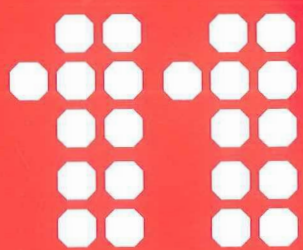

11th Conference of the International Planning History Society (IPHS)

Planning Models and the Culture of Cities
Modelos urbanísticos y cultura de las ciudades

14-17 July, Barcelona 2004

Conference Book

The 11th International Planning History conference 2004

Planning Models ant the Culture of Cities

Barcelona, 14 to 17 July

Conference Book

www.iphs2004.com

EDITORS
Francisco-Javier Monclús
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GRAPHIC DESIGN
Batet-Julià

CONFERENCE BOOK
Josep Maldonado

WEB SITE & CONFERENCE CD
Pere Pau Soley

PUBLISHED BY
Escola Tècnica Superior d'Arquitectura del Vallès
(Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya)

PRINTING CTC
ISBN 84-608-0155-1
DL B-34.697-2004

Printed in Spain, July 2004

Acknowledgements
Rob Freeestone
Arturo Almandoz
Antonio Remesar
José Luis Oyón
Javier Fedele
Nadia Casabella
Laida Memba
Josep Mª Ciurana

and to all the referees of the Scientific Committee

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Prologue

The 11th meeting of the IPHS provides a good opportunity to reflect upon the nature and the changes produced in our field of studies. The parallels that can be established between the genesis of the IPHS and the crisis of modern planning do not appear to be merely coincidental. The defence of the explanatory power of planning history was born, without doubt, out of the need for a critical redefinition that was felt at the heart of the urban development discipline. In the context of intense globalisation, the growing need to adopt an international approach was added to the need for an historic revision. The move from the initial *Planning History Group* (founded in 1974) to the *International Planning History Society* (in 1993) as well as the consolidation of the sequence of international conferences, tunes in exactly with a marked globalising inflection of urban processes. Space and time, and history and culture are integrated, as fundamental areas of reflection that are so necessary in this period of deep change - in cities, in the general vision and in the forms of planning intervention.

The very sequence of the conferences reflects this significant and gradual process of internationalisation: However it is striking that to date, the Thessaloniki Conference has been the only IPHS event organised in a Mediterranean city (in 1996) and that events hosted in Latin locations have been clearly absent. This verification, a little anomalous, stimulated the presentation of the candidacy of Barcelona for this year's event. A greater participation from the Latin world was considered desirable, in order to establish a bridge between a consolidated network of urban researchers and an extensive cultural and geographical environment with much more disperse and unconnected groups of scholars.

BARCELONA

Barcelona offers, for its part, a rich heritage for scholars of urbanism. Different relevant episodes for the history of contemporary urbanism have been added to the historic superposition that from its Roman foundation had left truly perceptible signs in the urban landscape and the layout of the city. Two of these turn out to be especially appropriate to consider from an international perspective.

The first episode was that of the project and construction of the Ensanche, the planned extension to the city, which took place in the middle of the 19th Century. On the one hand, the preparation of the project motivated the research of its author, Ildefonso Cerdà, that would be summarised in one of the first attempts to establish a new specific discipline - a General Theory of Urbanisation. On the other hand, Cerdà's projected options constituted an outstanding example throughout Europe. Thus, the adoption of the orthogonal network, nothing out of the ordinary in the American continent, acquired an unusual character in the Old Continent. This singularity has led historians of urbanism to question the complex relations with respect to the different urban development traditions in America and in Europe. Finally it is of interest for its decisive influence, with the approval of the laws of the Ensanche, in the establishment of a specific way of modernization of many of the main Spanish cities.

The second moment in which Barcelona has had a significant impact on the international urban development debate has been in the most recent period, resulting from the democratic transition in 1975. This long period was initiated under the sign of "reconstruction" following the disorderly explosion of urban development, deficient in community facilities and services, of the 1960s and 70s, and of the critical revision of the instruments of urban intervention. The nomination of Barcelona as the host city for the 1992 Olympic Games allowed for a new scale in these urban interventions and became a new strategic impulse for the urban development and economic relaunching of the city. In an analogous way to the previous historic episode, at this point it is appropriate to question the critical influences, of the amalgam of urbanistic "loans" and reciprocal influences. In short, that of the "model" that form the basis of the so-called "Barcelona model", that would enjoy a notable exterior projection. It would not only be taken as a reference for other cities, especially in Latin America, but would also seek to be imitated by Barcelona itself in the new initiative of the Forum of the Cultures 2004. This "singular event" in the area of the large-scale urban celebrations would adopt the "dialogue between cultures" as an excuse for intense urban renewal in a very problematic and strategic area of the city. Once again, trust would be placed in the use of international celebrations as the motors of important urban development transformations, a resource used repeatedly in Barcelona, as has also taken place in many other cities.

The urbanism of Barcelona is the subject of one of the plenary conference sessions and forms a good gateway to the range of themes of the Conference. Oriol Bohigas, in tune with the revision of the theory and practice of those years and as the Director of Planning for Barcelona City Council between 1980 and 1984, established the master lines that have determined the urbanistic transformations of the city and that have been following since then. In his role as a key actor and privileged observer, he examines the recent experience of Barcelona, in order to carry out a critical balance, surely complementary to that carried out by other authors taking a view "from outside"[1]. The urban development experience of Barcelona and the Latin-American connection have had an influence in the selection of the theme of the *11th International Planning History Conference: Planning models and the culture of cities*. However beyond the circumstantial reasons and of the criteria of opportunity, the thematic axis seems especially appropriate to suggest and join up a field of current concerns, which are very present in the reflections concerning the city and urbanism. It is a matter of undertaking the renewed interest for the processes of internationalisation and diffusion, that have been consolidating the diverse urbanistic traditions; as well as, the verification of the diversity of contexts, of legacies and of urban cultures. Diffusion and diversity advise advancing towards a better understanding of the phenomena through focusing on the debate of "planning models".

The plenary session conference addresses from Michael Cohen - *The City is Missing: Sustaining Urban Culture in an Era of Globalization* - and Roberto Segre – *Urban Latin America. The collapse of models in the crisis of modernity* – both approach the same area of problems, albeit from different disciplinary frameworks. It seems especially appropriate, as Michael Cohen proposes, to revise the economic approaches of a strategic character that have been hegemonic up until today, and that they have determined, to a great extent, the urban processes and the urban development options. Roberto Segre questions the rich Latin-American urban development experience and verifies the difficulties of adapting the different models imported to a context with infraestructural, social and economic problems, emphasising the recent emergence of indigenous original answers.

As counterpoint, Dolores Hayden's plenary session address examines, in an extensive historic arch dating from 1820 to the 2000, the formation of the North American suburban landscape. A dominant cultural landscape in the United States, diffused at par that the "American way of life" and from which, in other geographies reinterpretations, amalgams of fragments and urban

pieces are adopted, that configure new landscapes associated to the processes of globalisation. Those city models have been described and analysed by different authors as examples of the diffusion of an urban culture that accompanies the adoption of urbanistic models[2].
Paradoxically at the time that the disperse city is imposed, from the Anglo-Saxon culture, the loss of importance of this same cultural area is plainly evident – with the rupture of the hegemony of planning - in the urbanistic culture. Michael Hebbert analyses, the changing relation between the two urbanistic traditions - the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin (American?). He raises a central question in the current debate, that of the struggle between two paradigms or models of urbanistic action - the "Planning" model (of a functionalist nature) as opposed to that of "Urbanism" (more architectural), understood as a concept that would be at the basis of the recent interventions in Barcelona. In any case, the use of the term "Urbanism" turns out to be equivocal. While in certain contexts it is inscribed in the integrating pretensions of a discipline that was founded at the beginning of the 20th Century, in others it makes reference strictly to planning and in more professional fields can allude to urban design. Barcelona could really be seen as a case in which the influences of the North American-inspired models (Baltimore, Boston...) are combined creatively with the critical reflections of the European-rooted "urbanism" (particularly, from the Italian morphologism of the 1960s and 70s). Although, as Peter Hall indicates, a good part of the other recent European urbanism - London in particularly – has also been inspired by the "North American models" of the 1980s in one fundamental. What has been witnessed is the use of limited quantities of public finance, in order to generate or to induce a much greater quantity of private financial investment (the North American "leverage" concept)[3].

URBANISM

The grouping of the communications, that have been organised for practical reasons through diverse "thematic bands" and that will enrich the debate from very diverse points of view, also reflect the contraposition put forward by Michael Hebbert. It is interesting to verify the increasing use of the term "Urbanism" in the Anglo-Saxon urbanistic historiography (not only in a sociological sense but also as a discipline associated to Planning). In this way the vision that had interpreted the move from "Urbanism" to "Planning" in the first decades of the 20th Century and the displacement of the concern for the formal aspects towards the predominance of the functional concerns, as a logical consequence of the processes of modernisation in the industrialisation era, contrasts with the studies of the last decades, focusing on the recovery of "Urbanism", or on "New Urbanism", as opposed to "Planning". The said change is also appreciated in the more integrating historiography, as a consequence of the dialogue between architects and planners, and is expanded to the more specific reflection on the importance of history in the discourse and in urbanistic strategies.

In reality, those two poles of urbanistic activity correspond to the two great paradigms proposed by F. Choay in the 1960s - that of "progressive" or functionalist urbanism, as opposed to "culturalist" or more architectural urbanism. The objective rigour to which funcionalist urbanism aspired and its focusing on the planning of the Fordist city left as a balance the loss of the values traditionally associated to the practice of urbanism of a "culturalist" type and especially sensitive in the post-industrial and post-modern city, that returns to be understood as a form and as a general "meaning tool".

From a more physical and morphological perspective the attention to different dimensions of urbanistic activity can be emphasised, especially to the relations between architecture and the city. A conceptual change in the studies centred on urban forms is observed (as much in the

more architectural Italian and Latin-European tradition, as in the more geographical German and British tradition). There is ever a more accurate understanding of the different dimensions of urban morphology overcoming the economic conceptions as much as those that proclaim the autonomy of the architecture of the city – from the "inherited forms" to the reconversion of uses or to the transformation of the landscape.

Some voices have warned of the risks and insufficiencies of the excessively morphological and in reality historical approaches. For example Rem Koolhaas sees in this late discovery of the virtues of the historic city - in a moment in which it undergoes its radical transformation and its indefinite "theming"- a dangerous distancing from the object of intervention[4]. The control of an historical vision of the city – in a certain way as "frozen time" - would complicate its perception as a changing and dynamic entity. These positions could be understood as a reformulation of the "progressive paradigm", in the face of the effective hegemony of the positions in which the cultural dimension turns out to be privileged.

CULTURES

In effect, the revaluation of this qualitative urbanism carries with it the revaluation of those very attributes of architecture that links it to place and to some collective meanings. Set against the standardisation of the ideals and principles of "planning", recent studies place the accent on the diversity of cities and of local urban situations. It has been said facing the global space of flows, the local environment is that of identity. As a consequence, the increasing emphasis in the 'local' is not surprising. Set against the homogenising tendencies, the questions related to identity and cultural diversity acquires a renewed prominence in urban studies and in the history of urbanism. Special interest is paid to the multiple meanings of the culture of cities. The increasing revaluation of city history and heritage do not seem inconsistent with those processes of globalisation, nor as they were in other previous phases in which cities underwent profound transformations. The cultural dimension of the city returns to be prominent, now taking into account that the "culture of cities" refers as much the preservation of a "cultural inheritance" as to the use of culture as a strategic resource in which has come to be called "cultural economy". Thus when in recent studies the role of "cultural strategies" is analysed, on the one hand attention is focused on everything related to urban heritage. However attention is also given to the role of culture in urban regeneration policies and in a very noticeable way in the promotion of cities. The city is not only understood as a functional, economic and social structure (in the tradition of Planning), or an ordering of spaces and architecture (in the tradition of "urbanism"), but rather can be seen also as "a device of meaning and of sense, of incarnation and promotion of certain codes, values and cultural guidelines".

Although the cultural dimension has always been important, cultural consumption occupies a front line position in the post-industrial city, with regards to events, large-scale projects and facilities that become mediatic icons. The reinterpretation of urban identities could be inscribed in the "reinvention of tradition" studied by Hobsbawm. At present, the unstable and competitive socio-economic environment requires the consolidation of consensus, to facilitate governance, to design and project the image of city marketing: "Gasgow's Miles Better", "Lille capital of l´Europe", "Joyce's Dublin" or Gaudí's Barcelona"... The urbanistic approaches adapt to the strategies directed to urban promotion and to "selling the city" with the consequent marketing image (*City Branding*) and corresponding process of theming[5]. In any way, set against excessively lineal visions, the analysis of different episodes shows the existence of certain margins of manoeuvre and creativity. The experiences linked to grand events, at least from the mid 19th Century, constitute an especially significant area. Expositions, Olympic Games or cultural

Festivals are occasions marked for the representation and formulation of ideal urban images. Frequently these images become authentic urbanistic models (from the Expositions of Paris or Chicago in the second half of the 19th Century, to the Olympic Games of Barcelona or Sydney, passing through the European and other "cultural capitals"). The interest for ephemeral manifestations is not exhausted in the exploration of the representations, but rather influences the "real" urban processes, as shown by a number of authors who highlight the lasting effects of the ephemeral - its physical impact, besides the economic and cultural. These impacts nevertheless can become radically different in cities that apply similar formulae.

PLANNING MODELS

Starting out from the recognition of the diversity of urban cultures, the IPHS Conference seeks to make an advance towards a better understanding of the phenomena and does this through focusing on the debate of the "planning models". This is not a question of city models, such as the "North American", "European", "Latin-American", "Islamic", "Asian", etc. [6]. Neither is it a question of models in the sense of a theoretical and abstract proposal, but rather models of action based upon concrete cases. In a way, it is a matter of consubstantial debate on the theory and history of urbanism. Marshall Berman indicates that "towards 1880, the Haussmann model was generally praised as the very model of the modern urbanism. As such, there was no delay in it being imposed in all corners of the world, from Santiago to Saigon"[7]. There is an abundance of works dedicated to the analysis of urbanistic models represented by Haussmann's Paris and their "replicas", from the middle of the 19th Century, the plans and projects for London in the post-1945 period, Brasilia in the 1950s, Berlin in the 1980s or Barcelona at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s.

Nevertheless, in recent years a substantial renewal of the objectives of research and of the methodologies adopted can be observed. This has occurred as much in the field of urbanism of the "Peripheral" cities, as in the reflection on the consolidated urbanistic traditions " of the cities at the "Centres". From our perspective it is logical to aim towards the diversification of "urbanistic cultures", from the technical procedures to the very urban forms. The development of research in four large geographical areas lying outside Europe and North America stands out markedly – in the areas of Latin America, the Middle East, the "post-Soviet" bloc and Asia-Pacific. In all these areas, studies are arising that treat the phenomena of "importing" or "exporting", of imported urbanistic models and of the "local meanings", without it signifying neglect of the formative elements of models in the "central" cities and countries. The objectives are no longer the analysis of colonial or post-colonial urbanism, but rather a complex understanding of the processes of "transnational" urbanism[8]. A methodological difference is observed in the greater attention to "local aspirations" relating to "exterior strategies". The so-called "dependence school" that had an important impulse two decades ago, has given way to other more attentive approaches to the processes of "transference" and "diffusion", to "borrowings" and to "adaptations", making use of the typology put forward by S. Ward. Moreover this complex understanding of these phenomena is not only applied to "dependent" situations, but also to "central" cities, for example the European cities with respect to the North American ones[9].

URBAN PROCESSES

At the same time, recent research questions the transference of urbanistic models, drawing attention to the convergence in urban processes, especially in certain geographical, national or cultural areas. Although from the urban renaissance that redefined the medieval cities 1,000 years ago, up until the uniforming effects of the era of the industrial revolution in cities belonging to very diverse geographical areas, these processes have always been observed. However the processes of the contemporary period are especially interesting.

One of the themes of interest to different scholars is that of the processes of suburbanisation that, albeit with important differences, are experienced by cities. These processes are linked to multiple variables, from the strictly demographic and economic to the cultural, taking into account the technological, with the extension of infraestucture networks, etc. In parallel, the processes of urban renewal in the centres and consolidated areas include the recent revaluation of public space or the change of use and "elitization" of the central areas. However, the nature of these processes in each urban reality gives rise to very contrasting urban uses, spaces and forms, which at times are visibly opposed. It is interesting to verify up to what point some Latin American cities that had assimilated models of a European origin up to the Second World War have in the last decades notably changed their course of development. The critical question is not if these cities continue incorporating new forms of urban development – be it of European or North American origin - but the relative weight of these and, in general of the standardised urbanism, that proliferates in urban centres, peripheries or enclaves of the large cities of the Latin American subcontinent. A particularly expressive example of this contrast is that of the city of Buenos Aires, a city that perhaps is experiencing "the end of the European myth that has dominated the city for such a long time" and in which a process of "Latin Americanisation" is observed, also with regard to its urban form[10].

In any case, it is appropriate to question certain somewhat apocalyptic thesis, relating to the disappearance of the specific cultures of cities. From different approaches, but without moving away from the main theme, many of these debates are present in the communications submitted to this meeting of the IPHS and in other many other pieces of research. For example, the ones that deals with aspects of "informal growth" and the cultural dimension. Or the ones that address the formation of gated communities, etc. However also the ones that deals with the more encouraging processes that recognise the local opportunities and potentialities of intervention, in order to construct a "culturally meaningful urban landscape", as suggested by R. Segre.

