

CONDITIONS OF SELF-REGULATED URBANITY

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Urban structures are material artefacts reflecting the history of the societies that had been creating them, as well as today's social relations. Post socialist cities are the physical witnesses of the communist ideologies that have gone and the capitalist ambitions that have loudly taken their place. Socialist society projected the high ideals of universal humanity, such as equality, solidarity and unity onto urban development by adopting modernism and following the most progressive concepts of modern architecture and urban planning. Collective values were represented by hierarchical urban structures composed of functionally organised parts which were celebrating social order and a healthy environment.

THE SHIFT FROM SOCIALIST TO NEO-LIBERAL URBANISM

- > New settlements appeared on open fields on the peripheries of the old cities. They constituted monolithic groups of buildings surrounded by green spaces and parking lots, connected to the city centres by wide motorways and public transport systems. Unfortunately, the high ideals of universal humanity had to be realised with limited budgets, undeveloped construction technology and under rigid administrative control. This reduced utopian horizons to a series of repetitive standardised units that were considered inhuman, alienating and dangerous. The dreams of urban planners were turned into people's nightmares.
- > The transition from socialism to capitalism, defined by neo-liberal trends toward privatisation, market led growth and high profits had provoked massive changes in social values. A new standard of neo-liberal specificity has taken the place of collectivism, thereby reducing the complexity of social relations to continuous competition. Pursuit of ultimate personal success was a sufficient reason for the abandonment of social and environmental issues. Contemporary urban planning in post-communist

Serbia is determined by the domination of individual initiatives and institutional retreat within a framework of market competition. The result of such a process is a disintegrated urban structure and an assemblage of glossy buildings which are exploiting the local environment in order to radiate a globalised image of luxury. Their architecture has been reduced to standardised technological designs and façade renderings which give these buildings the most attractive appearance for their self promotion. Potential variety of building types has been confined to the most profitable ones, creating a large amount of similar units that have occupied all the best locations in the cities and are also dominating their surroundings. Once again – this time under neo-liberal guidance – urban development did not fulfil human needs and expectations.

TRANSFORMATIONS OF NEW BELGRADE

Both socialist and capitalist tendencies of urban development have guided the transformation of New Belgrade, a new town that was imagined as the modern capital of socialist Yugoslavia. What is particular of New Belgrade is that neither a socialist nor a capitalist agenda have been fulfilled rigorously, enabling this new town to grow spontaneously, albeit under top down governance and built with the full engagement of the state. New Belgrade started out as a utopian modernist city, the hometown of a new society with a bright future. Instead it has reached unplanned multiplicity through a series of politically driven opportunistic changes (Fig. 1).

The dominating urban presence of New Belgrade was created during the longest and most intensive period of socialist urban modernisation after World War II. It was developed from scratch on no-man's land, located in between two big rivers in a context of continuous social reforms. It was the outcome of a progression of political experimentation in socialist Yugoslavia. The pace of continuous political and economic change determined the continually changing urban discourses and created the



New Belgrade contra-versions

photo:
Dubravka Sekulic

unfinished and intermingled layers of the new city and its unexpected expandability. New Belgrade signifies a centralised concept of a functionalist city which never managed to constitute a city centre; self-managed spatial arrangements which led to insufficient amounts of residential mega blocks; hurriedly planned headquarters of socialist corporations which used their political power to appropriate urban land; a formal urban layout of a XIX century industrial city promoted by post-modern urban critics; deregulated downscaled individual building interventions; individual profit orientated initiatives during the period of transition to a free market economy. A series of detached, derogated, deviated and abandoned planning discourses have been characterised by both socialist utopian ambition and post-socialist profit motives have created unplanned discontinuity of urban development, resulting in a heterogeneous and disordered structure. However, unlike other modernist settlements, New Belgrade has become a city loved by its residents, wanted by developers and glorified by politicians. Only some architects and urban planners have problems in accepting its unfinished disharmony.

