

Study Note on Trend of Urban Commons Studies.

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"Urban Commons" have been dealt with by many scholars in these years. In what situation, and in what kind of process the researches have been developing?

This small study note aims at two purpose :1) The first purpose is verifying the change and trend of commons' studies, and how "urban commons" researches have been formed; We have treated the researches on "urban commons"(or "neighborhood commons", "local commons") have emerged as one of "new commons" (Hess 2008) , treating what kind of objects. And our second purpose is trying to get a perspective about agenda in the incoming "urban commons" researches. Through treating 3 perspectives on "urban commons" ,① neighborhood commons, ②social relations and urban capital accumulation (D.Harvey), ③ autonomous rule in community (G.Takamura), we treated the potentially crucial importance of the agenda on the autonomous and self-organizing governance by stakeholders themselves, and its institution to urban commons that corresponds to the inherent attributes of "urban commons" (collectiveness and non-commodified aspects of commons).

Keywords : Urban Commons, Tragedy of the Commons, Gentrification, Ostrom, Urban development

1 Purpose

"Urban Commons" have been dealt with by many scholars in these ten years. In what situation, and in what kind of process the researches on it has been developing?

This small study note aims at 1) verifying the change and trend of commons' studies, and how "urban commons" researches have been formed; 2) providing a perspective about agenda in the incoming "urban commons" researches.

2 "Traditional Commons"

After Garret Hardin issued an article "tragedy of the commons" (1968), that words have influenced many academic studies. Tragedy of the commons refers

to the depletion of a shared resource by individuals, acting independently and rationally according to each one's self-interest, despite their understanding that depleting the common resource is contrary to the group's long-term best interests. In terms of "governing commons", pointing out that people are able to self-govern resources (people can do act for the good of the resource), Elinore Ostrom focused on institutions for collective action for the basis of governing commons. With myriad case studies. Ostrom showed the advantage and necessity of autonomous and self-organizing governance by neighborhood itself, and also showed effectiveness of institution that restricts the non-conformist behaviors. And she remarked how such institution emerges or exists in the field should be the main theme of commons study. (Ostrom 1990).

In early 1990s International Association

of the Study of Common Property (IASCP) (=now IASC=International Associations for the Study of the Commons) was established, and in and outside of IASCP / IASC many researchers have been conducted on the sectors such as fisheries, forests, grazing lands, land tenure and use, water, so called "natural resource sectors", and corresponding village organizations.

3 "New Commons"

On the other hand many researchers have been focusing on the new type of commons. IASCP decided to focus on the new theme "Reinventing the commons" - non- natural resource sectors- in the conference of 1995. Hess and Ostrom dealt with "Understanding Knowledge as a Commons" (Hess and Ostrom 2006)

According to Hess new commons are various types of shared resources that have recently evolved or have been recognized as commons.

Hess tries to identify various new commons sectors and sub sectors and representative collective-action communities involved in new commons, aiming at attempting a viable definition of the new commons (Hess 2008). According to Hess, the main sectors (resource types) are: cultural commons; neighborhood commons; knowledge commons; social commons; infrastructure commons; market commons; and global commons.

And so called "commons" many scholars refer to look so disparate. Yet, they all had a sense of "sharing" and joint ownership. Six common entry points are: (A.) the need to protect a shared resource from enclosure, privatization, or commodification; (B.) the observation or action of peer production and mass collaboration primarily in electronic media; (C.) evidence of new types of tragedies of the commons; (D.) the desire to build civic education and commons like thinking; and (E.) identification of new or evolving types of commons within traditional commons; and (F.)Rediscovery of the

commons. (ibid, 6).

4 Overview on "Urban Commons"

What would be the "urban commons", or related ones,"local commons","neighborhood commons"? 3 perspectives are examined: 1) neighborhood commons, 2)social relations in social relations and urban capital accumulation, 3) autonomous rule in community.