MUTUAL VISIONS, TRANSVERSE VISIONS

Planning or urbanism, the interpretation of its nature and role in the construction of the city constitutes a field of studies that of no way can dispense with the tools offered by history. It is not a question of pointing towards positive, systematic and final knowledge. Neither history nor urbanism is susceptible to knowledge by means of laws or rules. It is a question, in both cases, of an assembly of knowledge that is built in a swaying of inferences arising from a mixture of data and experiences obtained from the study of concrete historical situations. It requires paying attention to the local and to multiply, as Roberto Segre proposes, the mutual visions as an irreplaceable heuristic instrument that enriches our perception, our capacity of analysis and of interpretation. They permit, for the same reason, to promote and to enrich the debate.

Transverse visions are also necessary, the crossing of disciplinary visions that approach the phenomenon of urbanism and its incidence in cities of the present or of the past, in a necessarily integrating analysis. Transverse visions between disciplines such as the history of the architecture, historical and cultural geography, social and economic history, the techniques and instruments of urbanistic intervention. Transverse visions that can no longer be thought of as omnicomprehensive visions, but rather as openly interdisciplinary analysis of concrete processes in which the complexity and the diversity of variables that can contribute to explain the nature of past and present urbanism are taken into account. Visions between places or disciplines that do not only permit the calibration of distances and differences, often cause us to discover prominent aspects of our more immediate environment than we are incapable of perceiving from the confines of our normal daily routines.

It is precisely the ever increasing openness to new geographies and cultures, as well as the openness towards diverse disciplines, which is one of the greatest merits of the IPHS and a fundamental contribution in the renewal of the critical instruments of our analysis. It is for this reason that we are grateful for the privilege of having been able to organise this 11th Conference in Barcelona. We are similarly grateful for the presentation of close to 250 communications, that have been selected after a rigorous process of evaluation, undertaken by the Scientific Committee set up for that purpose, as well as for the participation of delegates originating in from all the continents.

F. Javier Monclús **Manuel Guàrdia**

1 For example T. Marshall, "Urban planning and governance: is there a Barcelona model?", *European Planning Studies*, vol.5, no 3, 1992, pp 299-319; F.J. Monclús, "The Barcelona Model: an original formula? From "Reconstruction" to Strategic Urban Projects (1979-2004)", *Planning Perspectives*, 18, 4, 2003.

2 K.T. Jackson, *Cragbrass Frontier. The suburbanization of the United States,* Oxford-New York, 1985; D. Hayden, *Building Suburbia. Green Fields and Urban Growth 1820-2000*, Pantheon Books, New York, 2003; F. Ascher, *Métapolis, ou l´avenir des villes*, Ed. Odile Jacob, París, 1995

3 P. Hall, *Cities of tomorrow. An intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988. A critique concerning the case of Baltimore can be found in D. Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, Edinburgh University Press, 2000.

4 "For urbanists, the belated rediscovery of the virtues of the classical city at the moment of their definitive impossibility may have been the point of no return, fatal moment of disconnection, disqualification. They are now specialists in phantom pain: doctors discussing the medical intricacies of an amputated limb". R. Koolhaas, "What Ever Happened to Urbanism?", in *S, M, L, XL*, The Monacelli Press, New York, 1995, p. 963

5 M. Sorkin, (ed.), *Variations on a theme park. The new american city and the end of public space,* Hill and Wang, New York, 1992

6 P. Rosso (ed.), *Modelli di città. Strutture e funzione politiche*, Einaudi, Torino, 1987

7 M. Berman, *All that is solid melts into air. The experience of modernity*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1982.

8 A. D. King, "Exporting planning: The colonial and neo-colonial experience", in G. Cherry (ed.), *Shaping an urban world: Planning in the 20th Century*, Mansell, Londres, 1980

9 S. Ward, "Re-examining the International Diffusion of Planning", en R. Freestone (ed.), *Urban Planning in a Changing World. The twentieth century experience*, E & FN Spon, Londres, 2000

10 D. Keeling, *Buenos Aires. Global Dream, Local Crises*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 1996, p.235

PRÓLOGO

El undécimo encuentro de la IPHS constituye una buena ocasión para reflexionar sobre la naturaleza y los cambios producidos en nuestro campo de estudios. No parece una casual coincidencia los paralelismos que se pueden establecer entre la génesis de la IPHS y la crisis del planeamiento moderno. La defensa del poder explicativo de la *planning history* nace, sin duda, de las necesidades de replanteo crítico que se sienten en el seno de la disciplina urbanística. En el contexto de una globalización intensa, a la necesidad de una revisión histórica se añade la creciente necesidad de adoptar una aproximación internacional. El paso del inicial *Planning History Group* (fundado en 1974) a la *International Planning History Society* (en 1993) así como la consolidación de la secuencia de los congresos internacionales, sintoniza justamente con una marcada inflexión globalizadora de los procesos urbanos. Se integran así espacio y tiempo, historia y cultura, como ámbitos fundamentales de reflexión, tan necesarios en este período de profundo cambio: en las ciudades, en la mirada y en las formas de intervención urbanística.

La propia secuencia de los congresos muestra este significativo y gradual proceso de internacionalización, pero resulta llamativo el hecho de que Salónica haya sido, hasta hoy, la única ciudad mediterránea organizadora de un congreso de la IPHS (en 1996) y muy especialmente la ausencia de sedes del área latina. Esta constatación, un poco anómala, estimuló la presentación de la candidatura de Barcelona. Quería potenciar una mayor participación del mundo latino, y establecer un puente entre una red consolidada de investigadores urbanos y un amplio ámbito cultural y geográfico con grupos de estudiosos mucho más dispersos e inconexos.

BARCELONA

Barcelona ofrece, por otra parte, un denso legado para los estudiosos del urbanismo. A la superposición histórica que, desde su fundación romana, ha dejado signos bien perceptibles en su paisaje urbano y en su trazado, se añaden distintos episodios relevantes para la historia del urbanismo contemporáneo. Dos de ellos resultan especialmente útiles para reflexionar desde una perspectiva internacional.

El primer episodio es el del proyecto y construcción del Ensanche a mediados del siglo XIX. Por una parte, la preparación del proyecto motiva las investigaciones de su autor, Ildefonso Cerdà, que se concretarán en uno de los primeros intentos de instaurar una nueva disciplina específica: una Teoría General de la Urbanización. Por otro lado, las opciones proyectuales de Cerdà constituyen un ejemplo singular en el ámbito europeo. Así, la adopción de la malla ortogonal, nada excepcional en el continente americano, adquiere un carácter insólito en el viejo continente. Esta singularidad ha llevado a los historiadores del urbanismo a interrogarse sobre sus relaciones complejas respecto a las distintas tradiciones urbanísticas en América y en Europa. Finalmente interesa por su influencia decisiva, con la aprobación de las leyes de Ensanche, en el establecimiento de una vía propia de modernización de muchas de las principales ciudades españolas.

El segundo momento en el que Barcelona ha incidido de modo muy significativo en el debate urbanístico internacional ha sido, justamente, en la etapa más reciente: la que se abre con la transición democrática en 1975. Se trata de un largo período que se inicia bajo el signo de la "reconstrucción" después de la explosión urbana desordenada, deficitaria en equipamientos y servicios, de los años sesenta y setenta y de la revisión crítica de los instrumentos de intervención urbana. La nominación para los Juegos Olímpicos de 1992 permitió una nueva escala en las intervenciones y se convirtió en un nuevo impulso estratégico en el relanzamiento urbanístico y económico de la ciudad. De modo análogo al anterior episodio histórico, ahora se plan-

tea la cuestión de las influencias críticas, de la amalgama de "préstamos" urbanísticos y de influencias recíprocas. En definitiva, la de los "modelos" que están en la base del llamado "modelo Barcelona", que gozará de una notable proyección exterior. No sólo será tomado como referencia por otras ciudades, especialmente en América Latina, también intentará ser imitado por la propia Barcelona en la nueva iniciativa del Forum de las Culturas 2004. Un "evento singular" en el ámbito de las grandes celebraciones urbanas que adopta el "diálogo entre las culturas" como excusa para una intensa renovación urbanística en una área muy problemática y estratégica de la ciudad. Nuevamente, se confía en la utilización de celebraciones internacionales como motores de transformaciones urbanísticas de envergadura, un recurso utilizado reiteradamente en Barcelona, como también ha sucedido en muchas otras ciudades.

El urbanismo de Barcelona es el objeto de una de las conferencias plenarias y un buen pórtico para la temática del congreso. Oriol Bohigas, en sintonía con la revisión de la teoría y de la práctica de aquellos años y como director de urbanismo entre 1980 y 1984, estableció las líneas maestras que han determinado las transformaciones urbanísticas de la ciudad que se han ido encadenando desde entonces. En su condición de actor y observador privilegiado examina la experiencia reciente barcelonesa para realizar un balance crítico, seguramente complementario del realizado por otros autores "desde fuera".[1] La experiencia urbanística de Barcelona y la conexión latinoamericana han incidido en la elección del tema de la *11th International Planning History Conference: Modelos urbanísticos y cultura de las ciudades.* Pero más allá de las razones circunstanciales y de los criterios de oportunidad, el eje temático parece especialmente indicado para sugerir y articular un campo de preocupaciones actual, y muy presente en las reflexiones sobre la ciudad y el urbanismo. Se trata de abordar el renovado interés por los procesos de internacionalización y difusión, que han ido consolidando las diversas tradiciones urbanísticas; así como, la constatación de la diversidad de contextos, de legados y de culturas urbanas. Difusión y diversidad aconsejan avanzar hacia una mejor comprensión de los fenómenos a través de una focalización en el debate sobre los "modelos urbanísticos".

Las conferencias de Michael Cohen, *The City is Missing: Sustaining Urban Culture in an Era of Globalization*, y de Roberto Segre *América Latina urbana. El colapso de los modelos en la crisis de la modernidad*, abordan desde marcos disciplinares distintos un mismo ámbito de problemas. Parece especialmente apropiado, como propone Michael Cohen, revisar los planteamientos económicos de carácter estratégico que han sido hegemónicos hasta hoy, y que han determinado, en buena medida, los procesos urbanos y las opciones urbanísticas. Roberto Segre se interroga sobre la rica experiencia urbanística latinoamericana y constata las dificultades de adaptación de los distintos modelos importados a un contexto con problemas infraestructurales, sociales y económicos, destacando la reciente emergencia de respuestas originales autóctonas.

Como contrapunto, la conferencia de Dolores Hayden examina, en un amplio arco histórico de 1820 hasta el 2000, la formación del paisaje suburbano americano. Un paisaje cultural dominante en los Estados Unidos, difundido a la par que el "American way of life" y del que, en otras geografías, se adoptan reinterpretaciones, amalgamas de fragmentos y piezas urbanas, que configuran nuevos paisajes asociados a los procesos de globalización. Esos modelos de ciudad han sido descritos y analizados por diversos autores como ejemplos de la difusión de una cultura urbana que se acompaña de la adopción de modelos urbanísticos.[2] Paradójicamente a la vez que se impone, desde la cultura anglosajona, la ciudad dispersa, se hace evidente la pérdida de peso de esta misma área cultural, con la ruptura de la hegemonía del planning en la cultura urbanística. Michael Hebbert analiza, precisamente, la relación cambiante entre las dos tradiciones urbanísticas: la anglosajona y la latina. Plantea así una cuestión central en el debate actual, la de la pugna entre dos paradigmas o modelos de actuación urbanística: el modelo del "Planning" —de naturaleza funcionalista— frente al del "Urbanismo" —más arquitectónico— entendido como concepto que estaría en la base de las intervenciones recientes en Barcelona.

En el fondo, Barcelona podría verse como un caso en el que se combinan de forma creativa las influencias de los modelos de inspiración norteamericana (Baltimore, Boston...) con las reflexiones críticas de ese "urbanismo" de raíz europea (en particular, a partir del morfologismo italiano de los años 60 y 70). Aunque, como señala Peter Hall una buena parte de otro urbanismo europeo reciente -Londres en particular- también toma su inspiración de los "modelos estadounidenses" en los años 80 en un aspecto fundamental como es el de la utilización de un volumen acotado de dinero público para generar o inducir (el "leverage" norteamericano) una cantidad mucho mayor de capital privado.[3]

URBANISMO

El conjunto de las comunicaciones, que hemos organizado por motivos prácticos mediante diversas "bandas temáticas" y que enriquecen desde muy diversos puntos de vista el debate, también reflejan la contraposición que plantea Michael Hebbert. Es así interesante comprobar la creciente utilización del término "Urbanism" en la historiografía urbanística anglosajona (no sólo en sentido sociológico sino como disciplina asociada al Planning). De esta forma la visión que había interpretado el paso del "Urbanism" al "Planning" en las primeras décadas del siglo XX y el desplazamiento de la preocupación por los aspectos formales hacia el predominio de las preocupaciones funcionales, como una consecuencia lógica de los procesos de modernización en la era de la industrialización, contrasta con los estudios de las últimas décadas, focalizados en la recuperación del "Urbanism", o en el "New Urbanism", frente al "Planning". Dicho cambio también se aprecia en la historiografía más integradora, fruto del diálogo entre arquitectos y urbanistas y se amplía a la reflexión más específica sobre la importancia de la historia en el discurso y en las estrategias urbanísticas.

En el fondo, esos dos polos de la actividad urbanística se corresponden con los dos grandes paradigmas propuestos por F. Choay en los años 60: la del urbanismo "progresista" o funcionalista, frente al de raíz "culturalista" o más arquitectónico. El rigor objetivo al que aspiraba el urbanismo funcionalista y su focalización en la ordenación de la ciudad fordista dejaron como balance la pérdida de los valores tradicionalmente asociadas a la práctica del urbanismo de tipo "culturalista" y especialmente sensibles en la ciudad postindustrial y postmoderna que vuelve a ser entendida como forma y como dispositivo de significación.

Desde una perspectiva más física y morfológica se puede destacar la atención a diversas dimensiones de la actividad urbanística, especialmente a las relaciones entre arquitectura y ciudad. Se observa un cambio conceptual en los estudios centrados en las formas urbanas (tanto en la tradición más arquitectónica italiana y latinoeuropea como en la más geográfica germana y británica). Cada vez se afina más en el entendimiento de las diversas dimensiones de la morfología urbana superando tanto las concepciones economicistas como las que proclaman la autonomía de las arquitecturas de la ciudad: desde las "formas heredadas" a las reconversiones de usos o a las transformaciones del paisaje.

Algunas voces han advertido sobre los riesgos y las insuficiencias de las aproximaciones excesivamente morfologistas y, en el fondo historicistas. Por ejemplo Rem Koolhaas ve, en este descubrimiento tardío de las virtudes de la ciudad histórica, en un momento en el que se asiste a su radical transformación y tematización indefinida, un alejamiento peligroso respecto al objeto de intervención.[4] El dominio de una visión historicista de la ciudad —en cierto modo como "tiempo congelado"— dificultaría su percepción como ente dinámico y cambiante. Estas posiciones podrían entenderse como una reformulación del "paradigma progresista", ante la efectiva hegemonía de las posiciones en las que la dimensión cultural resulta privilegiada.

CULTURAS

En efecto, la revalorización del urbanismo cualitativo comporta, también, la revalorización de aquellos atributos propios de la arquitectura que la vinculan al lugar y a unos significados colectivos. Frente a la estandarización de los ideales y de los principios del "planning", los estudios recientes ponen el acento en la diversidad de las ciudades y de las situaciones urbanas locales. Se ha dicho que frente al espacio global de los flujos, el ámbito local es el de la identidad. No sorprende, en consecuencia, el creciente énfasis en lo local. Frente a las tendencias homogeneizadoras, las cuestiones relacionadas con la identidad y la diversidad cultural, adquieren un renovado protagonismo en los estudios urbanos y en la historia del urbanismo. Se presta así un interés especial a los múltiples significados de la cultura de las ciudades. La creciente revalorización de la historia y del patrimonio de la ciudad no parece ajena a esos procesos de globalización, como tampoco lo fue en otras etapas anteriores en las que las ciudades experimentaron transformaciones profundas. La dimensión cultural de la ciudad vuelve a ser relevante, teniendo ahora en cuenta que la "cultura de las ciudades" hace referencia tanto a la preservación de una "herencia cultural" como a la utilización de la cultura como recurso estratégico en lo que se ha convenido en llamar "economía cultural". Así cuando, en los estudios recientes, se analiza el papel de las "estrategias culturales", de una parte se focaliza la atención en todo lo relacionado con el patrimonio urbano, pero también se plantea el papel de la cultura en las políticas de regeneración urbana y de un modo muy destacado en la promoción de las ciudades. La ciudad no es ya entendida como una estructura funcional, económica y social (en la tradición del Planning), o una ordenación de espacios y arquitecturas (en la tradición del "urbanismo"), sino que puede verse también como "un dispositivo de significación y de sentido, de encarnación y promoción de ciertos códigos, valores y pautas culturales".