- > Like any contemporary city, New Belgrade has been growing through disintegration and fragmented development rather than in its totality, in spite of planning efforts. Large cities worldwide have become uncontrolled spaces, immeasurable dynamics of people, traffic, communication, infrastructures, policies, buildings, services, events, memories, changes, waste, etc. More than half of the world's population is living in such urban conglomerations and more than half of their citizens inhabit unplanned and self-regulated urban settlements that have become integral parts of large cities. In the next twenty years these numbers will double, turning self-regulated urbanity into the dominating type of human habitation with uncontrolled urban transformation as a major trend of development.
- > The trigger of emerging self-regulated urbanity worldwide is the growth of the grey economy

as compensation for non efficient distribution of wealth. Large cities that attracted immigrants from underdeveloped regions due to their dynamic infrastructure and production capacity experienced abrupt change. They became a complex and unstable ground on which the rules of building production could be constantly reinvented. Unleashed individual action started to produce innovation in literally every urban domain – ranging from commerce, to housing production and public services. A new, self-regulated urban layer appeared, flooding the public spaces and existing buildings, disintegrating the urban logic by upgrading it with a series of mutants which became parasites of the inherited infrastructure. A range of unexpected inventions defined new territories which were transforming the urban body. They achieved new conditions for the contemporary city which, in spatial and temporal terms, challenged the finiteness and the absoluteness of the existing fabric.

In the decades of political crises and transitional processes in ex-Yugoslavia, following the collapse of the socialist system of planning and with the rise of arrogant neo-liberal development, millions of individual uncontrolled building activities took place, exploiting the opportunity given by the weak and corrupted institutions that were unwilling to go through a process of administrative reforms. The wild, volatile spread of unplanned building structures transformed the urban environment in all newly formed states in ex-Yugoslavia, representing a particular form of self regulated urbanisation. Belgrade lived through a change from a centrally planned development to uncoordinated atomised building practice.

The transformation of the city started under the United Nations embargo in 1992, amidst an atmosphere of war traumas, media obsession and politicisation. In this context, as compensation for the disintegrating state and the collapsing institutions, the grey economy evolved from a strategy of survival to the main means of production. As any other means of production, the

¹ The Genetics of the Wild City is a research project by Stealth Group: A. Dzokic, M. Topalovic, M. Neelen and I. Kucina. It has been developed through research at the Berlage Institute, Postgraduate Laboratory of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade and by the Stealth Group from Rotterdam. The research formed part of the Mutation Exhibition in Bordeaux 2000, Berlin Beta 2001 Conference, V2_Wire Tap in Rotterdam 2002 and Archilab Naked City Exhibition in Orleans 2002. See also: www.stealth.ultd.net.

grey economy had a capacity to create new urban structures, dispersed and plugged into the existing environment. Their dynamics occurred between a distributed and a hierarchical system. Newness was created through conflict and negotiation between individuals and institutions. Different degrees of control of urban development, degrees of heterogeneity and hierarchy in urban relations, and the effect of certain blends of non-regulated and regulated urban activities uncovered the inherent logic of emergent processes¹. While their patterns were fairly simple, the complexity that was arising from them maintained the time-based character of a self regulated system and its heterogeneous and vivid structure. In nearly all urban processes, pulsating and flexible structures were achieved, resembling profound symbiotic forms that were often more sophisticated than conventionally made ones. Their autonomous potential provided a fruitful ground to establish alternative urban visions which are confronting both utopian modernisation and progressive globalisation.

THE ROLE OF ARCHITECTS AND PLANNERS IN URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS

- Emergent processes feature a remarkable degree of building energy and innovation and therefore open possibilities for redefining institutional and professional participation in the creation of urban space. Understanding the city as a complex self regulated system puts into question whether architecture and urban planning can be flexible enough to interact with a changeable urban environment, and whether they are capable of shifting from their top-down, unilateral and project-based responses towards an open-ended approach. An apparent direction for architects and urban planners lies in influencing, steering and shifting the processes themselves – which means a change of focus from designing objects to designing processes. For that reason a new methodology and a specific practice to monitor, visualise and, to a certain extent, predict spatial and organisational changes have to be developed.

¹ The Lost Highway Expedition is an interdisciplinary and cross-national research project tried to imagine economic, political, and cultural geographies for the unknown future of the Balkans. It was set up as a massive movement of individuals plotting a route from Ljubljana to Zagreb, Novi Sad, Belgrade, Skopje, Prishtina, Tirana, Podgorica, and Sarajevo from July 30

The search for indications of an alternative urban future, new methodologies and practices related to these transformations starts with the cultural and urban landscapes of the Western Balkans and the recent EU political intervention, given the fact that the collapse of the institutional framework gave rise to numerous innovative cultural, spatial and economic practices². Evolving in difficult geopolitical contexts, these networked, temporary or self regulated practices have been urged to redirect the prospect of their activities in response to unstable conditions. For that reason they are considered as a vital and important trigger for empowering discussions on programmes envisaging an alternative future for European cities, which are undergoing severe economic crises and reveal the inability of institutions to identify a more sustainable model of future development (Fig. 2).