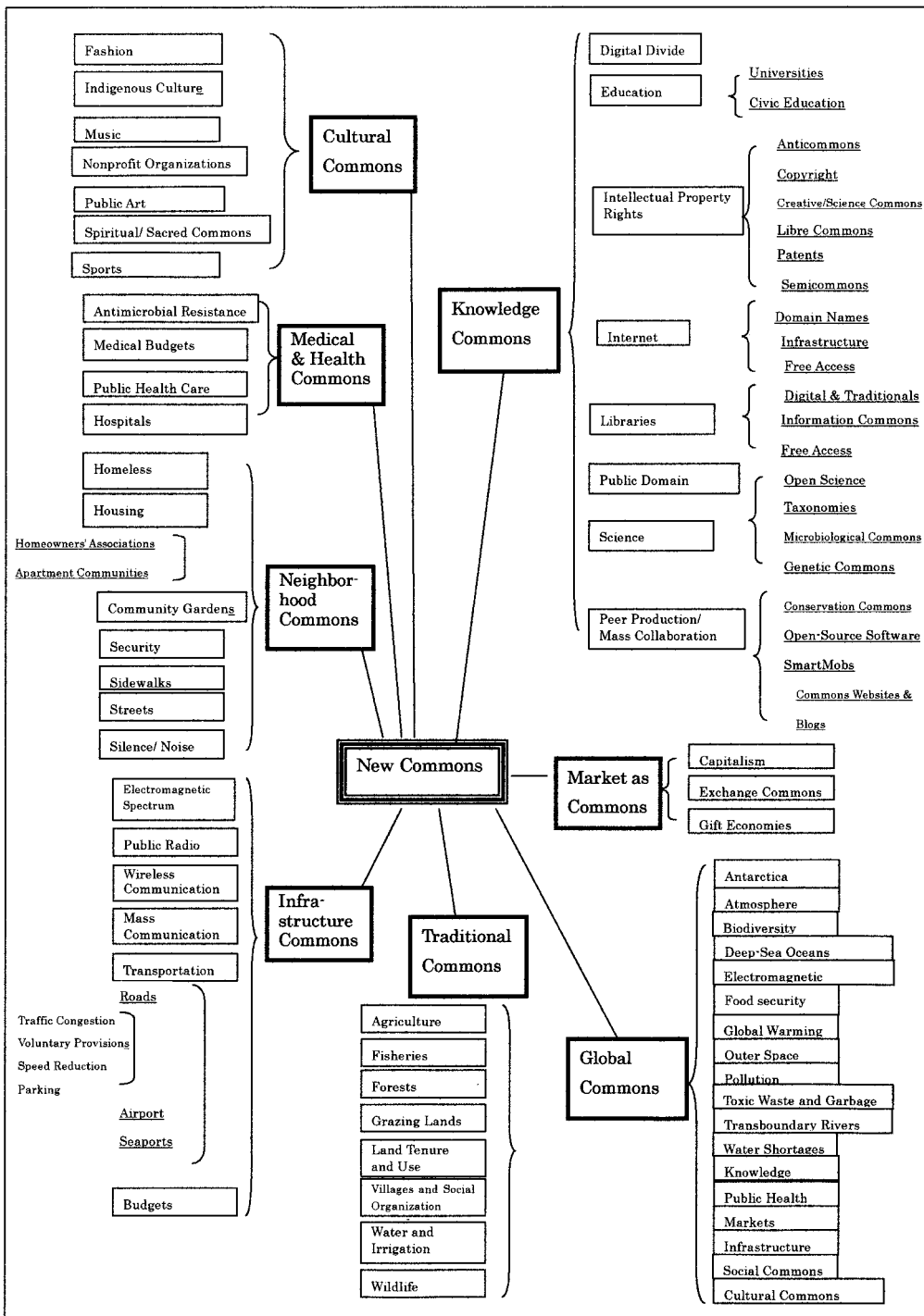
4.1 Neighborhood Commons

According to Hess, urban commons, or "neighborhood commons" covers several aspects:

- Homeless
- Housing, homeowners association, apartment Communities
- Community Gardens
- Security
- Sidewalks
- Silence / Noise
- Street Trees
- Streets

Hess shows numbers of studies on neighborhood commons, or urban commons. (Hess 2008, 16f.) When we look at her list, we recognize that since first 1990s studies which treat neighborhood commons, or urban commons have emerged. And around since 2000 studies are increasing.

In concrete terms, in first 1990s Choe treated apartment building as neighborhood commons (1993), and Yang (1995), studying on homeowners' associations, and French and Hyatt who treated community associations (1997). In 1995 Rogers started the study on gardens. The case where battles between neighborhood groups and city governments over the rights to gardens grown on abandoned land has been the big theme. Assadourian (2003) and Saldivar-Tanaka and Kransky (2004) followed. And Karl Linn provided the practice-based perspective on building community gardens and neighborhood



(Figure A map of New Commons, in:Hess, Charlotte and Elinor Ostrom,(ed.), 2006,Understanding Knowledge as a Commons. From Theory to Practice, MIT Press, p13.)

commons(Linn 1999).

Also Benson focused on local security issue as neighborhood commons (1994). And Krebs, Sever, and Clear (1999), Wagenaar and Soeparmman (2004), Blackstone et al.(2007) have treated local security. According to Hess urban commons or "neighborhood commons" is the one "where people living in close proximity come together to strengthen, manage, preserve, or protect a local recourse" (Hess 2008,16). And as she remarks, other commons are related to it such as cultural commons (nonprofit organizations, public art etc), and infrastructure commons (transportation etc) etc.