En la ciudad postindustrial pasa a primer plano el consumo cultural: eventos, grandes proyectos, equipamientos que se convierten en iconos mediáticos. La reinvención de las identidades urbanas se podría inscribir en la "reinvención de la tradición" estudiada por Hobsbawm. Actualmente, el entorno socioeconómico inestable y competitivo exige consolidar consensos, facilitar la gobernanza, diseñar y proyectar la imagen de marca de la ciudad: "Gasgow Miles Better", "Lille capital de l´Europe", la "Dublín de Joyce" o la "Barcelona de Gaudí"... Los planteamientos urbanísticos se adaptan a las estrategias dirigidas a la promoción urbana y a la "venta de la ciudad" con la consiguiente imagen de marca de la misma (*City Branding*) y la tematización correspondiente.[5] De todos modos, frente a visiones excesivamente lineales, el análisis de distintos episodios muestra la existencia de ciertos márgenes de maniobra y de creatividad. Las experiencias vinculadas a los grandes eventos, al menos desde mediados del s. XIX, constituyen un ámbito especialmente significativo. Exposiciones, Olimpiadas, o Festivales culturales son ocasiones señaladas para la representación y la formulación de imágenes urbanas ideales. Con frecuencia, dichas imágenes se convierten en auténticos modelos urbanísticos (desde las Exposiciones de París o Chicago en la segunda mitad del s.XIX, a los JJ.OO. de Barcelona o Sidney, pasando por las "capitalidades culturales" europeas y demás). El interés por manifestaciones efímeras no se agota en la exploración de las representaciones sino que inciden en los procesos urbanos "reales" como muestran algunos autores que subrayan los efectos duraderos de lo efímero: su impacto físico, además del económico y cultural. Impactos que, sin embargo, pueden llegar a ser radicalmente diferentes en ciudades que aplican fórmulas semejantes.

MODELOS URBANÍSTICOS

A partir del reconocimiento de la diversidad de las culturas urbanas, la Conferencia de la IPHS trata de avanzar hacia una mejor comprensión de los fenómenos y lo hace a través de una focalización en el debate de los "modelos urbanísticos". No se trata tanto de modelos de ciudad: "norteamericana", "europea", "latinoamericana", "islámica", "asiática", etc.[6] Ni de modelos en un sentido de propuesta teórica y abstracta, sino modelos de actuación basados en casos concretos. En cierto modo, se trata de un debate consustancial a la teoría y a la historia del urbanismo. Marshall Berman señala que "hacia 1880, el modelo de Haussmann era generalmente aclamado como el modelo mismo del urbanismo moderno. Como tal, no tardó en ser impuesto en todos los rincones del mundo, desde Santiago a Saigón".[7] Abundan los trabajos dedicados al análisis de los modelos urbanísticos representados por el París de Haussmann y sus "réplicas" a partir mediados del s. XIX, los planes y proyectos para Londres en la segunda postguerra, Brasilia en los años 50, Berlín en los 80 o Barcelona a finales de los 80 en los años 90.

No obstante, en los últimos años se observa una renovación sustancial de los objetivos de las investigaciones y de las metodologías adoptadas. Y ello ocurre tanto en el ámbito del urbanismo de las ciudades de las "Periferias", como en la reflexión sobre las "tradiciones urbanísticas consolidadas" en las ciudades de los "Centros". Desde nuestra perspectiva es lógico apuntar a la diversificación de las "culturas urbanísticas", desde los procedimientos técnicos a las propias formas urbanas. Destaca notablemente el desarrollo de la investigación en cuatro grandes áreas fuera de Europa y Norteamérica: Latinoamérica, Oriente Próximo, ciudades "postsoviéticas" y Asia-Pacífico. En todas ellas surgen estudios que tratan los fenómenos de "importación" o "exportación", de los modelos urbanísticos importados y de los "significados locales", sin que ello signifique descuidar los elementos formativos de los modelos en las ciudades y países "centrales". Los objetivos ya no son tanto el análisis del urbanismo colonial o postcolonial sino un entendimiento complejo de los procesos del urbanismo "transnacional".[8] Se advierte una diferencia metodológica en la mayor atención a las "aspiraciones locales" en relación a las "estrategias exteriores". La llamada "escuela de la dependencia" que tuvo un importante impulso hace dos décadas, da ahora paso a otras aproximaciones más atentas a los procesos de "transferencia" y de "difusión", a los "préstamos" y a las "adaptaciones", por referirnos a la tipología de S. Ward. Y ese entendimiento complejo de dichos fenómenos no sólo se aplica a situaciones "dependientes" sino también a ciudades "centrales", por ejemplo las europeas respecto a las norteamericanas.[9]

PROCESOS URBANOS

Al mismo tiempo, la investigación reciente se interroga por la transferencia de modelos urbanísticos, advirtiendo convergencias en los procesos urbanos, especialmente en determinados ámbitos geográficos, nacionales o culturales. Aunque desde el renacimiento urbano que redefine las ciudades medievales hace 1000 años hasta los efectos uniformizadores de la era de la revolución industrial en ciudades pertenecientes a ámbitos geográficos muy diversos, siempre se han observado esos procesos, interesan especialmente los procesos de la edad contemporánea.

Uno de los temas que ocupan a diversos estudiosos es el de los procesos de suburbanización que, con importantes diferencias, experimentan las ciudades. Dichos procesos se vinculan a múltiples variables, desde las estrictamente demográficas y económicas a las culturales, pasando por las tecnológicas, con la extensión de redes de infraestructuras, etc. En paralelo, los procesos de renovación urbana en los centros y ámbitos consolidados incluyen la reciente revalorización

del espacio público o la recualificación y "elitización" de las áreas centrales. Sin embargo, la naturaleza de dichos procesos en cada realidad urbana da lugar a usos urbanos, espacios y formas muy contrastantes, a veces contrapuestos. Es interesante comprobar hasta qué punto algunas ciudades latinoamericanas que habían asimilado los modelos de procedencia europea hasta la segunda guerra mundial, en las últimas décadas cambian su trayectoria de forma notable. La cuestión que se plantea no es si dichas ciudades siguen incorporando las nuevas formas de actuación urbanística -sean de procedencia europea o norteamericana- sino el peso relativo de las mismas y, en general del reciente urbanismo estandarizado, que prolifera en centros, periferias o enclaves urbanos de las grandes ciudades del subcontinente. Un ejemplo particularmente expresivo de este contraste es el de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, una ciudad que quizás esté experimentando "el fin del mito europeo que ha dominado la ciudad durante tanto tiempo" y en la que se observa un proceso de "latinoamericanización", también en lo que se refiere a sus formas urbanas.[10]

En cualquier caso, conviene cuestionar ciertas tesis un tanto apocalípticas en torno a la desaparición de las culturas específicas de las ciudades. Desde distintas aproximaciones, pero sin alejarse del todo del tema principal, muchos de estos debates están presentes en las comunicaciones aportadas a este encuentro de la IPHS y en otras muchas investigaciones. Por ejemplo, las que abordan aspectos del "crecimiento informal" y de la dimensión cultural vinculada a los mismos. O bien las que tratan de la formación de comunidades cerradas, etc. Pero también las que abordan los procesos más esperanzadores que reconocen los márgenes y potencialidades locales de intervención para la construcción de un "paisaje urbano culturalmente significativo", tal como apunta R. Segre.

MIRADAS RECÍPROCAS, MIRADAS TRANSVERSALES

Planning o urbanismo, la interpretación de su naturaleza y papel en la construcción de la ciudad constituye un campo de estudios que de ningún modo puede prescindir de las herramientas que le ofrece la historia. No se trata tanto de apuntar hacia un conocimiento positivo, sistemático y definitivo. Ni la historia ni el urbanismo son susceptibles de un conocimiento mediante leyes o reglas. Se trata, en ambos casos, de conjuntos de conocimientos que se construyen en un vaivén de inferencias a partir de una mezcla de datos y de experiencias conseguidos a partir del estudio de situaciones históricas concretas. Exige atender a lo local y multiplicar, como propone Roberto Segre, las miradas recíprocas como un instrumento heurístico insustituible que enriquece nuestra percepción, nuestra capacidad de análisis y de interpretación. Permiten, por la misma razón, potenciar y enriquecer el debate.

Son también necesarias las miradas transversales, el cruce de visiones disciplinares que abordan el fenómeno del urbanismo y su incidencia en las ciudades actuales o del pasado, en un análisis necesariamente integrador. Miradas transversales entre disciplinas como la historia de la arquitectura, la geografía histórica y cultural, la historia social y económica, de las técnicas y de los instrumentos de intervención urbanística. Miradas transversales que ya no pueden pensarse como visiones omnicomprensivas sino como análisis abiertamente interdisciplinares de procesos concretos en los que se tienen en cuenta la complejidad y la diversidad de variables que pueden contribuir a explicar la naturaleza del urbanismo presente y pasado. Miradas entre lugares o disciplinas que no permiten únicamente calibrar las distancias y las diferencias, a menudo nos hacen descubrir aspectos relevantes de nuestro entorno más inmediato que no somos capaces de percibir desde la cotidianeidad de nuestras coordenadas habituales.

Es justamente la siempre creciente apertura a nuevas geografías y culturas, así como a la apertura hacia diversas disciplinas, uno de los mayores méritos de la IPHS y una contribución

fundamental en la renovación de los instrumentos críticos de nuestros análisis. Es por esta razón que debemos agradecer el privilegio de haber podido organizar en Barcelona este undécimo congreso. Celebrar las cerca de 250 comunicaciones, que han sido seleccionadas después de un trabajo riguroso de evaluación a cargo de la Comisión de evaluadores constituida al efecto, así como la asistencia de delegados procedentes de todos los continentes.

F. Javier Monclús **Manuel Guàrdia**

1 Por ejemplo: T. Marshall, "Urban planning and governance: is there a Barcelona model?", *European Planning Studies*, vol. 5, no 3, 1992, pp 299-319; F. J. Monclús, "The Barcelona Model: an original formula? From "Reconstruction" to Strategic Urban Projects (1979-2004)", *Planning Perspectives*, 18, 4, 2003 (vers. esp. en Perspectivas Urbanas, n.3, 2003 (www.etsav.upc.es/urbpersp)

2 K.T. Jackson, *Cragbrass Frontier. The suburbanization of the United States*, Oxford-Nueva York, 1985; D. Hayden, *Building Suburbia. Green Fields and Urban Growth 1820-2000*, Pantheon Books, New York, 2003; F. Ascher, *Métapolis, ou l'avenir des villes*, Ed. Odile Jacob, París, 1995

3 P. Hall, *Cities of tomorrow. An intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988 (trad. esp.: *Ciudades del mañana. Historia del urbanismo en el siglo XX*, Serbal, Barcelona, 1996, p.368). Una visión crítica sobre el caso de Baltimore es la de D. Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, Edinburgh University Press, 2000 (trad. esp.: *Espacios de esperanza*, Akal, Barcelona, 2003, pp. 159-183

4 "Para los urbanistas, el tardío redescubrimiento de las virtudes de la ciudad clásica en el momento de su imposibilidad definitiva puede haber significado el punto, de no retorno, el momento fatal de la desconexión, de la descalificación. Ahora son especialistas en dolores fantasmas: médicos que discuten las peculiaridades de un miembro amputado": R. Koolhaas, "What Ever Happened to Urbanism?", in *S, M, L, XL*, The Monacelli Press, New York, 1995, p. 963

5 M. Sorkin, (ed.), *Variations on a theme park. The new american city and the end of public space*, Hill and Wang, New York, 1992

6 P. Rosso (ed.), *Modelli di città. Strutture e funzione politiche*, Einaudi, Torino, 1987

7 M. Berman, *Todo lo sólido se desvanece en el aire. La experiencia de la modernidad*, (1982) Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1991, p. 151

8 A. D. King, "Exporting planning: The colonial and neo-colonial experience", in G. Cherry (ed.), *Shaping an urban world: Planning in the 20th Century*, Mansell, Londres, 1980

9 S. Ward, "Re-examining the International Diffusion of Planning", en R. Freestone (ed.), *Urban Planning in a Changing World. The twentieth century experience*, E & FN Spon, Londres, 2000

10 D. Keeling, *Buenos Aires. Global Dream, Local Crises*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 1996, p. 235

Barcelona: Urban Change, Planning and Events

Through his involvement in distinct disciplinary and civil debates over the last 50 years, and his experience designing the basic structure for the urban transformation of Barcelona in 1980-1984, working closely with the city's first democratic municipality, Oriol Bohigas benefits from an exceptional perspective on urbanism in Barcelona. He draws a critical balance of Barcelona's urbanism in three short articles published here that frame several of the principle issues addressed in this conference.

Los Equipamientos de los Ochenta (The Facilities of the 80s, written in 1996) summarizes the critiques of the Master Plan as an instrument of control and modification of the city and the criteria of the new urban projects for Barcelona in the early 80s. It describes the necessity to move past systematic yet incomplete visions for the city's future to precise and structured proposals for public space that could potentially become facilities, transport infrastructures, public squares, gardens or monuments and focuses on creating common areas and symbols of collective identity. Despite opposition by some critics, previous city models are regarded as unnecessary. The city is not seen as a systematic idea; rather, it is a combination of smaller ideas addressing problems that together form a complex and unanticipated whole.

The Olympic Games provided for the application of these experimental guidelines on a much greater scale, moving from small streets and plazas to creating Olympic Villages and ring roads, forming grand urban spaces and significant metropolitan entities.

The following two articles are uniquely different reflections on the relationship that has been established throughout Barcelona's history between urban changes and events. *Una Nueva Etapa Urbanistica* (A New Urban Phase, written in 2002), challenges the idea that the relationship between the urban developments and events like the Universal Exposition of 1988, the International Expo of 1929, the Olympic Games of 1992 or the present Forum 2004 is provincial in nature. And, contrary to the opinion of many critics, it argues that these Expositions and the Olympic Games, although they later became motors for urban change, were already framed by determined contents. In contrast, the direct objective of the Forum 2004 is an urban project that seeks new content, to escape tradition and accredited experience, and therefore contributes to the political maturity of the city and becomes a tool for the second stage of "reconstruction".

The third article, *Muralles and Porcioles* (Porcioles and the City Walls, written in 2004), attempts to shed light upon the actual importance of large international competitions in the city's urban development. It considers that the greatest modern transformations—one positive and one negative—that mark the image of Barcelona have been the downfall of the city walls that permitted the Extension Plan (*Ensanche*) and, much more recently, the uncivil and disorderly expansion of the period of Porcioles, the mayor of Barcelona from 1957-1974. Porcioles reoriented growth, breaking the physical and functional coherency of the city, building over the *Ensanche* and the neighbourhoods with a dispersion of new settlements that radically negated the compacity, order and legibility of the city. While the periphery became a new and unplanned extension, the formal coherency of the *Ensanche* was further broken down by a new normative that increased building heights, permitted two floors more, an attic and an over attic, allowing construction to spill out onto the streets. The transformation in this period has been the most significant since the fall of the city walls and the implementation of Cerda's Plan, and has been far more influential than those urban transformations attributable to the Expositions, the Olympic Games or the Forum.

Una primera etapa urbanística: Los equipamientos de los ochenta

Oriol Bohigas

El año 1980 empezó en Barcelona un nuevo programa urbanístico según unas premisas muy sencillas y rápidas de aplicar. No creíamos demasiado en la eficacia operativa del *Plan General* como instrumento de control y modificación de la ciudad. Pensábamos que el *Plan General* ya había pasado a la historia —al menos en los términos en que se había producido hasta entonces y que era necesario un urbanismo basado en métodos y criterios distintos. Fundamentalmente eran dos las nuevas condiciones.

Primera: el urbanismo no debía ser solamente una normativa limitativa, una vigilancia de la iniciativa privada, sino una proposición efectiva, inmediata, realizativa. Es decir, era necesario pasar de las visiones de futuro sistemáticas, pero inconcretas, a unas propuestas precisas y a unas realizaciones puntuales. Esto implicaba un segundo criterio: estas realizaciones puntuales debían ser proyectos del espacio colectivo. No tan solo del espacio urbano —plazas, calles, jardines, etc.— sino también de las grandes infraestructuras y de los equipamientos sociales. En consecuencia, más que de «espacios urbanos», deberíamos hablar de «espacios públicos». Espacios públicos que, tanto si son equipamientos como infraestructuras viarias, plazas, jardines o monumentos, son los lugares de reunión, los escenarios y los signos de la identidad colectiva.

Sobre la base de ambos principios, a partir de los años ochenta, se llevaron a efecto casi todas las operaciones, que fueron culminando en los Juegos Olímpicos. La ocasión de los Juegos Olímpicos fue muy eficaz para poder aplicar una teoría que ya se había experimentado en les realizaciones a pequeña escala. El paso de una escala pequeña a una escala grande se vió, pues, muy favorecido por los juegos. Pasamos de hacer calles y pequeñas plazas a hacer villas olímpicas y cinturones de ronda, es decir, a actuar sobre grandes espacios urbanos y sobre entidades de envergadura metropolitana. Me parece que con este paso ha quedado bastante demostrado que, efectivamente el *Plan General* ha pasado a la historia, al menos en los términos en que antes quería operar, substituido no sólo por operaciones puntuales de barrio, sino por proyectos metropolitanos.

Hoy día, pues, los proyectos importantes que se discuten en Barcelona —y en todas las demás ciudades europeas— no se levan a efecto a partir de un *Plan General,* sino de unos planes concretos, que no son simples elucubraciones cuantitativas o económicas, sino inicios de proyecto. Por ejemplo, hoy en Barcelona los temas de mayor trascendencia son el delta del Llobregat, la línea del Besòs, la ampliación del aeropuerto, las redes de servicios superpuestas, etc. Todo esto no se enfoca ya desde una revisión del *Plan General,* sino desde unos planos que indican líneas concretas de proyecto.