2. Western Balkan urbanity

ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF DEVELOPMENT

If the technical implementation of EU standards represents an increasing unification of peoples and places through converging processes of economic, political, and cultural change, then divergent practices of the Western Balkans could become a counteraction to the integrating and homogenising effects of globalisation. It means that the concept 'local' could be empowered with the concepts found in the latest self regulated urban developments in the Western Balkans, which

to August 25, 2006. Initiated by Centrala Foundation for Future Cities (CFFC), Rotterdam: A. Dzokic, M. Neelen, K. Carl, S. Weiss, M. Potrc, K. Park, A. Aksamija, I. Kucina. LHE symposiums at Columbia University, New York and CAVS, MIT Boston, October 2006. Lost Highway Exhibition, SKUC, Ljubljana, 2007. Lost Highway Photobook, 2007. See also: www.europelostandfound.net.

truly shift meaning from their originally negative interpretations to constructive potential. Conditions of self-regulated urbanity that are emerging when centrifugal forces outweigh centripetal forces are becoming thresholds for cultivating common issues among individualised building initiatives.

- > A variety of complementary concepts have been found in the Western Balkans and recognised as a pattern of creating alternatives³. They are applicable to any urban scale and location as strategic policy and design tools for creating processes and artefacts. They are:

Fragmentation – reduction of authority and growth of self regulated initiatives,

Frame Line – pronounced enclosure of privatised spaces,

Concurrency – spatial implications of various simultaneous states of existence,

Hybridisation – invention resulting from the crossover of multiple influences,

Minimal Commons – that part of coexistence where there's nothing left to lose but a lot to gain,

Temporary Hierarchy – ability to take over particular spatial action for a limited time,

Convertibles – potential of distorting limitations into a space of exchange,

Expandability – capacity of a hosting body to adapt to uncoordinated external partitions,

Shortcutting – fast and unpredictable breakthrough congestion,

Para Source – scratching energy from existing infrastructure,

Leftover – free space in-between fulfilled desires,

Raw End – unintentional result of the most literal application of basic building tools,

Under Construction – continuous delay due to undetermined rules of development.

- > Numerous combinations of these concepts facilitate the formulation of specific conditions for each programme and urban site. Contemporary redefinitions of social liberation and human emancipation constitute the framework for cultivating the conditions of self regulated urbanity.
- > Earlier understanding of social liberation and

human emancipation was idealistic and romantic. In the famous painting by Delacroix celebrating the French Revolution, social liberation figures as a strong, hypersexual women surrounded by poets, workers and outlaws representing disempowered humanity. Such reminiscences of a fertile Goddess have been established and carried out through centuries. Generations were raised to equate liberating acts and the fight for human rights to sexual experience. Indeed, time of revolution was time of sexual freedom, so different from ordinary life with its prejudices and social barriers.

Providing fundamental reasons, social liberation and human emancipation were giving dignity to the revolutionary bloodsheds. However, as soon as the revolution fulfilled its local goal and life returned to regulated routine, ideals of social liberation and human emancipation were repressed by the revolutionaries themselves, considered uncontrollable and unpractical for organising stable society. Pushed back into the subconscious, as any sexual desire, the ideal of social liberation and human emancipation became a constant trigger for new uprisings. Such a triggering mechanism is used to maintain competitive spectacles for the present society of consumption, where the Goddess of liberation is downsized to no more than a commercial icon. Unreachable ideals have been shifted into everyday practice to avoid frustrations coming from the repression of the political elite which has appropriated the ideal of social liberation and human emancipation to be able to control libido. This shift is moving intellectual criteria toward a more fragmentary and temporary meaning of social liberation and human emancipation, achievable in any life situation⁴.

CONVERSION, UPGRADING AND PARTICIPATION

So far, in cultivating self regulated urbanity the criteria Conversion, Upgrading and Participation were applied, to build experiments directed toward empowering social exchange and environmental consciousness.

