New York City participant mentioned the discord between the intention behind the placement of active surveillance tools, such as security guards, and the actual impact of these figures in public space. This disconnect is particularly troubling as many of these tools disproportionately harm the very people they are supposed to support. This highlights that the motivations behind the placement of these management tools are not

necessarily there to ameliorate safety, but rather to mitigate distasteful presences that may hamper the overall conception of order in a space.

Taking a closer look at people's perceptions of resistance practices was particularly interesting and revealed that most individuals felt favorably or neutral towards most democratic spatial practices. Street art, informal vending, and protesting were particularly well-perceived. The acknowledgement of street art and graffiti in public spaces as a form of resistance to express criticism or simply as a means to share public art was frequently cited by the participants. Lars Frers and Lars Meier in *Resistance in Public Space* note that although the presence of street art may be micro-political, it encourages the use of public space in unsanctioned ways while pushing against neoliberal and capitalist standards of public space control. The response to protesting was similar and several participants stated that noted that the existence of people fighting for a singular cause fostered a sense of community. David Harvey in *Rebel Cities* as documented how the appropriation of space, particularly through protesting, exemplifies how "the collective power of bodies in public space is still the most effective instrument of opposition when all other means are unheard" (Harvey, 2012, 161). All forms of resistance, be they peddling goods, tagging, or protesting center around what Mitchell coins as the "logic of representation." The rights of groups and individuals to make their desires and needs known is part of the very essence of publicness, a right that is not guaranteed unequivocally but something that is always struggled towards (Mitchell, 2003, 33). According to Mitchell, this radical claiming of space "representation, a place where one can make themselves visible, is crucial" (Mitchell, 2003, 33).

This struggle and journey to representation is not necessarily a linear one. The results of a protest may often be contradictory to the protest's aims. The Black Lives Matter protests in New

York City and across the world that advocated for the removal of a police state resulted in an even greater police presence. Frers and Meier note that this can additionally be seen "when more restrictions and control are established through new surveillance systems, increased police or military presence, more effective means of crowd control and domination or more effective weapons (Frers & Meier, 2017). Although it may seem that these impositions and restrictions in public space leave little room for any necessary contestations, this is not the case. The opportunities to exercise agency and resist against a dominant order are ever-present and can be found even when neoliberal and capitalist forces may challenge the possibility of doing so. But at the same time, the practice of reclaiming space is not positively received by all. The survey results from both Bogotá and New York City exemplified the diversity of perceptions of various democratic spatial practices. Lars Frers and Lars Meier state that these acts "elicit different emotional responses in individuals, attracting some while repelling others" (Frers & Meier, 2017). Many individuals conditionally approved of these public space forms of resistance, especially street art and squatting and informal settlements. This conditional acceptance highlights that most individuals seek public spaces and appreciate city spaces that possess some form of control, particularly more passive forms of control that are regarded as "imperceivable."

When noting the forms of surveillance and behavior control in parks and other public facilities, it is imperative to analyze the role of management in these cities' public spaces. As previously discussed, the top five New York City parks that were cited by participants were all maintained utilizing a partnership between New York City Parks Department as well as specific "Friends of Parks" organizations. Many of these nonprofit institutions were created during the 1970s and 1980s, a time of fiscal stagnation where public funds were either depleted or transferred to pursuits that would yield higher capital returns. The rationale behind the creation

of these private, beneficiary organizations is remarkably consistent. Since the 1960s and 70s, these parks experienced long periods of economic decline, neglect, poor management. In response to this deterioration, concerned citizens formed these conservancies or FOP organizations to restore and revive the parks. While the existence of these institutions is justifiable, the fact that a collective body of residents were compelled to create a private institution to maintain common, public property raises several questions on the responsibility, or lack thereof, of the state. Zukin notes that since the 1970s, the withdrawal of federal funding made it so that city governments have become more dependent on private entities (Zukin, 1991, 53). Utilizing conservancies and friends of park organizations inherently represents a conflict of interest as it allows private interests to guide the trajectory of public space. Elizabeth Blackmar has articulated that public-private partnerships have eroded the historical definition of public space as public property as they gain greater control over budgets, maintenance, and rules of public parks and other public institutions (Blackmar, 2006, 71). This can especially apparent in Central Park's management where participants noted the presence of Conservancy-sanctioned security guards that exemplify the privatized interests that preside over a publicly owned land. Dubbed a pseudo-private entity by Don Mitchell and Lynn Staeheli, "spaces formally owned by the state, by the public, but are subject to control and regulation by private interests…examples include public sidewalks patrolled by business improvement district-hired security forces, or parks governed by conservatories or other private organizations (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, 153). When a private, non-governmental institution takes on the responsibility of maintaining common property, the "public" space (which is only public by name) not only rests on a series of exclusions, but centers around the motivation of accumulation. Accumulation is not concerned with providing spaces for homeless individuals to spend time in a public space, but rather sees

these groups as roadblocks towards accumulation. For how can people's rights be truly protected on private property?