Me he referido a temas como el Llobregat, el Besòs, el aeropuerto. El hecho que éstos sean los temas que ahora se estudian, quiere decir que los problemas reales que tiene actualmente Barcelona son precisamente de tipo metropolitano, los problemas de la gran conurbación de Barcelona. En parte ya han empezado a resolverse con algunas infraestructuras, pero no se han completado en su totalidad. Ejemplo de ello serían los que ya he citado y, también conviene decirlo, la recomposición urbana de toda la periferia, que si bien ha mejorado en estos últimos años, aún necesita asimilar una nueva estructura específicamente urbana. Creo, por tanto, que hoy por hoy el problema que aún tenemos pendiente es el del área metropolitana. Un problema que se planteó en los años ochenta, pero que continua existiendo en su total y, yo diría, dramática urgencia.

El problema es que el área metropolitana no ha conseguido una entidad urbana —y, por ello, social— que la controle y que la signifique. Y, en consecuencia, antes de resolver los problemas físicos, deberemos llegar a una solución de carácter político. Quiero decir, para una reconsideración social de aquellas entidades y por una reorganización administrativa que no les deje aisladas de les centralidades evidentes.

Finalmente, al hablar de estos temas del área metropolitana y de temas de gran escala, se me ocurre uno más estrictamente metodológico: alguien dice que con esta técnica urbanística de realizaciones puntuales, falta una visión de una propuesta previa sobre el modelo de ciudad que queremos para a Barcelona. Yo no creo demasiado en los modelos urbanísticos que, por otra parte, si existieran, deberían ser los contenidos —diversos y variables— de los partidos políticos. Pienso que la ciudad no se hace a partir de un modelo, sino a partir de sucesivos arreglos ocasionales en que, por fuerza, acaban dominando mucho los sucesivos altibajos políticos. La ciudad no es una idea sistemática, sino un conjunto de pequeñas ideas sobre problemas de una cierta autonomía controlable, que acaban sumando una totalidad a veces imprevisible.

Podríamos decir, pues, que si que existe una idea muy general de Barcelona, una idea que no implica la asunción de un modelo específico, sino de sucesivos modelos, de acuerdo con las realidades superpuestas de cada uno de sus elementos relativamente autónomos.

"Los equipamientos de los 80", en *1856-1999 Barcelona Contemporània*, Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona – Institut d'Edicions, Diputació de Barcelona, Barcelona, 1996. p. 210

Ciudad y acontecimiento. Una nueva etapa urbanística

Oriol Bohigas

Los habituales críticos displicentes consideran un gesto provinciano el hecho de que el crecimiento —o la mejora urbanística— de Barcelona se produzca casi siempre al ritmo de acontecimientos ciudadanos más o menos extraordinarios: las revoluciones incendiarias del ochocientos, el derribo de las murallas, la Exposición del 88, la del 29, los Juegos Olímpicos. (Una lista ligeramente presuntuosa porque siempre olvidamos los acontecimientos negativos que también influyeron, como la oleada de inmigración de los años cincuenta y sesenta que provocó el gran desastre de la suburbialización metropolitana). A mí me satisface esa calificación crítica porque considero muy positivo que Barcelona sea una ciudad provinciana, ya que no puede ser la capital de un estado. Sólo me molesta la palabra 'provincia', un error isabelino que quería ser administrativo y que ha acabado siendo político. No digamos, por tanto, «ciudad provinciana», sino «ciudad de las afueras". No niego le ventajas de ser una capital, pero, puestos a no serlo, es mejor estar a las afueras que estar dentro. Así, me parece ejemplar que Barcelona se reurbanice dependiendo directamente de sus propios movimientos sociales y económicos y de sus principales eventos colectivos, es decir, de sus propias fuerzas centrípetas y centrífugas. Me parece mejor ser ciudad que capital.

Ahora se anuncia el Forum 2004 como el acontecimiento que va a provocar una nueva transformación urbana. Pero esta vez el procedimiento es algo distinto. Las Exposiciones y los Juegos Olímpicos, aunque se les suponía motores de mejoras urbanas, llegaban con un contenido ya determinado, al cual se adaptaban los proyectos urbanos. En cambio, en el Forum 2004 el objetivo directo es un proyecto urbano para el que se busca un contenido nuevo, sin tradición ni experiencias acreditadas. Efectivamente, a estas alturas todavía no está claro el programa de actividades del verano de 2004, ni los criterios políticos y culturales que han de justificarlo. Pero, en cambio, el proceso urbanístico y arquitectónico está claramente definido y en marcha; quizá con calendarios demasiado ajustados, pero, por lo visto, factibles. Los habituales críticos displicentes de opinan que el proceso está equivocado porque lo prioritario tendrían que ser los contenidos y sus resultados. A mí, en cambio, esta transferencia de protagonismo me parece un signo de madurez política de la ciudad. Son pocos los ciudadanos que se acuerdan de los medallistas olímpicos, ni siquiera de las efemérides escenográficas, pero todos viven y agradecen la nueva fachada al mar, el cinturón de Ronda y los diversos centros culturales. Ahora, parece que los nuevos proyectos urbanos ya no necesitan excusarse en acontecimientos extraordinarios. Importa menos el contenido del Forum 2004 porque, si no se resuelven sus dudas, será simplemente el acto de inauguración de un nuevo barrio marítimo de Barcelona, un nuevo centro metropolitano. Esta vez la fuerza generativa ha sido directamente la voluntad de urbanización. Por esta razón, no se puede hablar de los proyectos para el Forum 2004 y la llegada al mar de la Diagonal sin incluirlos en unos proyectos urbanos muy definidos e incluso muy impositivos, a los cuales se adaptaron los proyectos arquitectónicos y el trazado de los espacios públicos que podían expresar la personalidad de cada arquitecto, pero que no modificaban la estructura fundamental ni el carácter urbano. Ahora se ha dado un paso más en favor de la relativa autonomía de la arquitectura: a partir de un esquema muy sucinto, se suelen encargar los proyectos arquitectónicos más significativos y se aceptan estos proyectos —con procesos dialécticos bastante complejos— como base de transformación o adecuación de los planteos urbanos generales o sectoriales. La Sagrera son cuatro puntos situados estratégicamente, cuya regeneración producirá cambios sustanciales en el futuro inmediato de Barcelona; cuatro operaciones que, a pesar de las dificultades (las propias y las añadidas por la incomprensión y la animadversión de algunas administraciones) se realizarán a corto o a medio plazo.

El método y los proyectos

Mirando todo el programa se puede descubrir un método proyectual que seguramente difiere del que hasta ahora se había utilizado en Barcelona. Con los Juegos Olímpicos, el proceso partió de unos proyectos urbanos muy definidos e incluso muy impositivos, a los cuales se adaptaron los proyectos arquitectónicos y el trazado de los espacios públicos que podían expresar la personalidad de cada arquitecto, pero que no modificaban la estructura fundamental ni el carácter urbano. Ahora se ha dado un paso más en favor de la relativa autonomía de la arquitectura: a partir de un esquema muy sucinto, se suelen encargar los proyectos arquitectónicos más significativos y se aceptan estos proyectos —con procesos dialécticos bastante complejos— como base de transformación o adecuación de los planteos urbanos generales o sectoriales.

Los habituales críticos displicentes dudan de la eficacia de este procedimiento, quizá todavía víctimas de la persistente adoración al poder taumatúrgico del planeamiento, las ordenanzas, los planes generales y los largos procesos deductivos de la burocracia. Pero, a pesar de esas rémoras, hay que aceptar que tienen razón, por lo menos en dos de los reparos que denuncian. El primero es que la mayor autonomía de la arquitectura comporta también una mayor intervención de los promotores. El segundo es que para apoyar el método, administración y promotores recurren sistemáticamente a arquitectos de alto predicamento mediático, con el que acreditan la validez de las propuestas y facilitan la gestión de licencias o la conformidad vecinal. Con ello existe el peligro de ceder la ciudad a un ultraliberalismo sometido a la ilegalidad de las leyes del mercado, abundar en una arquitectura de imágenes escenográficas y caer, al fin, en un urbanismo gobernado por los intereses privados que tienden a la especulación. Ésta es una amenaza cierta, como se constata en el reciente centro comercial Diagonal Mar, un gran error de Robert Stern, un pésimo arquitecto al que los promotores, como él norteamericanos, presentaron como una gran potencia mediática, como si la publicidad fuese garantía de la calidad arquitectónica. Pero a pesar de éste y otros ejemplos, no creo que el peligro sea tan evidente ni tan inmediato. De momento, los responsables municipales han sabido dialogar y mantener le los parámetros urbanísticos que se proponían. Por ejemplo, en la zona del Forum, los edificios congresuales de Herzog y de Meuron y de Josep Lluís Mateo, los hoteles del entorno y los espacios públicos proyectados por Martínez Lapeña y Torres, Beth Galí y Alejandro Zaera, etcétera han sabido sugerir —y adaptarse a— una ordenación urbana que será el inmenso corazón de esa nueva Barcelona. Y en otros sectores de la ciudad se está viendo que no r aparecen grandes errores, ni en la t interpretación urbana, ni en la participación de los promotores, ni en la designación de arquitectos. En resumen, pues, parece plausible esa nueva metodología si se

siguen frenando los peligros de degradación hacia la anarquía especulativa y no se cometen errores en la selección de arquitectos.

Esta autonomía de la arquitectura y ese 'uso' de los arquitectos prestigiosos tiene, además, una ventaja indirecta: la puesta en valor de la arquitectura en el mercado de valores del mundo inmobiliario y, en general. del mundo empresarial. También esto se podría calificar negativamente, argumentando los peligros culturales de una radical mercantilización de la que se benefician mutuamente arquitectos e inversores, aunque no la arquitectura, a la de los promotores, ni en la designación de arquitectos. En resumen, pues, parece plausible esa nueva metodología si se siguen frenando los peligros de degradación hacia la anarquía especulativa y no se cometen errores en la selección de arquitectos.

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Pero dado que en este ultraliberalismo ya no es posible invocar la moral, no es demasiado negativo aprovechar los años que todavía nos quedan hasta que estalle la revolución para ensayar los resultados urbanos de una convivencia entre la especulación y el arte atrevido, mediático, del *Star system,* dentro de una calidad casi siempre superior a la vulgaridad cotidiana.

Otra lección de Barcelona

Hay otra novedad que me interesa subrayar. El Forum 2004 se ubica en una zona muy próxima —e incluso se superpone— a unos terrenos ocupados por grandes instalaciones, centrales de energía y depuradoras que surgen como elementos muy dispares respecto a la voluntad de la nueva centralidad urbana. Eso, naturalmente, también ha sido criticado.

En un artículo reciente, Ramón Folch aprobaba indirectamente esa ubicación recordando que hace tan sólo medio siglo los espacios domésticos más despreciados eran el WC y la cocina, normalmente exilados a los patios interiores, las galerías inclementes o los sótanos insanos. Hoy, en cambio, gracias a la técnica y al cambio de formas de vida, el baño y la cocina-comedor son las piezas más representativas del alto estándar residencial. Y esto mismo tiene que ocurrir en la evolución de la ciudad. Hay que acabar con el exilio hacia los suburbios de todas las antiguas 'vergüenzas' —las depuradoras, los depósitos de basura, los generadores de energía, los mercados centrales, la industria pesada, los ferrocarriles, la indigencia ineludible—, no sólo por respeto a las periferias, sino por la debida dignidad social de la metrópoli. Reconozco que es una experiencia arriesgada, pero la ubicación de lo más emblemático del Fórum 2004, el futuro centro metropolitano, en el epicentro de las 'vergüenzas' puede ser la mejor lección urbanística que ofrezca Barcelona en esta segunda etapa de su reconstrucción.

Arquitectura Viva, 84
5-6-2002

Grandes eventos y Urbanismo: una revisión

Oriol Bohigas

Ahora, con motivo del Forum, todos vamos repitiendo que en Barcelona las grandes transformaciones urbanas se suelen hacer con el apoyo —o la excusa— de algún acontecimiento más o menos lúdico y escenográfico. Los ejemplos son siempre la Exposición Universal de 1888, la Internacional de 1929, los Juegos Olímpicos de 1992 y el Fòrum de 2004. Me parece una afirmación exagerada que muchos hemos divulgado un poco impremeditadamente y, a menudo, con un tono incluso crítico respecto a nuestras capacidades de actuar con normalidad de una gran capital europea que se desarrolla según sus propios ritmos y sus propios necesidades. Me parece exagerada porque no es verdad que estos acontecimientos hayan sido simplemente unas excusas, ya que, a menudo, han sido activadas por objetivos sociales o económicos de fuerza propia. Pero también porque no es cierto que estos acontecimientos hayan coincidido con las transformaciones más radicales de la ciudad, a pesar que hayan añadido los correspondientes mejoras sectoriales. Desengañémonos: las dos grandes transformaciones modernas ?una positiva y otra negativa? que marcan la imagen de Barcelona han sido el derribo de les murallas y la expansión desordenada e incívica de la época Porcioles.

Ahora hace 150 años del inicio del derribo de les murallas, un inicio que arrancó de una revolución popular en contra de la cotilla impuesta por los militares, una limitación que no permitía la expansión urbana y que sometía la vieja ciudad a unas terribles condiciones de inhabitabilidad y de degradación higiénica. No se precisó ninguna excusa. El pueblo tomó el pico y la pala y lo decidió bien y oportunamente recogiendo el grito de Monlau "¡Abajo las murallas!". El derribo permitió toda la v magnífica operación del Ensanche, es decir, la constitución de una ciudad nueva, ejemplarmente moderna, claramente situada en la geografía, con un contenido y unos límites que la definirían con una adecuada compacidad y con una legibilidad que perduró hasta que una nueva extensión no proyectada y contrahecha la invalidó. Durante muchos años, la imagen de Barcelona ha sido la del Ensanche, es decir, la sucesiva construcción de la cuadrícula hasta absorber les antiguas villas del entorno, convertidas ya en barriadas y nuevas centralidades.

Este escenario perduró hasta que llegó la segunda explosión demográfica durante el período franquista que lleva el sello del alcalde Josep M. de Porcioles. Este alcalde orientó el crecimiento rompiendo la coherencia física y funcional de la ciudad, superando el Ensanche y las barriadas con una dispersión de nuevos asentamientos que negaban definitivamente la compacidad, el orden y la legibilidad. Y, en consecuencia, la urbanidad. Veánse, sino, La Mina, San Ildefonso, Bellvitge, etc. A partir de entonces Barcelona es una otra cosa: la periferia es un conjunto de polígonos residenciales que se han convertido en guetos, una área metropolitana que ya no tiene remedio porque no presenta ni estructura de ciudad ni es un paréntesis de paisaje, una imagen caótica en la que se pierden las identidades. Pero no resultaba suficiente con la destrucción de la periferia para reforzar todavía más los abusos directamente especulativos: era necesario mutilar también el Ensanche y romper su coherencia formal con una nueva normativa que permitía construir volando sobre la calle y aumentar les alturas de edificación con un par de plantas más, un ático, un sobreático y algún añadido de tapadillo

que todo el mundo conocía como "el pisito de Porcioles". Los ridículos zigurats que culminan tantas casas del Ensanche, las medianeras que provocan y la ocupación del espacio público con voladizos indecorosos son algunos de los grandes defectos morfológicos de una ciudad que había llegado hasta el franquismo ordenadamente, limitada en extensión y en altura. Pero, sea como sea, la transformación Porcioles ha sido la más definitiva después del derribo de las murallas y la implantación del Plan Cerdà, hasta entonces firme y permanente, a pesar las sucesivas modificaciones que el propio plan supo asumir. Mucho más definitiva que las influencias que podamos atribuir a las Exposiciones, a los Juegos o al Forum. La demolición de las murallas fue una decisión popular como lo fue también la creación inmediata de una nueva contención urbana, esta vez no muraria, sino planificada en unos proyectos urbanos y en unos normativos. La Barcelona de Porcioles fue una vorágine especulativa que eliminó la contención del Ensanche sin planificar una alternativa. Y así vemos ahora Barcelona, dividida en tres ámbitos bien definidos: un centro histórico configurado por la muralla, un Ensanche y unas barriadas contenidas en un plan estricto y un desorden metropolitano sin orden ni concierto impuesto por el oportunismo y la especulación, en plena incontinencia urbana.

El Museo de Historia de Barcelona está preparando una exposición bajo el título "¡Abajo las Murallas!" que permitirá una visión comprensiva del acontecimiento. Y me dicen que una televisión local prepara un gran reportaje sobre Porcioles y su Barcelona. Veremos, pues, los dos grandes sacudidas urbanísticas de la ciudad y podremos distinguir entre un acierto popular y una barrabasada especulativa, dos escenarios que aún persisten y que son la matriz formal de una ciudad defendida por la revolución y estropeada por la especulación.

"Muralles i Porcioles", Diari *AVUI*,
"Coses mig vistes", 23/05/04

ORIOL BOHIGAS (1925). Arquitecto y Urbanista. Fundador del Grup R (1953-1963). Trabaja asociado a los arquitectos Martorell (1951), Mackay (1962), Capdevila Gual (2000) formando MBM Arquitectes. Catedrático de Composición de la E.T.S.A.B. (1971). Fue su Director de 1977 a 1980. Es Doctor Honoris Causae por la Universidad Técnica de Darmstadt (1992), y por la Universidad Menéndez y Pelayo (1995) y Catedrático Emérito por la Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya (1995). Fue Delegado de Urbanismo (1980-1984) y Concejal de Cultura (1991-1994) del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona. Ha recibido, entre otras, la *Medalla d'Or al Mèrit Artístic* de la Ciutat de Barcelona (1986), la *Medalla de Urbanismo* de l'Académie d'Architecture de París (1988), la *Medalla de Oro de Arquitectura* del Consejo Superior de Arquitectos de España (Madrid, 1990), la *Creu de Sant Jordi* de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1991), el Premio *Ciutat de Barcelona* (1999) y la *Medalla de Oro a la ciudad de Barcelona* concedida per el RIBA (Londres) (1999). Es *Honorary Fellow* de la Royal Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences (IVA) (1991), de The American Institute of Architecture (AIA) (1993) y del Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) (1996). Ha publicado diversos libros entre los que destacamos *Barcelona entre el pla Cerdà i el barraquisme* (1963), *Arquitectura modernista* (1968), *Contra una arquitectura adjetivada* (1969), *Arquitectura española de la Segunda República* (1970), *Polèmica d'arquitectura catalana* (1970), *Reseña y catálogo de la arquitectura modernista* (1972), *Proceso y erótica del Diseño* (1972), *Once arquitectos* (1976), *Reconstrucció de Barcelona* (1985), *Combat d'incerteses*.