⁴ The School of Missing Studies organised a series of workshops, Looking for October, to examine the ideal of the liberation of the city, concentrating on the liberation of Belgrade on October 20, 1944, and declared socialist revolution at the same time. The School of Missing Studies has been created in order to provide a flexible educational platform and a network for international exchange on cultural issues related to the environment in cities currently undergoing political, social, and cultural transition. Looking for October, initiated by K. Carl, I. Kucina, S. Vukovic and S. Weiss with participants from the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade was held in Cultural Center Rex, Belgrade in October 2003 and April 2004. The documentary, Looking for October, records events, projects, and interviews during the workshop sessions. It was directed by Dusan Gligorov. See also www.schoolofmissingstudies.net.

³ The Lexicon of Provisional Futures is a collaborative work process towards a collection of terms and redefinitions that imagine the Western Balkans as a vital and important trigger for the possible futures of Europe. With its planned workshops and collectively edited publication, it follows the Lost Highway Expedition (LHE), an exploration of the cultural and urban

landscapes of the Western Balkans, and is a part of the larger framework project Europe Lost and Found. The Lexicon has been initiated by the Centrala Foundation for Future Cities and co-organized by Skuc Gallery Ljubljana, press to exit project space Skopje www.provisionalfutures.net.



3. Conversion of the Public Bath House into the Architecture Centre in Belgrade

photo:
Dubravka Sekulic

CONVERSION

- > Conversion is related to the programmatic change of the use of buildings. (Fig. 3) The argument is that there is already enough building space in the world to fulfil people's needs, but that the unfair distribution of their use is creating artificial demand for more building. It seems that this 'mistake' has been purposely maintained in order to continually enlarge new real estate investments as foundations for economic growth. However, this process turned out to be the main reason for the present worldwide economic crises. Instead of progressive inflation of new buildings and urban structures, conversion is offering a sustainable alternative by repairing and reusing old and abandoned structures. Fields can be converted into courtyards, courtyards into houses, houses into department stores, department stores into office buildings, office buildings into schools, schools into playgrounds, playgrounds into malls, malls into parking, parking into car services, car services into factories, factories into cultural centres, cultural centres into billboards, billboards into facades, facades into inside walls, inside walls into balconies, balconies into apartments, apartments into cafes, cafes into rooftops, rooftops into plots, plots into fields...
- > Instead of new construction sites, conversion is constituting a new ethos which functions through recycling private and public experiences, through imagining and testing new patterns of behaviour, through recognising unrepresented social motivations, desires and activities.
- > Converted spaces have the subversive potential of changing lines of social divisions into places of meetings and exchanges. Lines of social divisions are unplanned consequences of fragmentation that result in unequal urban growth. They are considered as ephemeral by architecture and urban planning disciplines although they are strongly recognised and respected in everyday practice, signifying space between different individuals, groups, properties and interests. They

are appearing everywhere, at any scale, informally and institutionally, temporarily and internally, ranging through the whole spectrum of urban phenomena.

Conversion can replace existing dividing lines by installing a network of multi-potential relations among social actors and the built environment, to slow down or prevent discontinuity. Instead of abandoning spatial phenomena and social habits developed over time, conversion is using their complementary potential to create specific hybrid situations which are representing the potential of limitless exchange.

More than representation, converted spaces have the capacity to become spaces of continuous production of knowledge. For that reason, conversion could develop an educational programme that is a stimulating learning process of continuous questioning and discovery. This uncertain but proactive learning process should not be facilitated in schools only, but in places where unpredictable social exchanges are forming part of most living experiences which are fundamental to understanding and creating meaningful urban space for human activities.

Interactions among old buildings and advanced programmes settle in people's experiences as signs of new life, life that is injected in paralysed urban extremes, pulsating in a constant movement, opening the way for a new beginning.

A series of converted spaces could create a network of research centres that are distributed in areas which are still not fully integrated into the urban system, in places where dynamics of social and spatial relations are fostering the best opportunities for learning by doing. Simultaneously, these spaces can be used as public platform where shared facilities are open to knowledge exchange. Research could be received, collected, tested, discussed, elaborated, presented and archived continually. In this way converted educational spaces would become centres of radiating culture of knowledge.