In comparison, four of the five public spaces and institutions mentioned by Bogotá residents were publicly owned and maintained with the exception of Parque 93, which is run by a joint partnership between Instituto Distrital de Recreacion y Deporte (the city's sports and recreation department) and the Asociacion del Amigos del Parque 93 (Berney, 2017, 104). Yet the predominance of the publicly owned and maintained parks does not imply that behavior controls were not at play. Survey results illustrated that nearly 93% of Bogotanos witnessed security guards in their public spaces of choice, throughout publicly owned public spaces. This can highlight the role that Bogotá plays on the world stage. As the city gains a global reputation and is utilized as a precedent for planning and design best practice, the image of public space serves as a representation of the city's success. Some participants expressed distaste at the presence of people sleeping in certain public parks, many of whom are refugees and do not have accessible options of housing. Much like New York City, these individuals are perceived to not only cause disorder, but infringe on the image of public space. While this is certainly a challenging situation, the removal of these people as well as zero tolerance policies towards dealing with seemingly "unacceptable" uses does a disservice towards the goal of public space. Nancy Fraser, in *Rethinking the Public Sphere* emphasizes how the public space, or existence of multiple publics should be places where inequalities are not only bracketed, but eliminated (Fraser, 1990, 65).

With this in mind, it is imperative for Bogotá and New York City to tolerate and accept forms of public space use that exist beyond the binary of what is acceptable and what is not. "Conflict will need to be allowed and expanded and exclusions halted" writes Berney in

Pedagogical Urbanism (Berney, 2011, 27). Public space holds different values, purposes, and uses for different people. Allowing individuals to take up space and utilize the public in ways relevant to them involves gaining a deeper, broader, and more nuanced understanding of what appropriate use is and checking assumptions and tendencies to classify acceptable and unacceptable behavior.

VII. CONCLUSION

While it is essential to document how public policies and accumulation-based agendas have left public space vulnerable, the very concept and existence of the public has been built upon a series of systemic exclusions and persistent contestations. Some could argue that the very existence of public space has never been fully realized. While this is certainly the case, the global political shifts furthering a capitalist agenda, along with pressures of globalization have left public space unguarded from targeted and strategic attacks. This has effectively compromised the very intention and essence of a public. Public space has become more of a sanitized, marketing tool than a place where a multitude of people can coexist and utilize the space in a way that to them is meaningful and relevant. The effects of neoliberalization have crafted distinct publics in Bogotá and in New York City that although unique in management, organization, and design, share similar concerns. New York City, an archetypal Global North city, faced with glaring 20th century financial repercussions and post-9/11 security obsessions and Bogotá, an emerging world-city and global precedent for urban design best practice addressed initial concerns of crime and disorder in vastly distinct ways, but are still faced with the same threats against public space. While New York City displayed a tendency to utilize more internal forms of control and Bogotá utilized external forms of surveillance, residents from both cities expressed overall discontent with more active public space control tools while generally acknowledging that some form of passive behavior appeals to a user's good sense and promotes stewardship. What is being seen in both cities, however, is the conflation of utilizing passive behavior controls as a means by which to exclude certain users. This reflects how public space has become a place that can be only accessed by what Mitchell calls the "appropriate public", a group of people whose behavior and appearance do not tarnish the image of public space.

But as we become further removed from the inherent multiplicity that exists in public space at the hands of the state and state-sanctioned privatization, there are opportunities to resist and reclaim the right to the city, no matter how impossible it may seem to do so. The very fight for public space represents the ever-present struggle to create cities for the people. It is evident that we must create universally accessible and enjoyable public space design that honors and upholds the inherent diversity in all the users of public space. Let us continue to push for cities and public spaces that are just and accessible, for the streets are a revolutionary space.

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