The City is Missing: Sustaining Urban Culture in an Era of Globalization

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This morning I would like submit to you that the urban intellectual enterprise – our collective and individual efforts to understand urban phenomena and to plan and direct them in productive and equitable directions – is in trouble. We see all around us that the world is in conflict and controversy. The stability of the international order is in question as new claims are being made about what is justice, what is freedom, what are the desired relationships between north and south, east and west, rich and poor, men and women, and increasingly youth and their parents. These conflicts are not completely new, but they have taken on new forms of expression and new justifications, claiming new forms of exceptionalism and thus breaking with the past. Cacophony has replaced dialogue and violence has replaced negotiation. It may seem odd to evoke Hobbesian images here in the cultured world of Barcelona, but outside there is a war going on – in the streets and favelas of Rio, in the villas miserias in Buenos Aires, the abandoned peripheries of Karachi or Jakarta, or the dense quartiers of Cairo, Guangjou, or Johannesburg. This war has sadly reached Madrid.

Except as a site for terroism, I would like to ask you, where is the city in these conflicts and debates? How is our research and academic investigation related to this turbulent world of change and disconnection? We read every day about connectivity, yet growing disparities in incomeand opportunity suggest that most people are unconnected. Recent elections results in India point to a rural backlash to urban privilege. Similar signs are appearing in rural China. One observer in Buenos Aires distinguishes between 3 modes of existence: the people in cars, with their cell phones and laptops; the people who travel on buses who have no connection to computers, and the majority who do not leave their barrio and if they have heard of the Internet, certainly have no experience with it.

Given this background, this morning I would like to suggest that we must apply new metrics to our answers to these questions. Why? Because the city is missing. Simply put, **the city is missing in action**. While we, as urbanists, are passionate about our belief in the mysteries and potentialities of the city, and the role of the city in history - past, present, and future – the city is not present in some of the most important debates about the future of the planet. In terms of getting the attention of the G8, the world press, or most national governments, the urban project is an under-achiever and under-performer in the great struggles of our time.

I would suggest therefore that one of the ways we can advance both the theory and the practice of the city is to ask how does the city fit into some of these debates. I will outline some of these debates and the position of the city and then connect those debates to what I believe is the critical role of urban culture and values in the next phase of the enterprise of urban understanding.

These debates include the following:

1. What is the future of neo-liberal frameworks for economic and social development and how do they relate to the city?
2. How can nations manage the scale and diversity of projected demographic growth?
3. What are the roles of networks in sustaining democracy and civil society?
4. What are the conflicts between global and local culture?
5. How can aid to cities reduce poverty and inequality?
6. What is the role of values in connecting these debates to the city and urban culture?

I believe that all of these questions are critical in setting the context for our subject of rexamining planning models and their relationship to urban culture.

1. What is the Future of Neo-Liberal Frameworks and How do They Relate to the City?

The current heated debate between developing countries and the institutions defending the "post"-Washington Consensus – the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, and many donors – suggests profoundly differing views of the world at this time. The recent marginal changes between the old and the new "orthodoxy"[2] are disappointing to policy-makers, politicians, activists, and analysts in many developing countries. The post-Washington Consensus' continues to emphasize "outward orientation" that seems to place countries at continuing risk in the face of the volatility of world markets. In reaction to the Washington Consensus are new formulations such as the World Social Forum's message that "Another World is Possible" and the recent Buenos Aires Consensus that is under discussion between Presidents Lula and Kirchner. Neo-liberal policies do not seem to work, either in improving economic growth rates, reducing poverty or inequality, or in generating social safety nets to cushion countries and their peoples from the changes in the global economy.

In the neo-liberal scenario, the city is not explicitly addressed in either the foundational texts or in discussions of the impact of this policy framework. Rather, implicitly the city appears to be an "*entrepot*" for trade and a center for the financial markets. In a sense, all cities are being encouraged to aspire to becoming "global cities" in Saskia Sassen's terms, albeit at different scales.[3] They should be the loci for opened markets and flows of goods and services of all kinds, the space in which liberalized markets exist. Yet in this scenario, with increased trade flows and unregulated market forces, little is said about the risks to cities and their populations. The history of the 1980s and 1990s has shown in Latin America and other regions that cities receive the brunt of sudden global economic changes, such as relative price changes, with capital and jobs arriving in good times and departing in bad.

This neglect of the city is a policy position which is contradictory. On one hand, the international institutions recognize, at least on paper, that cities generate more than half of GDP in all developing countries and up to 80 percent in the more urbanized countries of Latin America. This would logically suggest that the economic future of countries is closely tied to urban physical and spatial environments. Yet there is little apparent institutional intention to protect or cushion cities from external shocks. This policy orientation, moreover, also ignores the city as the site in which the economic multipliers of internal domestic markets operate.

It is more than 30 years after the publication of Michael Lipton's influential book, *Why the Poor Stay Poor: Urban Bias in Developing Countries.*[4] But there are still policy analysts trying to justify creating "level playing fields" and shifting rural-urban terms of trade toward rural production by reducing urban subsidies in the name of equity and productivity. This policy objective might have had some validity 30 years ago, but is hardly defensible today, unless nostalgia is a justifiable criterion for national economic development policies.

Indeed, in historical terms, the productivity of urban economic activities is more important than ever before, in Bangkok, Buenos Aires, Mumbai, Sao Paulo, Mexico City, or other important cities. This productivity is financed by public and private savings, public and private expenditures, credit, and public and private investment. Higher levels of urban incomes and productivity are the results of economies of scale and of location and cannot be attributed to subsidized levels of public expenditure. Those who believe that public expenditures are the critical factors determining economic growth fail to understand the significance of internal markets.[5] Public expenditures can be important as catalysts for other flows, i.e. they can "crowd in" private investment. Cities in which private financial stimulants for economic activity are constrained will also find that economic multipliers dry up – as occurred in Buenos Aires during the crisis in 2002-2003.

This warning implies that cities require what might be termed "Neo-Keynesian policies", expansionary economic policies which stimulate and sustain urban demand and hence the creation of urban employment and generation of incomes. Both public and private expenditures have important roles to play in this process. Sustaining continued economic expansion is even more important due to continued urban demographic growth. This advice is well understood in the North – indeed all governments in Europe and North America follow this policy direction, regardless of which party is in the White House. Yet, as Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz points out, the IMF offers the opposite advice to countries of the South, through repeated insistence on restraining public expenditures to manage the fiscal deficit as the key indicator of macro-economic performance.[6]

The issue for the debate on urban policy, therefore, is **how to support urban economic policies to stimulate and sustain economic multipliers needed to generate employment and incomes**. While a traditional response to this question has been to finance urban infrastructure, it is apparent that infrastructure is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for continued economic activity. Local economic development strategies must be cross- or multi-sectoral, putting in place the incentives and conditions needed to create productive capacity and then finding ways to distribute and sell good and services. Urban economic development should not be understood solely as investment, which is frequently the case, but rather as active continuous engagement in building and reinforcing linkages and markets. These linkages and markets should also be built with space and location in mind, utilizing density as an important condition for supporting economic and social interaction. Jane Jacobs developed similar arguments in her book, *The Nature of Economies.*[7] Going a step further, supporting interaction also requires reducing obstacles and constraints, for example unnecessarily heavy and costly regulatory frameworks such as the classic example of the 55 steps required to obtain a building permit in Kuala Lumpur.

These issues become even more important when considered in light of the expected impact of projected future urban demographic growth, particularly in Latin America. The urgent need and justification for continued urban economic development is obvious given the projections of future urban demographic growth. Either cities and towns generate more income or they will become impoverished. The mathematical calculations are clear. In this sense, there is no alternative to continued economic and social progress.

2. How can Nations Manage the Scale and Diversity of Urban Demographic Growth?

A second issue for consideration in the urban debate comes from **the impact of projected future urban demographic growth**. The urgent need and justification for continued urban economic development is obvious given the projections of future urban demographic growth, with more than 2 billion joining the cities of the developing countries by 2025. Either cities and towns generate more income or they will become impoverished. The mathematic calculations are clear. In this sense, there is no alternative to continued economic and social progress. This argument, however, is even more important given **the growing process of social and economic differentiation** already underway in cities and towns around the world. As the recent report by the US National Academy of Sciences presents, there will be increasing numbers of youth and the elderly in the cities of developing countries over the next two generations. Growing numbers in these demographic categories and growing social and economic differences within in cities underline **the need for a wider spectrum of social policies** to respond to the needs of the elderly, youth, and other groups.[8]

This process of differentiation suggests that much more work should be devoted to urban social policies and programs supporting the integration of various demographic groups into urban societies. Proactive social problem-solving or conflict resolution may be an important new part of urban management. The role of offices such as "ombudsmen" or *"defensoria del pueblo"* may become much more important in guiding such efforts. These challenges would include the management of ethnic relations, such as between Malays and Chinese in Malaysia, or religious differences such as between Moslems and Christians in Nigeria. Conflict management would include attention to gangs, drugs, neighborhood associations, and the myriad problems between neighborhoods within cities. The recent Brazilian film, "City of God", vividly illustrates these problems. What might have previously been understood as problems at the neighborhood level now take on city-level significance, witness recent developments in Rio de Janeiro.

The most obvious current debate is the position of migrants in Europe – particularly Islamic migrants. How can these populations be understood and why are their cultural symbols individually received as harbingers of terrorism and conflict? I live in the United States and see the reactions to South Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants most clearly. The cities therefore are not the melting pots, they are the cauldrons of heat and change.

3. What are the Roles of Networks in Sustaining Democracy and Civil Society?

A third debate affecting cities concerns the relationships between democracy, networks, and civil society. We all believe we understand the meaning of networks. Yet I would suggest that a critical assessment of networks might suggest some fruitful perspectives on urban phenomena. In the beginning of a recent book, *The Internet Galaxy*, Manuel Castells tells us that the Internet is the fabric of our lives and that "the network is the message".[9] However, he goes on to remind us that:

(Networks) "have had considerable difficulty in coordinating functions, in focusing resources on specific goals, and in accomplishing a given task, beyond a certain size and complexity of the network... Networks were primarily the preserve of private life; ...in spite of their advantages in terms of flexibility, networks have traditionally had to reckon with a major problem, in contrast to centralized hierarchies were the fiefdoms of power and production."[10]

This situation has changed with "the globalization of capital, production, and trade; with the demands of society in which the values of individual freedom and open communication became paramount, and...(by) advances in computers and telecommunications"[11] Yet, Castells' warnings about networks deserve attention, because we cannot analytically and practically replace civil society by some hypothesized or alleged efficiency or effectiveness of networks. Processes of representation, problem-identification, debate, decision-making, implementation, and subsequent evaluation of the impact of public policies are not easily replaceable by a simplified and politically neutral notion of communication and action through networks.

This skepticism about networks suggests that much exploration is needed to discover what are the salient features of networks. A recent book by Albert-Lazslo Barabasi, *Linked: The New Science of Networks*,[12] suggests for example, that the expansion of networks means that early nodes have more time than latecomers to acquire links. This means that growth offers a clear advantage to the senior nodes, making them the richest in links. The principle of the "rich get richer" reflects the power relationships in real networks and social relations. The challenge of inclusion of poorer nodes or cities is thus very important if network formation is to be something different than one more mode of differential power and control. To ignore the differential power of nodes within a network is to misunderstand the limitations of the networks themselves. Phrased more directly, networks are also reflections of existing power relations and hierarchies as well as the differential access to information, resources, and opportunities. To assert that networks, therefore, are necessarily facilitators of democratic civil society is to ignore some of their very important features.

I believe that this observation is important because, to the extent that urban assistance, tends to operate through networks and/or is legitimized by networks, these processes are not necessarily legitimizing in their own right but rather are reflections of pre-existing power relations.[13] In this sense they also establish ground rules and determine what ideas and questions are credible and legitimate.

It is interesting to think back to the 1990s from this perspective. The 1990s saw major achievements in building international urban partnerships and organizations among cities. The major urban organizations actually came together – with their respective networks – and stitched themselves together, with the Municipality of Barcelona frequently acting as the seamstress if not the midwife. This initiative followed the creation of networks such as Med-Cities, Merco-Ciudades, Eurocities, etc. By the end of the 1990s, one important perspective on globalization was the assertion that previously independent jurisdictions were now "networked".

However, we also learned in this period that linkages and connections could create new forms of vulnerability. One obvious example and shared experience concerns the vulnerability of nations, economies, and cities to the volatility of global economic crises, such as the 1995 Tequila Crisis in Mexico, the East Asian financial crisis of 1997-98, or later the Russian and Brazilian crises. Networks led to vulnerability which was subsequently understood as "contagion". These forms of vulnerability ultimately caught up with Argentina, which eventually collapsed under the weight of growing debt, arising in part due to climbing global interest rates and ridiculous market-wide assessments of country risk, such as one period when Argentina's country risk was higher than Nigeria, an obvious absurdity. Being part of the same network, or category of emerging markets, led to Argentina being considered alongside faraway places which Argentines could not imagine were being used as comparators. Neighboring Brazil was much larger and more independent than Argentina and was able to mitigate such impacts to some extent.[14] One conclusion from this

experience is that **there are major asymmetries of power and weakness within networks of nations and cities.**

This leads me to question the "Hypothesis of Urban Convergence" which I presented in 1995, when I argued that cities in the North and South were experiencing a common set of conditions: unemployment, infrastructure deterioration, environmental decline, budget crises, and collapsing social cohesion.[15] While the presence of mayors and urban officials from many cities at the same meetings was a cause for some celebration of growing communications and :network building" in the 1990s, their differences should also not be under-estimated. Cities and their representatives came to the table with vastly different resources, opportunities, and constraints. I remember participating in a meeting sponsored by the OECD and the Government of Australia in Melbourne in 1994 where the audience audibly gasped when it heard the Deputy Mayor of Osaka remark that the operating budget of his city was US$50 billion, a figure that astonished the other mostly Asian mayors. The Indian Minister of Urban Development at the time, Sheila Kaul, almost passed out when she heard the size of the Osaka budget. This amount was twice the annual level of World Bank lending to 130 countries that year and 15 times larger than the budget of Buenos Aires.

Almost nine years later, in a world threatened by uncertainty and terrorism, members of networks perhaps need to be sure that their networks do not have too many weak links. If one fails, they can all be at risk, witness the impact of computer viruses, the contagion of financial crises in Asia or Latin America, the spread of HIV-AIDS along transport routes in southern Africa, or SARS in East Asia. This also suggests reasons why it may not be so desirable that networks should always be so inclusive, and deliberately so. Going back to Castells, the network may be the message, but it can also be the message of negative consequences. This suggests that urban assistance must work harder to define and articulate objectives with regard to civil society and the networking of cities.

4. What are the Conflicts between Global and Local Culture?

One of the perceived consequences of the impact of global economic forces through networks in the 1980s and 1990s was the so-called "homogenization of cities" to which I referred earlier in the debate over the convergence or divergence of cities within rich and poor countries.[16] The hypothesis of urban convergence argued that both rich and poor cities were facing a series of shared challenges, including decaying infrastructure, deteriorating environment, fiscal crises, growing unemployment, and social differentiation. There was thus some "convergence in their urban conditions". This argument would have been ridiculous a generation earlier when the developing countries were mostly rural and poor. Yet, by 1994, visitors from Sao Paulo to the World Cup in Los Angeles felt at home: they recognized the urban problems that had led to large scale urban riots in Los Angeles in 1992.

However, at the time of Habitat II in Istanbul, many of my colleagues from developing countries energetically argued against this hypothesis. They believed that the forces of globalization were actually marginalizing or excluding some regions and cities, particularly those in Africa. They argued that urban conditions were becoming more different than similar and that convergence was not taking place. This position was certainly supported by economic data. For example, the concentration of direct foreign investment in developing countries by the mid 1990s, according to World Bank statistics at the time, indicated that only 20 countries had access to private capital markets while another 100 countries had no access at all.[17] This is reflected in the distribution of corporate economic power today, with Latin America accounting for only 3 of the largest 500 corporations in the world and Africa none. It is now commonplace to say that trends towards convergence – as an indicator of economic progress during the post-World War II period – were redirected by the strong economic forces at the global level.

We know now that the 1990s were a period of growing disparities between rich and poor countries, within countries, and, for our purposes, within cities. It is important to note moreover that these differences were not just the result of exogenous forces, but also reflected local policies. I studied Buenos Aires during the late 1990s, particularly spatial patterns of public investment in infrastructure and social services. Data showed that 11.5 percent of the population received 68 percent of the investment, leading me to the conclusion that if I know your zip code in Buenos Aires, I can tell you who your children will be.[18] Inequality reflected both the footprints of global economic forces and local policies. Local authorities did not challenge these conclusions; rather such patterns were political and economic legacies of a century of urban growth. Such differences are often congruent with other socio-cultural differences. When you arrive at LAX, the Los Angeles airport, you are greeted by a signing proclaiming, "Los Angeles: A World of Differences".