4. Upgrading of the Roma settlement Orlovsko in Belgrade

SOURCE:
Boris Zerjav



UPGRADING

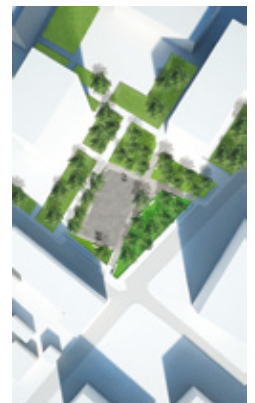
- > Upgrading refers to the replacement of a derelict building with a better version of the same building (Fig. 4). It is enabling architecture and urban planning to respect different customs and practices while looking for innovative solutions of spatial and social organisation. Upgrading is used when facing the most difficult questions, such as social and environmental improvement of slums worldwide and, in this case, the improvement of Roma settlements that are pushed to the margins of big European cities to stay in extreme poverty. Inability of institutional systems to cope with this problem has created their informal way of survival within a highly controlled European framework. In order to survive Roma learned to absorb the customs of the local host to be able to live of, and recycle its wastes.
- > Being the most discriminated European community, Roma are struggling to live between planned settlements like nomads in refugee camps or illegal shantytowns from where they are often evicted by force. Upgrading Roma settlements is no different from upgrading other ones. It includes integration into the urban context, ecological and sustainable housing solutions, self organisation, cooperation in the decision making process, and cultural vitality as living code. This process has standardised phases – legalising settlements and defining plot boundaries, providing basic infrastructure and diversified traffic networks, formulating gradual transition between private and communal space, permitting working resources next to housing, installing public services, replacing derelict housing, facilitating densification and growth... An upgraded Roma settlement is nothing else than a place where everyone can participate and benefit from the advantages the city offers.
- > Upgrading provides a triggering mechanism that could invert the process of hate and rejection to re-establish a mutually respectful dialogue between different urban groups, a dialogue that could generate new forms of learning and enrichment.

PARTICIPATION

Participation provides a set of instruments for citizens to express opinions and exert influence over urban arrangement and management (Fig. 5). From the citizens' viewpoint, participation enables individuals and groups to influence institutional decisions. From the institutional viewpoint, participation can build public support for planned activities. Even more than decision making mechanisms, participation creates shared platforms for permanent discussion between experts and citizens on vital questions related to the transformation of public space.

In opposition to conventional understanding of public space as an open and empty area between buildings, public space is indeed a loaded, dynamic environment that works as a site of permanent conflict between the manifestations of privacy and publicity. Public space is a complex dynamic system composed of material artefacts, immaterial stimuli, human beings and social relationships. It is a relational environment defined by a set of interactions between people, between people and artefacts, and between different artefacts. People do not only react to an environment, they also act through an environment. Thus public space understood in this way may be seen as a critical instrument of citizens, as they strive to have an impact on the ways in which their public and private lives unfold.

More than just an inhabited place the city represents a community of people that inhabits it and builds it. Its streets and squares, gardens and parks, buildings and monuments are reflecting all the good intentions and misdemeanours, successes and failures, treaties and conflicts that are coming and going as products of inexhaustible energy of social relations. The city is improving whenever the common interest is managed with more tolerance and agreement. When there is continuous social struggle, the city is becoming a battlefield. During the time of economic and political crises, when the institutions are no longer able to manage the common interest, public spaces



5. Participatory project for the Fifth Park
 source: Alen Spahic

become undefended territory and 'promised land' for profiteers of all kinds. Under the circumstances of reckless privatisation of public spaces their only remaining defence is citizen resistance. Defended public spaces become a symbol of the awakened conscience of citizens and an indicator of the power of self regulated urbanity.

- > Resistance and defence, though necessary, are insufficient to achieve a fair development of the city. It is necessary to establish a different method of creating public spaces where citizens are involved in the process from the beginning. The transition of citizens from a state of resistance to a state of participation opens many problems. Vulnerability connects people and strengthens the integrity of the community, but when the immediate threat is reduced, personal differences and animosities among its members begin to manifest themselves. While resistance has a specific goal, the result of a creative process is not so clear at the beginning. Uncertainty of participation increases the differences among people and begins to threaten the survival of the community. Some of them try to repress differences by imposing a leadership that is justified by a greater merit in the defence or greater professional competence. This is contradictory to the spirit of a self regulated community where common ground is held through acceptance of differences. As long as the exclusiveness of a leader is absent there is a possibility to adjust different interest through agreement. The goal is reached when everybody gets something, and when nobody gets everything.
- > Participation transforms the process of creating public space into a platform for consultation among experts, citizens, and institutions. Mutual consultations aim to articulate unfulfilled desires, hidden motivations, triggers of activities, and symbolic capital which, together, are creating a complex and often contradictory community profile. Experts assume a new role. Instead of imposing their visions they are producing a platform for discussion and mediating toward an agreement. Citizens always agree around