5 Urban Commons in context of Urban Capital Accumulation

In accordance with new types of commons, the issue about "urban commons and public space" has been treated by some scholars such as Hayden (2006). and Coleman (2004).

David Harvey argues "the Creation of the Urban Commons", focusing on the urbanization of capital and the recreation of cities (Harvey 2012). At the core of his work, the following is argued. Cities have been the subject of much utopian thinking. But at the same time they are also the centers of capital accumulation and the frontline for struggles over "who controls access to urban resources" - financiers and developers, residents. Most typical case is gentrification. Harvey mention "the tragedy of the urban commons" that have occurred in many cities in the way such as gentrification in Christiania in Copenhagen, the St. Pauli districts of Hamburg, or Williamsburg and DUMBO in New York City. Citizens and some community groups that struggle to maintain ethnic diversity in its neighborhood. But with the slogan of "Revitalization", when estate agents or developers market the "character" of their neighborhood to the wealthy as multicultural, street-lively, and diverse, citizens and

that groups may suddenly find its property prices (and taxes) rising. Gentrification emerges under the banner of "Revitalization". The better the common qualities a social group creates, the more likely it is to be raided and appropriated by private profit-maximizing interests (Harvey 2012,78f). "Capitalist urbanization perpetually tends to destroy the city as a social, political and livable commons."(ibid,80)

As to the study on gentrification in New York including DUMBO, Jason Hackworth is to referred to. He argues the neoliberal urbanization, though he does not treat urban commons directly. Gentrification, "the knife-edge neighborhood-based manifestation of neoliberalism" unfolded or has unfolded in many US cities such as NY and San Francisco since 1970s-1980s, and again since 1990s. Hackworth examined the situation in neighborhoods that experienced gentrification for 3 decades (neighborhoods in NY: Clinton, Long Island City, DUMBO). According to the examination, resistance to gentrification occurred with two kinds of activists, on the one hand militant activists, on the other hand "less militant groups" (p131). Militant activist groups withered after violent police action and a series of law restriction. Less militant groups morphed into community development corporations (CDCs) that functions for social issues, especially for affordable housing. CDC is more vulnerable to fiscal disciplining (of the city and state). With some characteristics of the resistance-development process in 3 neighborhoods, "neoliberal gentrification" are expanded more. In this process ,the typical remarks in neighborhoods is "The remaining activists in the neighborhood now complain that their work assists the middle-class newcomers more than the working-class residents)(Hackworth 2007, 141) (see also Hackworth and Smith 2001; Gwertzmann 1997).

Coming back to our point, by way of treating commons confronting neoliberal urbanization, Harvey finds out the core part of urban commons. He remarks:

The common is not to be construed, therefore, as a particular kind of thing, asset or even social process, but as an unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet-to-be-created social and/or physical environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood. There is, in effect, a social practice of commoning. This practice produces or establishes a social relation with a common whose uses are either exclusive to a social group or partially or fully open to all and sundry (ibid,73).

The common is being defined as an unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of the group's environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood. Neighborhood groups, such as community groups that struggle to maintain ethnic diversity in its neighborhood, and activists tries to maintain ethnic diversity in its neighborhood, making effort in a realm or realms such as community organizing, promoting community garden, community watch (local safety), street beatification etc.

Other aspects about urban commons are mentioned:

At the heart of the practice of commoning lies the principle that the relation between the social group and that aspect of environment being treated as a common shall be both collective and non-commodified --- off-limits to the logic of market exchange and market valuations. This last point is crucial because it helps distinguish between public goods construed as productive state expenditures and a common which is established or used in a completely different way and for a completely different purpose (ibid 74).

Public spaces and public goods in the city (such as sanitation, public health, education, and the like) have always been a matter of state power and public

administration. And such spaces and goods do not make necessarily a commons.

In the end, from his standpoint two against neoliberal urbanization that cut deep into urban commons:

a double-pronged political attack, through which the state is forced to supply more and more in the way of public goods for public purposes, along with the self-organization of whole populations to appropriate, use, and supplement those goods in ways that extend and enhance the qualities of the non-commodified reproductive and environmental commons (ibid 87f.).

From his standpoint an attack to the state is derived. And there his strategy is remarked: on the one hand, self-organization of whole populations and on the other hand enhancing the qualities of the non-commodified reproductive and environmental commons. That is what we acquire from Harvey's perspective, whose view comes from the experience about gentrification and urban crisis of Paris in 1970s, with a little bit of "confrontational" taste.

Now we are in the spot where we should think about how self-organization and enhancing qualities of non-commodified commons could be attained?

6 Urban Commons and autonomous rule building in Urban Law

In terms of law sociology, Takamura shed another light to some aspect of urban commons. He strives to enhance the basis of newly built "urban law". He insists that the role of urban law is to facilitate urban residents take back the urban space to their hands, perceiving urban space as commons (Takamura 2012). In his perspective the autonomous rules (management rule and use rule) built by residential organizations and the legal phenomena of that "institution" is focused

on. In his case urban commons is perceived as urban environment, urban landscape, condominium, small park etc.