The key point here is that differences in incomes and/or material conditions were also reflected in cultural differences and were articulated in cultural terms. Global cultural influences flowed into localities in many forms, were adopted and adapted in local dialects, visual forms, clothing, and behavior, to name a few areas. Moreover, processes of adaptation also involved resistence, not just against McDonalds, but more importantly in the assertion of national and local identities.[19]

The role of local culture, and cultural heritage, in the debate on cities is important and deserves consideration in the aid debate as well. If we understand past urban investment in infrastructure, museums, public space, and other facilities as part of a wider definition of urban cultural heritage, we need to reconsider how that *patrimonio* can be valued and utilized as an economic, cultural, and social resource as well. This is far beyond the common argument about tourism, but involves a serious examination of the flow of benefits which urban areas can receive from prior investments. In this sense, cultural benefits can be viewed much the way we view the need to maintain urban infrastructure to assure that benefits continue to flow and do not stop because of lack of maintenance.

5. How Can Aid to Cities Reduce Poverty and Inequality?

With growing criticism of official institutions and their unfulfilled promises to reduce world poverty, it is also necessary to ask how urban assistance can be justified in relation to this objective. Poverty has been urbanized in most countries, with rural poverty still significant, but proportionately less weighty than earlier in history. The issue of generating incomes and employment was mentioned earlier. Here I would like to focus on the question of relative poverty or inequality. **It is interesting to see how intra-urban inequality continues to be ignored by most economists as an important aspect of human welfare**. The high correlation in most cities between various forms of urban deprivation, whether income, water supply and sanitation, housing conditions, educational levels, nutrition, health status, or environmental quality, **strongly confirms the importance of place in patterns of distribution of real income**. Arguments about the importance of human capital investment, mostly education, as the greatest predictor of individual and household income levels are only partial. Education may be a necessary but not a sufficient condition of employment or health.

Therefore, an important part of the debate over urban aid must continue to focus on the importance of place and the opportunity that creating "good places" provides. The urban historian, Thomas Bender has argued that urban development:

"find(s) realization in a place, in a specific spatial context in which....social processes and institutions intersect with the lives of the city's most vulnerable citizens. And it is in a place that over time and in the present those social burdens cumulate. We need to understand those places and make them better, for more than anything else **city-making is place-making**."[20]

In this sense, reducing poverty and inequality does not occur in abstraction, but is concrete and grounded in real places. It is also worth pointing out that these issues do not only belong to developing countries. A recent article on New York by Jack Newfield in *The Nation* brings this issue home. New York has a GDP of about $400 billion, making it the world's 13th largest economy, and by population, the 49th largest country. New York is widely perceived in the world as a rich place, the center of power and wealth. Yet the situation of New York also has another side, which Newfield describes in an article called "How the Other Half Still Lives: In the Shadow of Wealth, New York's Poor Increase"[21]. Using the well-known title of Jacob Riis's important study of New York at the turn of the 20th century, Newfield focuses first on the "invisibility of the poor", a theme which was famously cited as well by Michael Harrington in the late 1950s. He remarks that the "expansion of inequality took place without ever becoming a noticeable issue in American politics." He refers to Bush's cuts for social services for the poor and tax cuts for the rich as "class-warfare policy of shooting the wounded and looting the amputees."

Newfield's update on New York includes the following facts as of January 1, 2003:

1. unemployment in New York was 8.4%, highest in 5 years and highest of any large US city
2. 1.6 million New Yorkers (20.2% of the population) lived below the federal poverty line
3. another 13% lived barely above it
4. blacks and Latinos accounted for 61.2% of the jobless
5. there were 38,000 homeless in the city
6. soup kitchens fed 1 million people a day, but in 2001 they turned away 350,000 New Yorkers, including 85,000 children, because there was not enough food
7. 800,000 people were entitled to receive federal food stamps but were cheated out of them by the policies and procedures instituted by Rudy Giuliani
8. the poor worked in McJobs – at $5.15 an hour or for $10,700 a year which was not enough to survive
9. there were 600,000 low wage workers of whom 56% have no health insurance for their families and 52% have no pension

As we consider these figures and compare them to the situations in other places, we should remember that cities are shaped by much more than economic processes alone. Bill Morrish captured this point recently in New York, when he argued that cities evolve and transform themselves through capturing and synthesizing a dialectic process between "urbanization", by which he means urban growth fueled by economic and social factors, and "urbanism", as "cities create and get created by particular kinds of people and social transactions".[22] The factors fueling urbanization are those we frequently describe as "global", while the particularity of urbanism is the unique mix of people, landscapes, and activities found in each place. It is also the values we assign to them, as suggested by Lucy Lippard in her book, *The Lure of the Local*.[23]

This truly "urban" perspective on the issues of poverty and inequality must be valued and not dismissed as insufficiently "policy-oriented" or "economic". As illustrated by the contrast between the

Millennium Goals and the scale of projected urban demographic growth, the "policy-makers" do not seem to have a satisfactory formulation of the problem. While the custodians of aid may face the difficulties of allocating resources across sectors, they absolutely fail in mobilizing sufficient ambition in addressing the urban problem.

6 What is the Role of Values in Connecting these Debate to Urban Culture?

Given these debates, I would like to address the question of values from two distinct perspectives related to the reframing of aid to cities. First, and perhaps the easiest, is how urban experience helps to remind us of the professional and social values which should underlie urban work. A second perspective concerns which values should provide the basis for local urban governance within a global environment of increased concerns over American unilateralism, terrorism, and instability.

On the first perspective on values, I would like to recall a distinction I suggested about a decade ago: we need to think beyond the **virtual city** to what I called **the city of virtue.**[24] In contrast to the focus on the impact of computers and information technology on behaviors in cities, I would suggest we need to focus more on what are the values which should underlie urban governance. We need to reaffirm the importance of cities as political spaces in which "virtue" can be expressed, in other words, where socially accepted values are norms for behavior, not exceptions. More than a decade ago, Richard Sennett reminded us that the Greeks believed that our conscience resides in our eye. Only when we are visually stimulated is our conscience provoked.[25] It is unlikely that the computer screen will provide this stimulus. Rather, it is when we touch our reality in physical terms, on the street, in the neighborhood, at the human scale, that we can really appreciate the value of the many dimensions of local reality. The meaning of virtue, therefore, is locally-defined and the values which should motivate urban governance need to be established and affirmed at the local level. These values could include representation, democratic inclusion, respect for diversity, assurance of the right to participate in local decision-making, accountability of public institutions, rights for free expression and cultural identities, among others.

A second dimension of the issue of values concerns the present global environment of unilateralism of the United States in global affairs. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri argue in their book, *Empire*, that, in the face of unrealizable democracy within the globalized economy and policy, counter-power is needed to resist hegemony and to achieve some level of democratic representation.[26] They write of the need to build counter-power within this "democracy of the multitude". The value of local democracy is important to assure *local* governance of *local* communities. But it is also important in helping localities exercise their voices in articulating their own demands. If we tried to categorize those demands, it is likely that most of them would be "local" in character, addressing local concerns.

The interdependence of the political and the economic at the local level should not be under-estimated. A recent book by Mike Wallace, *New York, New Deal*,[27] argues for a comprehensive approach to urban transformation. Wallace appeals to the historical memory of New Yorkers as well as to their belief that progress is achievable. This activist and value-based response to the events of September 1, 2001, by a Pulitzer Prize-winning urban historian is very much based on the articulation of strong values to guide urban decision-makers as they address the future.

Towards a Conclusion: The Quest for Relevance and Possibility

This paper started by suggesting the need to assess urban models in relation to some of

the great debates of our time. Aid to cities needs to be understood and evaluated in terms of the broader issues facing the developing world. Its financial scale, roughly US$2 billion per year for 130 countries, is about 10 percent of the present budget for reconstruction of the 16 acres at Ground Zero in New York. **This enormous gap between need and ambition is itself the primary issue which needs attention if urban assistance is to be relevant and significant in the contemporary world.** If urban assistance is to be seriously considered as an important tool in promoting economic and social progress in developing countries, I would suggest that these contradictions need to be made explicit to avoid raising unrealistic expectations and to avoid allowing urban aid to fall within the realm of technocratic debate. The obvious strategic question, therefore, is **how to build political support to address the urban challenges facing the world over the next few decades**.

Here the political assertion that, in the words of the *Foro Social* in Porto Alegre, "Another World is Possible", must be treated much more seriously than some fringe slogan. The pace and sensitivity of world events over the past few years to the decisions and actions of political leaders, new knowledge, and new expressions of fears and hopes, suggest that indeed change is possible. If one stands back and assesses the impact of the Bush Administration, the events of September 11, 2001, the collapse of Argentina and the first steps towards its reactivation in 2003, the advent of SARS, and the growing global awareness of local events throughout the world, to mention a few surprising impacts, it is difficult to argue that change is not possible. Obviously some directions of change are less probable than others, but is it unreasonable to ask, what kinds of urban events would convince world leaders that the condition of their cities are matters of national security and high priority?

1 Director, Graduate Program in International Affairs, New School University, New York, and former Senior Advisor, Environmentally Sustainable Development, and Chief, Urban Development Division, World Bank

2 Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski and John Williamson, eds., *After the Washington Consensus: Restarting Growth and Reform in Latin America*, (Washington: Institute for International Economics, March 2003)

3 Saskia Sassen, *The Global City*, second edition, (Princeton: Princeton University, 2002)

4 Michael Lipton, *Why the Poor Stay Poor: Urban Bias in Developing Countries*; (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974)

5 Jeff Madrick, *Why Economies Grow*, (New York: Basic Books, 2003)

6 Joseph Stiglitz, "The Lessons of Argentina for Development in Latin America", in Michael Cohen and Margarita Gutman, ed, *Argentina in Collapse: The Americas Debate*, (Buenos Aires and New York: The New School University, 2002), pp.151-170

7 Jane Jacobs, *The Nature of Economies*, (2000)

8 National Academy of Sciences, *Cities Transformed*, (Washington: National Academy of Sciences Press, 2003).

9 Castells, *op. cit.* p. 1

10 *Ibid.* p.2

11 *Ibid.* p.2

12 Albert-Lazslo Barabasi, *Linked: The New Science of Networks*, (Cambridge: Perseus Books, 2002), pp. 87-88

13 I am reminded of my own experience representing the World Bank in international "committee" meetings, where I "presumed", hopefully not too overtly, that the financial power of the World Bank somehow gave my position and arguments a disproportionate weight. Why, if the World Bank was lending $2 billion a year for urban projects, should I have to listen attentively to the opinions of other "lesser" donors, even though we were all supposedly part of the same "network".

14 See Michael Cohen and Margarita Gutman, ed. *Argentina in Collapse: The Americas Debate*, (Buenos Aires: The New School, 2003)

15 Michael Cohen, "The Hypothesis of Urban Convergence", in Michael Cohen, Blair Ruble, Joseph Tulchin, and Allison Garland, ed. *Preparing the Urban Future: Global Pressure and Local Forces*, (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996)

16 *Ibid.*

17 World Bank, *Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries*, (Washington: World Bank, March 1996)

18 Michael Cohen, "The Five Cities of Buenos Aires", in Saskia Sassen, ed, *The Encyclopedia of Sustainable Development*, (Paris: UNESCO, 2003)

19 Many books have been written about this process, but Manuel Castells' trilogy on the information society is one of the best. (add reference)

20 Thomas Bender, "Urban History and the Urban Future", in *Medio Ambiente y Urbanización*, No. 55,(Buenos Aires: International Institute for Environment and Development – America Latina, September 2000)

21 Jack Newfield, "How the Other Half Still Lives: In the Shadow of Wealth, New York's Poor Increase"; *The Nation*, (New York: March 17, 2003), pp. 11-17

22 William Morrish, "Anticipating 2051, The Next Ground", a talk at the New School University, March 11, 2003.

23 Lucy Lippard, *The Lure of the Local*, (New York: The New Press, 1997)

24 Michael Cohen, "From the Virtual City to the City of Virtue", *International Journal for Traditional Habitats*, 1994

25 Richard Sennett, *The Conscience of the Eye*, (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1990)

26 Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999)

29 Mike Wallace, *New York, New Deal*, (New York: Bell and Weiland, 2002)

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Urban Latin America.
The collapse of models during the crisis of modernity

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Along with the arrival of the colonisers from the Iberian Peninsula on the American Continent, the urban European models shaped the Continental and Caribbean cities. For almost four centuries, the orthogonal grid –with all its variations- constituted the basic model of the functional and symbolic structures. Once the national states were consolidated in the Balkanised America, the assimilated paradigms of the First World metropolitan configurations followed one another. The academic Parisian layouts; the Cerdà innovations in Barcelona; Howard's Garden City and the rigid norms of the Modern Movement and the CIAM, all emerged randomly in La Habana, Mexico D.F., Caracas, Rio de Janeiro or Buenos Aires. Such fragmented experiences marked the urban features of the first half of the 20th Century.

The formal, coherent and unitary city was fragmented, dispersed and expanded indefinitely in the anonymous suburbs, with the accelerated social, economic and technological transformations which occurred during the second half of the 20th Century. Once the abstract model of territorial planning failed, the "welfare state" disappeared and the technocratic conception imposed by military dictatorships was overcome, alternative but isolated interventions were proposed. The latter were aimed at solving - with the scarce available resources - the pressing structural, functional and community living problems, defined by multiple social groups with antagonistic necessities and demands.

The process of globalisation of the world economy, and the strong presence of the financial and speculative capital in the Hemisphere, both turned the city into the scenario of divergent initiatives. On the one hand, millionaire investments are made to avoid the abandonment of the city towards the "rich" suburb of the affluent society, creating with them the living framework which the wealthy demand - Puerto Madero in Buenos Aires or the central area of Curitiba are paradigmatic examples. Once the central state interventions are gone, the municipal governments take on a fundamental role in the urban transformations, linked to the most pressing social needs - in Bogota, the design of democratic green spaces and the organisation of collective transport; in Rio de Janeiro, the revitalisation of neighbourhood centres and the Favela-Bairro programme to shape the public space of marginal settlements; in Sao Paulo, Caracas and Cordoba, the reinsertion of pedestrians in the traditional centre and the rescue of its symbolic attributes. All of them constitute initiatives in search of the urban "democracy" and the longed-for social harmony, in the attempt to save Humanity from the uncertain future that lies in wait of the present Millennium.

América Latina urbana.
El colapso de los modelos en la crisis de la modernidad

Roberto Segre
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1 Miradas recíprocas

Resulta emocionante asistir a la 11ª. Conferencia del IPHS, en coincidencia con el Fórum de Barcelona 2004, ante la identidad de objetivos de ambos eventos: la apertura y profundización del diálogo entre individuos, culturas y ciudades de nuestro sufrido mundo. Intercambio necesario en busca de acuerdos y asensos universales en el momento actual, caracterizado por la exacerbación de conflictos y antagonismos entre seres humanos de diferentes razas, creencias y grupos sociales. Sin cumplirse aún un lustro del ansiado segundo milenio, múltiples acontecimientos negativos se agolparon angustiosamente minimizando el tiempo de reflexión sobre dramáticas vivencias: la precaria y dubitativa elección presidencial de George W. Bush en Estados Unidos; los atentados suicidas —en particular el 11/S de Nueva York y el 11/M de Madrid—; las cruentas guerras en Afganistán e Irak y la implementación de los sistemas mediáticos de "desinformación"; la agudización del conflicto entre palestinos e israelíes; la profunda bancarrota argentina; la corrupción generalizada, tanto en los países desarrollados como subdesarrollados; el incremento universal de la pobreza. Frente a un difuso pesimismo, surgieron algunos indicios esperanzadores: la dilatación de la Unión Europea al integrar países del ex-bloque socialista; el tímido retorno de tendencias progresistas al poder político en Europa y América Latina; las manifestaciones populares espontáneas en diferentes regiones del planeta, opuestas a los dictámenes del FMI y el BM, soportes del sistema económico neoliberal; la celebración del Fórum Social Mundial en India y Brasil; la Palma de Oro en el Festival de Cannes (2004) a *Fahrenheit 9/11* de Michael Moore.

A su vez para los latinoamericanos, es particularmente significativa la ciudad de Barcelona. En relación con España, representó el "modelo" de la rebeldía y la vanguardia política y cultural. Los catalanes no fueron partícipes activos de la crueldad y explotación que caracterizó la conquista de América. Luego, desde las luchas anarquistas en el siglo XIX —recordemos tristemente al sanguinario Valeriano Weyler, enviado a Cuba para combatir el Ejército Libertador—, hasta la aguerrida defensa de la República; políticos, artistas e intelectuales catalanes, asumieron una actitud combativa admirada en el Continente (Hughes 1995). En arquitectura y urbanismo, se difundieron las propuestas de Idelfonso Cerdá —sus tesis se aplicaron en La Habana y San Juan de Puerto Rico—; el modernismo de Antonio Gaudí apareció en algunas ciudades capitales; la versión hispana del Movimiento Moderno —reunida en el GATEPAC—, encabezada por José Luis Sert y Antonio Bonet, influyó en los jóvenes profesionales de la región.