simple and viable proposals that are similar to other ones in the city, embedded into everyday life and resistant to all troubles. Production of a platform for consultation between experts and citizens represents a critical position within the rigid institutionalised structure of planning, production and management of the public space. When participation is running adequately, it is overwhelming the prepared plans, by generating an emergent, unpredictable process, which is so powerful that it can change established social hierarchy.

Before urban planning became institutionalised, public spaces were constituted by a succession of high level emergencies, representing the experiences of the community that was using them. Public spaces were hybrids of technical, artistic and subjective perception. They were telling stories, tales and adventures, as well as representing, loosely defined urban boundaries. As urban planning advanced, accuracy was replacing emergency, expelling the representations of social life and memories from the public space. As cities were growing, urban planning was dealing with increasing abstraction, detached from uncertainty of everyday life. It reduced complexity of public spaces into geometries and norms, disregarding the role of communities creating them.

Participation reconstructs the city hidden under the mask of institutionalised urban planning, bringing back the concurrent narratives of its citizens. Listening to their arguments, those who are nominated professionally to take care of the city can recognise different logics, different influences, and different relations with the urban environment that is changing so unpredictably.

CONCLUSION

- > The contemporary urban state reveals an inefficient urban planning system which is evaluating totality as its highest achievement and is not capable of formulating a development strategy which recognises the potentials of self-regulated systems. Globalisation of urban development has created a rejection of self-regulated initiatives that are burdened with very negative stereotypes. While institutional planning is considered civilized, reasonable and tolerant, self-regulation has been declared as wild, irrational and conflicting. This stereotype has created the belief that the city cannot be developed and sustained without controlling mechanisms defined by institutional planning. However, both the institutional planning discipline and self-regulated urbanity are currently in a dilemma over the pace of urban growth and are asking themselves how exactly they can create a new sustainable organism. The danger is that institutional urban planning may simply assume the mantle of a rigidly administrated meta-city apparatus, impressed with its own order and comfort and unable to compete with the dynamic evolution and flexibility of self-regulation. At the same time, self-regulated urbanity is still bound by political, social and economical problems and exists in a disconnected state from general standards. Both seem to lack a convincing vision of the future. The fact of today's massive environmental erosion might finally help urban development to find a new consciousness.
- > Reliable knowledge about conditions of self regulated urbanity could provide an innovative model of urban development by generating a system of interactions among concurrent trends. Its potential is emerging from the multiplicity of individual initiatives that may overtake proclaimed regulations to create a dynamic and complex self-regulated system. Entropy delivered continuously through interactions is the eternal resource of material production and environmental transformation in which cultivated self-regulated urban development could become the largest manifestation.

Cultivating conditions of self-regulated urbanity < does not seek to eliminate existing urban dynamics, but to understand how to maintain lively controversies instead of deadly quarrels, and how to create smart means of constructive exchange among divergent states of existence. It does not presume permanency but an open series of temporary initiatives. Once up and running, the urban future unfolds its own dynamic through systematic interactions among urban actors. Mutual recognition and re-examination within the interactive process are keeping the direction of development always in flux. Continuous questionings is creating a flow in which any contributor can interact with any other. The networking flow becomes the present expression of future potential.

A methodology that is based on conditions of self < regulated urbanity lays claim to urban planning in a different way, as part of an ongoing live process in which the production of the city is shared among its residents, experts, institutions and developers. Urban planning is no longer taking place thanks to ideological programmes or market pressures alone, but under the impulse of urban actors that are initiating new ways of producing frameworks in which to live.

Confronted with the institutional planning < system, self regulated urbanity is giving insights to alternative interpretations of the ideals of universal humanism – liberty, equality and brotherhood that are taken away from their original revolutionary context to be imprinted into state constitutions. Instead of the lost ideal of liberty, self regulation is looking for sufficiency of everyday practice, instead of liberty – diversified network, instead of equality – interactivity. Sufficiency, networking and interactivity are creating the new provisional horizon for social and environmental development in the future.