In terms of community building and the related social movement, Maeyama analyzed the autonomous movement for Basic Autonomy Ordinance (kind of home rule charters in incorporated cities in US), especially focused on establish process and background of "handmade process of drafts of BAO in progressive cities in Japan".(Maeyama 2009; Maeyama 2010).

From legal standpoint (organizational-, political -, and right=obligation- law / norm standpoint) he precisely analyzed the practical legal situation of "governance of commons" in privatization of parks, condominium and commercial advertizing signboards issue.

6.1 A Case -Autonomous Rule building in Kyoto

Especially he precisely conducted his analysis on commercial signboards issues in Kyoto downtown (Ninensaka Area, a historical and sightseeing area). Since 2001 due to "Area Meeting" (Machizukuri Kaigi) that is consists of residents, and shops, have built their autonomous local rule on the color and amount of advertizing signboards, promoting many shops (including the not-member of the meeting). And showing the relationships between local stake holders (Area Meeting), the shops, and the City of Kyoto, he remarks, the necessary and successful way is the regulation-enforcement strategy that places weight to draw the potential of neighborhoods or localities (ibid, 203-242).

7 Adgenda

This Kyoto case is an effective one. "The necessary and successful way is the regulation-enforcement strategy that places weight to draw the potential of neighborhoods or localities". That means in the neighborhood stakeholders (residents, shop-owners),

controlling the relation (collaborative or strained relation, or sometimes parallel), built autonomous rules. And after relatively long process of stakeholder organizing (building associations and meetings) for years, they – residents and shop owners in the neighborhoods – succeeded to among themselves draw out the local standard (widely agreed color-, size standard of signboard) for rules that the stakeholders should comply with, and also succeeded to provide the model sample to the later issued signboard ordinance to the City of Kyoto, they could build and maintain the landscape- urban commons.

In 1990s as to natural resource commons Ostrom showed the advantage and necessity of autonomous and self-organizing governance by neighborhood itself, and also showed effectiveness of institution that restricts the non-conformist behaviors. And she remarked how such institution emerges or exists in the field should be the main theme of commons study.

Through our examination we are acknowledging at present that as to "new commons", especially "urban commons" the studies are supposed to place weight to researching autonomous and self-organizing governance by neighborhoods or stakeholders by themselves, and also to researching the institution inherent to urban commons.

8 Findings

"Urban Commons" have been dealt with by many scholars in these years. In what situation and in what kind of process the researches on it has been developing? This small study note aims at 1) verifying the change and trend of commons' studies, and how "urban commons" researches have been formed; 2) providing a perspective about agenda in the incoming "urban commons" researches.

1) We acknowledged that since first 1990s, as one

of "new commons" (Hess) relative to the "traditional" natural-based commons, the researches on "urban commons" (or "neighborhood commons", "local commons") have emerged, treating housing, homeowners association, apartment communities, community gardens, local security, sidewalks, street and street trees, silence/noise etc.

2) Through treating three perspectives on "urban commons", ① neighborhood commons(C.Hess), ② social relations and urban capital accumulation (D.Harvey), ③ autonomous rule in community (G.Takamura), we could acknowledge two observations that is related to agenda in the incoming "urban commons" researches. The first is that both self-organization of whole populations and the qualities of the non-commodified aspects of commons are going to be more crucially important in "urban commons" development in urban lives and in urbanization.

3) As the second observations concerning agenda for incoming "urban commons" research placing weight to the researches are getting crucial importance that focus on autonomous and self-organizing governance by neighborhoods or stakeholders by themselves, and also to researching the institution inherent to urban commons.

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「都市コモンズ」研究の動向

— 都市経営におけるパラダイムシフトの観点から —

前山 総一郎

要旨

「都市コモンズ」研究の動向を扱った。いかなる状況においてまたどのような過程で「都市コモンズ」は発展するのだろうか。第一に「『都市コモンズ』研究がいかに形成されてきているのか？」を確認すること、第二にこれからの「都市コモンズ」研究にとって必要なアジェンダを確認することが本稿の目的とされる。①コミュニティコモンズ（ヘス）、②資本蓄積と社会関係（ハーヴェイ）、③コミュニティにおける内発的ルール形成（高村）の検討を通して、「都市コモンズ」研究における、地域のステークホルダー自身による自己組織的ガバナンスの形成の問題および都市コモンズの特質に相応した制度の問題が大きなアジェンダとなることが確認された。

キーワード：都市コモンズ、コモンズの悲劇、ジェントリフィケーション、オストロム、都市開発

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