A partir de las obras realizadas para las Olimpíadas de 1992, Barcelona se convirtió en un modelo urbano, evidenciando su capacidad de controlar la voracidad especulativa y la mediocridad constructiva, en una equilibrada articulación entre el gobierno municipal, los proyectistas, y los intereses de la empresa privada en función de las necesidades comunitarias. Las actividades sociales y el espacio público fueron enmarcados por talentosos arquitectos locales y prestigiosos invitados extranjeros. También las inserciones "modernas" en el centro histórico y la calidad de las iniciativas ejecutadas en las grises áreas periféricas —parques, conjuntos deportivos y

habitacionales—, constituyeron significativos aportes (Monclús 2001/ 2003; Borja, Muxí 2001). La celebración del XIX Congreso de la UIA en 1996, definió otro momento del *climax* vivido por la ciudad, al debatirse las categorías predominantes en las urbes posmodernas —mutaciones, flujos, hábitat, *containers* y terrenos baldíos—, cuestionando la planificación tradicional, sustituida por la dinámica de planes estratégicos y acciones puntuales. Resultaron ideas renovadoras sobre el diseño y la gestión urbana, rápidamente asimiladas en el contexto latinoamericano (Segre 1998).

Algunos de los protagonistas de los cambios acaecidos en Barcelona —Oriol Bohigas, Jordi Borja, Manuel Castells, Joan Busquets, Manuel Herce y otros—, colaboraron en los proyectos implementados en diversas ciudades sudamericanas: en Río de Janeiro, los alcaldes César Maia y Luiz Paulo Conde —fervientes admiradores de la experiencia catalana—, solicitaron la colaboración en el Plan Estratégico (1993) y en la propuesta para la sede de las Olimpíadas. Luego Oriol Bohigas y el portugués Nuno Portas rediseñaron el frente de mar en la céntrica *Praça XV* (1998), principal marco histórico de la capital carioca (Arantes, Vainer, Maricato 2000). En San Pablo, surgió un complejo urbano polifuncional —el *Eixo Tamanduatehy*—, en el municipio de Santo André (1999), con la participación de algunos de los profesionales citados y el francés Christian de Portzamparc. En Buenos Aires, el esquema teórico original de la radical intervención de Puerto Madero estuvo a cargo de Joan Busquets y Joan Alemany (1992); mientras Oriol Bohigas proyectó el Centro Cultural Parque de España a orillas del río Paraná en Rosario (1991). Reinterpretado por arquitectos y urbanistas locales, el modelo "Barcelona" incidió en Curitiba, Córdoba, Santiago de Chile, Bogotá, repercutiendo básicamente en la mejoría de los espacios públicos de estas ciudades (Lerner 2003).

2 Metáforas y pesadillas

Sin embargo, las estrategias válidas para Barcelona, resultaron difíciles de aplicar en las ciudades del Tercer Mundo, en la mayoría de los casos carentes de un control ciudadano y de una continuidad de la gestión política, económica y social. Lo que en la capital catalana constituyó un proceso de transformaciones continuas que abarcaron la totalidad de la ciudad, en algunas de las experiencias sudamericanas, se resumió a iniciativas de *marketing* urbano (Sánchez 2003; Borja, Castells 2002). Ellas se asociaron con dubitativas inversiones del capital especulativo —las altas torres y los lujosos edificios de apartamentos en el Puerto Madero de Buenos Aires—, en núcleos puntuales de alta calidad de diseño con escasa repercusión en la estructura general de la ciudad, caracterizada por el desorden y las construcciones anónimas. La transformación del Mercado de Abasto en un gigantesco *shopping*, rodeado de edificios de apartamentos para la clase media, constituyó una operación empresarial con capitales del magnate Soros. Iniciativas que tampoco recibieron el apoyo de la comunidad local: el proyecto del Museo Guggenheim de Jean Nouvel en Río de Janeiro —contratado por el gobierno municipal—, concebido como un icono revitalizador del área portuaria, resultó paralizado por la presión popular, opuesta al excesivo derroche de recursos públicos (Fessler, Berenstein 2003). O sea, los modelos elaborados en los países centrales, resultaron parcialmente asimilados en los contextos de la periferia.

En la actualidad, 3.2 billones de habitantes del planeta son urbanos, en su mayoría radicados en Asia, África y América Latina. Existen 400 ciudades con más de un millón de habitantes, previéndose 550 en el 2015. En Asia se concentran más de diez megaciudades con ocho millones; entre ellas, Jakarta (24.9 m.), Dhaka (25 m.), Karachi (26.5 m.), Bombay (33 m.) y la región de Shangai, 27 millones de residentes. En América Latina, poseen más de diez millones Buenos Aires, San Pablo, Río de Janeiro y Ciudad México.

De los totales, en la mayoría de los casos, un tercio corresponde los asentamientos espontáneos que caracterizan el hábitat de la pobreza, en el extendido suburbio de las metrópolis. Sombrío panorama para un mundo superpoblado que podrá alcanzar los diez billones en el 2050 (Angotti 1993; Clark 1996; Piccinato 2002).

Los problemas sociales, económicos e infraestructurales que afectan las ciudades del Tercer Mundo, resultan difíciles de resolver a partir de la adopción acrítica de modelos externos. Tampoco son actualmente viables los paradigmas de diseño que postulan innovaciones radicales de la forma urbana. Ésta se caracteriza por el predominio de un paisaje cuya fealdad y pobreza reflejan el carácter espontáneo de las construcciones, con excepción de los enclaves de los estratos sociales emergentes y del aislado simbolismo de algunas centralidades. Se hizo trizas la tradicional homogeneidad de Buenos Aires al verificar Michael Cohen que la distancia de nivel de vida entre el lujoso barrio de Belgrano y el marginal de La Matanza, era similar al existente entre Nueva York y Calcuta (Cohen 2003). En Lima, los refinados barrios de Miraflores y San Isidro, constituían islas en un mar humano bajo el nivel de la pobreza, conformado por el 78 % de la población. En San Pablo, 7.2 millones de habitantes radican en el escuálido cordón externo que contiene los asentamientos marginales, con más de 1500 *favelas*, y dos millones de desempleados (2004). A esto se suma el descontrol de los gobiernos municipales sobre la especulación urbana y los efectos negativos generados por el exacerbado individualismo de la sociedad actual. Por ejemplo, es insoluble el problema del tránsito y de la contaminación ambiental en las metrópolis mientras no se restrinja el uso del automóvil, base de las economías de los países desarrollados: en Brasil, se producen anualmente dos millones de unidades que en su mayoría, circulan en las grandes ciudades (Wilheim 1994).

De Mileto de Hipodamo a Brasilia de Lucio Costa, la imagen de la ciudad occidental estuvo siempre regida por un orden, límites definidos y la coherencia formal de su trama. Un tejido homogéneo residencial, envolvía los símbolos arquitectónicos articulados con generosos espacios públicos, sitios de encuentro e intercambio de la comunidad. A pesar de guerras, invasiones y catástrofes, el contexto urbano resultaba un sitio seguro, consolidado, representativo de la historia de un pueblo y de su memoria social, frente a la extendida naturaleza del mundo exterior. Al urbanizarse más de la mitad del mundo en el siglo XX, ya casi nada ocurre fuera de la infinita ciudad, depositaria de los valores culturales, las estructuras políticas, los sistemas productivos, informáticos y los centros neurálgicos del poder económico. Allí radican pobres y ricos; magnates y marginados; atávicos habitantes e inesperados inmigrantes. Ante la dilatada conformación de las islas, archipiélagos y territorios urbanizados, caducaron los tradicionales modelos del diseño urbano occidental. El CIAM y la Carta de Atenas, que rigieron los planteamientos urbanísticos del Movimiento Moderno hasta la década de los años cincuenta, fueron sustituidos por las imágenes posmodernas de las expansivas ciudades asiática y africana, identificadas con la *Generic City* por Rem Koolhaas. Los inesperados flujos circulatorios de las "fractales" *highways*, los gigantescos y volátiles *shoppings* —configuradores del *garbage space*— y los inéditos edificios del *bigness* —la sede de la televisión china (CCTV) en Beijin (2003)— negaron la *ratio* iluminista que regía el orden urbano de Occidente (Koolhaas 1995/2000/2004).

La violencia se convirtió en un atributo cada vez más presente en la ciudad (Lang 1995). Ésta, testimonio concreto de la memoria social, era eliminada ante el deseo de someter un determinado pueblo. Los alemanes iniciaron esta práctica en Guernica, y la continuaron en Varsovia —paralelamente a la matanza de judíos en el Holocausto—; los norteamericanos no tuvieron reparos en borrar del mapa Hiroshima y Nagasaki; como siguen sin ellos en el siglo XXI, al bombardear Kabul o Bagdad. Los israelíes, adoptaron la técnica de demoler

edificio por edificio en Palestina. Es la expresión de la "barbarie civilizada" del mundo moderno, ya señalada por Carlos Marx en el siglo XIX. Agresividad colectiva que generó una reciente alternativa: el agente fundamentalista, enemigo del orden mundial establecido por la civilización occidental, dispuesto a inmolarse en la ciudad para destruirla o diezmar la población civil. Es el "exterminador"; nuevo personaje que Paul Virilio definió como creador de un nuevo efecto urbano: el "Pánico Frío", sustituyendo la precedente "Guerra Fría" planetaria (Eichenberg 2004).

En América Latina, la destrucción urbana fue producida por las contradicciones sociales internas: las masas airadas salieron a la calle en el "Bogotazo" en Colombia (1948); luego el "Caracazo" en Venezuela (1993), y la revuelta de los "piqueteros" en Buenos Aires (2001) (Fernández 2002). En dos oportunidades (2002), Río de Janeiro resultó totalmente paralizada por las amenazas del poder paralelo del crimen organizado. A la violencia "global" se suma también la violencia individual. La angustia económica genera la agresividad de los desposeídos, quienes, exasperados ante los desequilibrios económicos actúan en el pillaje urbano o en la distribución de drogas. Aparece entonces la figura del joven habitante de la "villa miseria" marginal, forzado a salir a la ciudad como un "depredador" en busca de la supervivencia (Prévôt 2000). Robos y asaltos crearon el modelo de la *defensible city*, basados en recintos cercados y enrejados, garitas de policías privados, condominios y barrios cerrados. La ciudad se fragmentó, diluida en espacios socialmente segregados, "gentrificados", que dividen y separan entre sí a grupos raciales o económicos (Cabrales 2002).

Resulta evidente que la estética urbana de la *Güte Form* racionalista que caracterizó el diseño paisajista hasta los años ochenta, se desvaneció ante las fuerzas antagónicas manifiestas cotidianamente en la ciudad: sin duda, las plazas y paseos diseñados por Enric Miralles, expresaron los nuevos contenidos formales y espaciales surgidos de un clima de angustia y tensión también presentes en Barcelona. Mientras las propuestas del Movimiento Moderno, indicaban un camino orientado hacia un utópico más allá, los paradigmas del diseño urbano actual deben responder a solicitaciones reales objetivas, fuera de la búsqueda de desconocidos futuros. En este sentido, coincidimos con Josep Quetglas, al afirmar que en este mundo inhóspito "moderno" —o inhospitalario—, es necesario asumir la objetividad del presente —ajena al tiempo fantasmal del futuro—, rescatando la herencia del pasado, apoyo indispensable para comprender las contradicciones existenciales de la realidad concreta (Quetglas 2004). Quizá el cine sea hoy la manifestación artística que expresa con mayor objetividad las metáforas del mundo urbano en que vivimos. Si en Estados Unidos, la imagen ensalzó el anónimo y calmo suburbio en *American Beauty* de Sam Mendes y en *The Truman Show* de Peter Weir; en América Latina la violencia social es asociada a la escualidez del ambiente urbano: citemos, entre otras, *Amores Perros*, del mexicano Alejandro González Iñarritu; en Brasil, *Estação Central* de Walter Salles; *Cidade de Deus* de Fernando Meirelles.

3 Modelos esparcidos

Lejos de asumir una actitud apocalíptica sobre el futuro social y urbano del mundo, cabe reflexionar sobre la herencia recibida y los instrumentos de transformación del presente real, asumiendo el "gramsciano" pesimismo revolucionario. Aunque en América Latina, existen modelos territoriales contemporáneos identificados con las megalópolis —Buenos Aires, San Pablo, Río de Janeiro, Ciudad México, Caracas y otras capitales—, la mayoría de las ciudades en el Continente y el Caribe todavía poseen una escala controlable, capaz de una transformadora acción proyectual, si las condiciones económicas, sociales y culturales lo permitiesen. Latinoamérica no es Asia ni África, en términos de la existencia de paradigmas

urbanos alternativos al orden occidental; ni tampoco es Estados Unidos, país en el que predomina el hábitat individual, disperso y diluido sobre el territorio. Por el contrario, a lo largo de medio milenio, la región mantuvo una sólida tradición de ciudades compactas y homogéneas, expresivas de una intensa vida social. Sólo una toma de conciencia de la comunidad sobre la importancia estética y funcional de su marco de vida; sobre la significación del ancestro histórico de su memoria ambiental —y la necesidad de mantenerlo y transmitirlo a las generaciones futuras—, permitiría paralizar y corregir las deformaciones ocurridas en el contexto urbano por la acción de los inescrupulosos intereses económicos individuales y la corrupción política imperante. Planificadores, urbanistas y arquitectos, tienen una responsabilidad no sólo técnica y profesional, sino esencialmente política y cultural, en la lucha por la defensa de los valores éticos y morales de las estructuras ambientales en el seno de la comunidad.

Aunque los conquistadores españoles negaron la herencia urbana azteca e incaica, no lograron evadirse de la iconicidad de la centralidad, mantenida con una expresión espacial y arquitectónica diferente en Tenochtitlán y el Cuzco. La cuadrícula, en sus múltiples versiones, estableció el modelo civilizador de América Latina, cuya eficiencia y flexibilidad, sigue vigente en la actualidad. La organización ordenada de la trama y la definición de una centralidad simbólica, marco de la vida social en el espacio público de la Plaza Mayor; facilitó las sucesivas variaciones tipológicas y funcionales capaz de albergar en Buenos Aires, desde la compactas y altas edificaciones de la *City* hasta la vivienda "chorizo" dispersa en el suburbio (Moscato 2003). A su vez, en La Habana, las densas manzanas del centro histórico colonial se alternaron con la "ciudad jardín" del barrio del Vedado —surgido en las nuevas áreas de expansión en el siglo XIX—, definida por la articulación entre espacios verdes y una estructura residencial continua.

Finalizado el dominio español en América, los cambios sociales y económicos acaecidos a partir del siglo XIX requirieron la expansión de la ciudad, la organización y localización de nuevas funciones y la configuración de los atributos simbólicos del sistema político republicano. La sustitución del modelo hispánico por las influencias inglesas, francesas y alemanas identificadas con los paradigmas neoclásicos y académicos, no significaron la destrucción de la herencia colonial —aunque ocurrieron parciales demoliciones—; sino su articulación estética y cultural con los nuevos códigos urbanísticos y arquitectónicos. Paseos, alamedas, diagonales, ejes, focos y jardines, enmarcando galerías continuas y monumentales edificios eclécticos —presentes en los planes directores de Donat-Alfred Agache para Río de Janeiro, JNL Forestier para La Habana, Karl Brunner para Santiago de Chile—, adaptaron la reducida escala de la ciudad colonial a la dimensión exigida por la modernidad, manteniendo la significación cultural del entorno urbano. Si bien los procesos inmigratorios generaron los escuálidos asentamientos proletarios, la clase media asumió el modelo de la *Garden* City en la escala controlada de los barrios residenciales. El Paseo de la Reforma en México, el Prado en La Habana, la Avenida Central en Río de Janeiro y la Avenida de Mayo en Buenos Aires, fijaron el marco de la vida social urbana, diversificando las funciones, integrando las áreas verdes, asentada en una valiosa arquitectura académica. Las nuevas ciudades alternativas de La Plata y Belo Horizonte, materializaron la utopía urbana del siglo XIX (Almandoz 2002). Fueron aportes escatimados por los defensores de las posteriores intervenciones del Movimiento Moderno.

La búsqueda de soluciones a los conflictos sociales y económicos presentes en el contexto urbano y el utópico mito del progreso, fundamentaron las concepciones radicales del modelo CIAM en la primera mitad del siglo XX. Resultaron válidos los contenidos ideológicos y sociales progresistas de las propuestas del MM, con el objetivo de mejorar la vida social urbana, rescatar la naturaleza ausente en los barrios populares,

organizar un hábitat digno para la población de escasos recursos, y facilitar el funcionamiento de la ciudad integrando los medios de transporte colectivo, en busca de una forma ordenada y armónica (Kopp 1990). Pero al mismo tiempo, la pérdida del control estético establecido por la tradición académica, al resumir el vocabulario arquitectónico en las formas abstractas simples, dio cabida a la expansión anónima de la arquitectura especulativa y la mediocridad de las iniciativas estatales. Las nuevas tipologías habitacionales surgidas a partir de los años treinta, asumidas de las experiencias europeas, conformaron el paisaje urbano de las ciudades latinoamericanas durante el siglo XX, tanto en algunas experiencias valiosas —los conjuntos de Carlos Raúl Villanueva en los cerros de Caracas (1952)—, como en los inexpresivos bloques de apartamentos que definieron los grises suburbios urbanos.

El Movimiento Moderno resultó prolífico en la sucesión de planes urbanos elaborados para América Latina. Le Corbusier concibió soluciones inéditas en Buenos Aires y Río de Janeiro (1930-40) que culminaron en Bogotá en los años cincuenta. Wiener, Sert y Schulz recorrieron el Continente bajo los auspicios del gobierno norteamericano, interesado en la modernización de las ciudades de la región (Rovira 2000). En la Argentina, Antonio Bonet quiso introducir las grecas lecorbusieranas en el tradicional barrio de San Telmo de Buenos Aires (1955), borrando las edificaciones preexistentes (Álvarez 1996). Igual suerte hubiesen corrido las casas coloniales del centro histórico de La Habana, en el proyecto de José Luis Sert, quien solo mantenía en pie algunos pocos monumentos históricos (1956). Brasilia constituyó el epígono del modelo CIAM en América Latina y la única ciudad nueva de la región reconocida icónicamente en el mundo entero. Si bien representó la creatividad e imaginación de Lucio Costa y Oscar Niemeyer, la globalidad de su mensaje estético se frustró con la formación de un anillo periférico espontáneo de un millón y medio de habitantes, totalmente ajeno al control de diseño existente en el Plano Piloto. El simbolismo monumental, expresivo de un nuevo Brasil, quedó congelado por un par de décadas —durante la dictadura militar—; así como por los insuperables desajustes sociales y económicos que perduran en la democracia actual. Niemeyer (Corona 2001) afirmó que el sueño de Brasilia acabó el día de su inauguración (1960); y con ella también feneció el modelo utópico racionalista de la ciudad homogénea corrompido por la especulación y la pobreza (Paviani 1998).

4 Corazones oxigenados

En los años cincuenta, la expansión del modelo económico y financiero norteamericano difundió en los centros urbanos de América Latina la tipología de los edificios de oficinas de acero y cristal identificados con el *International Style*. Altas torres, bancos y lujosos hoteles florecieron en la mayoría de las ciudades capitales. La escalada de la violencia así como la falta de espacios libres motivaron, a partir de la década de los ochenta, el proceso migratorio de las empresas y los miembros de la *affluent society* hacia el suburbio, generando nuevas centralidades comerciales, financieras y administrativas. Surgieron el barrio de Miraflores en Lima; el Centro Financiero en Santiago de Chile, Santa Fé en Ciudad México, Miramar en La Habana, la Barra de Tijuca en Río de Janeiro, la Marginal Pinheiros en San Pablo. En algunas capitales, decayeron las áreas centrales transformándose en inhóspitas y peligrosas, ocupadas por *homeless* y pobladores de escasos recursos. Grandes edificios fueron abandonados, al vaciarse hoteles y oficinas. Los gobiernos municipales intentaron reverter esta situación, iniciando programas de revitalización y refuncionalización de la *City* de inicios del siglo XX.

Puerto Madero significó para Buenos Aires —pese al carácter elitista y "gentrificado" de la millonaria inversión realizada— el rescate de una extensa superficie urbana y de la arquitectura de la *functional tradition*

situada frente a la *City* tradicional; evitando así la migración de empresas y población adinerada hacia el suburbio. Además de las obras proyectadas por arquitectos locales de reconocido prestigio —Dujovne & Hirsch; Lestard, Varas y Baudizzone; Aisenson; Hampton y Rivoira—, fue multiplicado el espacio público frente al Río de la Plata dedicado al tiempo libre de la población. En la Costanera Sur, un equipo de la Municipalidad —Irene Joselevich, Alfredo Garay y Graciela Novoa— diseñaron el equipamiento urbano.

En San Pablo, la celebración del 450 aniversario (2004) coincidió con un conjunto de iniciativas municipales en el área central. Se recuperaron algunos monumentos, y surgieron diversos centros culturales: fueron restaurados la Catedral da Sé, el edificio Mackenzie, y la Pinacoteca de Estado; la estación de FFCC Julio Prestes fue adaptada a una sala sinfónica; ganó una identificación la plaza del Patriarca; un centro cultural ocupó la *Estação da Luz*. Paralelamente, se produjo la reconversión de los edificios vacíos en apartamentos para la población de baja renta. O sea, la participación en estas iniciativas de los principales arquitectos paulistas– Paulo Mendes da Rocha, Aflalo & Gasperini, Nelson Dupré, Paulo Bastos y otros –, coincidió con la creación de las *Zonas Especiais de Habitação de Interesse Social*, que prevé el centro como un espacio de integración social (Bonduki 2003).

Experiencias similares acontecieron en Santiago de Chile —la estación Mapocho utilizada como centro cultural y el rediseño de la Plaza de Armas, de Rodrigo Pérez de Arce y la Plaza de La Moneda—; en Bogotá, con el diseño del mobiliario y el equipamiento del espacio público por Rogelio Salmona y Lorenzo Castro Jaramillo; en Caracas, en el ambicioso proyecto del Parque Vargas y la Avenida Bolívar (1992) de Carlos Gómez de Llarena, convirtiendo un área destinada a albergar sofisticadas torres de oficinas en un paseo peatonal con instalaciones educaciones y culturales (Segre 1999).

5 Naturaleza y hedonismo

Desde la Antigüedad, frente a la fría abstracción de la ciudad, se asumió la naturaleza como un espacio del placer, en particular por aquellos estratos sociales que no trabajaban para subsistir. En el siglo XIX, la expansión urbana sobre el territorio hizo necesario integrar en su interior las áreas verdes. París y Londres fijaron los modelos de las alamedas, parques y jardines, diseñados para el disfrute del tiempo libre de la población como así también por los imperativos higienistas promovidos por los reformadores sociales. Algunas capitales latinoamericanas asimilaron estas propuestas: recordemos el parque de Chapultepec en México; Palermo en Buenos Aires, el *Passeio Público* en Río de Janeiro. El Movimiento Moderno sumergió los conjuntos habitacionales en generosas áreas verdes, mientras los urbanistas rusos desintegraban la ciudad y sus funciones productivas sobre el territorio, en un diálogo constante con la naturaleza. Sin embargo, el incontrolado crecimiento urbano dominado por la especulación, y el surgimiento de los bolsones de pobreza redujeron al mínimo la presencia de la naturaleza en la ciudad. Fueron excepcionales algunos grandes parques de la década de los años cincuenta: el Parque del Este en Caracas, diseñado por Burle Marx; Ibirapuera en San Pablo, con la participación de Oscar Niemeyer y el Aterro de Flamengo en Río de Janeiro, diseñado por Burle Marx y Affonso Reidy.

A partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XX, las áreas verdes fueron asumidas con mayor intensidad, no como un marco pasivo o estético, sino como un espacio de calificación ecológica, participación social y de vida activa de la población. En Cuba socialista, el rescate de la naturaleza tuvo dos componentes: el productivo y el hedonista. Por una parte, en La Habana, en la década de los años setenta, surgió el Parque "Lenin", el Jardín Botánico y el Jardín Zoológico, extensa área de recreación —1500 hectáreas— para los habitantes urbanos. Por otra, la fundación de pueblos agrícolas y las escuelas secundarias en el campo, asociaron la naturaleza con la experiencia de la producción y la enseñanza, acordes a los contenidos éticos y morales de la vida rural (Segre 1995). En diversas ciudades del Continente, alcanzó particular importancia el diseño de las áreas verdes para la comunidad, contrarrestando la posesión egoísta del ámbito natural en los condominios cerrados, extendidos en las periferias ricas. Las condiciones ambientales adversas de Ciudad México motivaron el proyecto "vuelta a la ciudad lacustre", desarrollado en un taller universitario bajo la dirección de Alberto Kalach, con la aspiración de recuperar las antiguas aguas del lago Texcoco (2000), mientras el paisajista Mario Schjetnan diseñó el Parque ecológico de Xochimilco en el Distrito Federal (1993).

Bogotá es la ciudad que mayor impulso otorgó en los últimos años a la creación de parques, ejes, fajas, canales, alamedas y penetraciones verdes en la totalidad urbana. En vez de áreas naturales estáticas, el gobierno municipal —el Taller del Espacio Público, dirigido por Lorenzo Castro Jaramillo— realizó un proyecto de "malla verde" urbana y la creación de parques distritales – "parques para aprender a vivir" (1998-2001) –, repartidos en barrios de población de diferentes niveles económicos. Constituyen estructuras circulatorias y recreativos lineales que fueron acompañados por la creación del sistema de transporte público colectivo de autobuses "Transmilenio", asimilado de la experiencia de Curitiba, que tuvo un efecto fundamental en la calificación y ordenación del espacio urbano (Saldarriaga 2000). Esta ciudad brasileña resultó pionera en el rescate del paisaje y su aprovechamiento para la inserción de funciones sociales: el parque lineal a lo largo del río Iguazú, el Jardín Botánico, los parques de Bariguí y Tangú, conforman un sistema verde en el que se insertó la Universidad Libre del Medio Ambiente y la Ópera de Arame, obras del arquitecto Domingos Bongestabs (1992) (Dudeque 2001). También en Buenos Aires, cuya costa norte había sido casi totalmente privatizada durante la presidencia de Carlos Menem, el gobierno de la ciudad y los municipios vecinos rescataron la ribera del Río de la Plata para las actividades recreativas de la población: Claudio Vekstein diseña el Anfiteatro de la Costa y el homenaje a Amancio Williams, mientras Baudizzone, Lestard y Varas realizan el severo Parque de la Memoria (1998).

6 Ansiedades nostálgicas

América Latina resulta un continente rico en contextos urbanos históricos. Si bien hasta los años cincuenta, los planes directores elaborados para las ciudades capitales tendían a eliminar las edificaciones coloniales —en gran parte desaparecieron en Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Río de Janeiro, Caracas y otras—; éstas subsistieron en las ciudades menores. A partir de los eventos internacionales organizados por la UNESCO y el ICOMOS con el fin de proteger el patrimonio arquitectónico y urbanístico mundial —Carta de Venecia (1964) y Normas de Quito (1967)—, comenzó en la región el proceso de conservación y salvaguardia de los espacios urbanos históricos, en contaste antagonismo con los intereses especulativos privados, siempre proclives a la demolición de los viejos edificios. El debate sobre los modelos adoptados tuvo tres componentes básicos; el arqueológico y el social y el económico. El primero, consistía en privilegiar la conservación original del monumento, reduciendo al mínimo las intervenciones "modernas", siguiendo el modelo "preservacionista". El segundo, postulaba la limpieza "social" del área histórica, cuya costosa reactivación implicaba su ocupación por estratos sociales de altos ingresos. El tercero identificaba la rentabilidad del centro histórico con la creación de un escenario para el turismo, fuente de recursos para llevar a cabo los trabajos de restauración (Hardoy, Gutman 1992).

En general, las intervenciones llevadas a cabo en los centros históricos adoptaron una actitud conservadora y temerosa de la inserción de soluciones "modernas", integradas

con la arquitectura tradicional. Resultaron una excepción algunas iniciativas puntuales, como las ejecutadas por Miguel Ángel Roca en Córdoba. En los años ochenta, la peatonalización del área central de la ciudad, significó también el diseño de un mobiliario urbano contemporáneo, así como las originales imágenes de los pisos con la proyección en planta de los monumentos. Un fuerte diálogo entre pasado y presente quedó establecido en la refuncionalización de los mercados de San Vicente y General Paz, convertidos en centros culturales. Puerto Rico, isla caracterizada por la actitud desprejuiciada de los arquitectos jóvenes, presentó soluciones innovadoras: Luis Flores proyecta una terminal de ómnibus en el centro histórico de Ponce (1986), en lenguaje posmoderno; Jorge Rigau y Alberto del Toro rediseñan la Plaza de Armas de San Juan (1986) con referencias formales de diferentes períodos históricos; Emilio Martínez restaura el Mercado de Santurce (2002), introduciendo componentes modernos en el entorno (Segre 2003). Experiencias orientadas hacia la recuperación de la memoria social urbana, no asumida como un escenario formal, sino relacionada con las funciones cotidianas de la población (Jeudy 1990).

El debate sobre el uso social del centro histórico resultó más complejo, ante la presión de los intereses económicos que financian las intervenciones. A partir del siglo XIX, los estratos adinerados abandonaron las áreas centrales de la ciudad, luego ocupadas por habitantes de escasos recursos. De allí la política de expulsión al plantearse la restauración de los edificios de viviendas, cuyo costo no podía ser afrontado por los usuarios originales: en ciudad México, después del terremoto de 1985, fue despejada el 65 % de la población local. En el centro histórico de San Juan, los pobladores quedaron desplazados por ricos jubilados norteamericanos; y en el barrio del Pelourinho de Salvador en Brasil, las viviendas fueron vaciadas de sus habitantes, convirtiéndose el conjunto histórico en un escenario turístico. O sea, el modelo de Boloña, que mantenía en el centro antiguo a los moradores, sólo fue seguido en la restauración de La Habana Vieja, que insertó en los ancestrales palacios apartamentos de pequeña superficie para quienes los ocupaban en precarias condiciones de habitabilidad. (Scarpaci, Segre, Coyula 2002)

7 La mala conciencia

Uno de los graves problemas del mundo es el acelerado incremento de la pobreza y las precarias condiciones de vivienda de un billón de habitantes, siendo los latinoamericanos, aproximadamente 150 millones. La mayoría de ellos residen en los asentamientos precarios y espontáneos de los suburbios metropolitanos, que comprende entre un 30% y un 50% de la población (Abramo 2003). Los *slums*, villas miserias, *favelas*, callampas y campamentos, constituyen, según Mike Davis, el único futuro posible para los millones de pobladores que se asentarán en las ciudades en el presente siglo (Davis 2004). Si el Brasil posee un déficit de seis millones de viviendas (2004), resulta evidente que jamás será resuelto con los recursos estatales. De allí la significación del Programa *Favela-Bairro*, implementado por el gobierno municipal de Río de Janeiro durante la década de los años noventa. Fue una iniciativa original que repercutió en toda América Latina como un modelo posible de intervención en el espacio urbano de la pobreza, tendiente a mejorar las condiciones de habitabilidad, las infraestructuras, los espacios públicos y los servicios comunitarios, abriendo la posibilidad de integración entre la ciudad formal e informal. Así como en 1990 Barcelona obtuvo el *Verónica Rudge Green Prize in Urban Design* otorgado por la Universidad de Harvard por las intervenciones en los espacios públicos urbanos, en 2000 lo recibió el arquitecto Jorge Mario Jáuregui por el conjunto de proyectos realizados en las *favelas* de Río de Janeiro (Fiori 2001;Jáuregui 2003; Machado 2003).

La emoción expresada al inicio de esta presentación, reaparece nuevamente ante el surgimiento de un modelo original de intervención urbana, elaborado internamente, sin sometimientos a distantes experiencias ajenas. Históricamente, en América Latina, la solución del hábitat de la pobreza siempre estuvo enfocada sobre la unidad de vivienda: recordemos los conjuntos residenciales creados por la "Alianza para el Progreso" o el apoyo a la construcción de las casas por los propios usuarios, en las propuestas de John Turner, en los años sesenta. Si bien fueron construidas miles de unidades, poca atención fue prestada al espacio público —inclusive en los barrios populares de Cuba socialista—, especie de tierra de nadie carente de mantenimiento, función y valores estéticos. En el Programa *Favela-Bairro*, el objetivo fundamental consistió en hacer del habitante marginal un *urbanitas*, creando servicios públicos, espacios de convivencia y edificaciones para el desarrollo de las actividades comunitarias. El paisaje denso y anónimo de las espontáneas *favelas*, con la participación de los mejores profesionales cariocas, se transformó con el trazado de calles, plazas, escuelas materno-infantil, centros de educación profesional, comercios, centros de salud y culturales. Finalmente el diseño urbano y arquitectónico calificados se insertaron en el extendido suburbio, al servicio de los estratos más necesitados de la población, promoviendo la socialidad y su identificación con la cultura y la estética urbanas.

Los ejemplos materializados en Mangueira, Fubá-Campino, Vidigal, Parque Royal, Cajú, Salguero, Fernão Cardim, demostraron que todavía es posible construir un paisaje urbano culturalmente significativo en el marco de la pobreza, existente en nuestro sufrido Continente. El desafío radica en asumir nuevos parámetros de diseño, determinados por las preexistencias ambientales y las particularidades de la cultura comunitaria de los habitantes, sus deseos, sus aspiraciones y su mundo de referencias simbólicas, totalmente diferentes a aquellos vigentes en la tradicional ciudad formal. Tarea social concreta, distante de las lentejuelas del *star system,* modas, estilismos, y vacíos y formales utopismos, que debe ser afrontada por las nuevas generaciones de profesionales latinoamericanos.

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Model Houses for the Millions: The Making of the American Suburban Landscape, 1820-2000

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What Is Suburbia? Naming the Layers in the Suburban Landscape, 1820-2000

Since the early 19th century, suburbs have been part of the process of urbanization, growing along with the crowded centers of cities. For almost two hundred years Americans have idealized life in single family homes in natural settings, while paradoxically creating more and more urbanized landscapes to contain these demands for private space. The production of millions of model suburban houses— involving massive investments by the federal government, huge expense to individual families, and extraordinary profits for private real estate developers—has configured the cultural landscapes where most Americans live and work. Recent debates about "the costs of sprawl" in dispersed metropolitan configurations reveal both a new critique and persistent attraction to low-density residential settlement.[1] Americans keep on reinventing the idealized outer reaches of countrified suburbia, while older suburban layers are often dismissed as having "urban" problems.

Anyone who wants to write a new history has to ask, what is American suburbia? A demographer might answer, "the non-center city areas of metropolitan regions," but that is a negative definition, subordinating suburbia to inner city. Suburbia is, first of all, where most Americans now live. It is the dominant American cultural landscape, combining cherished natural and built environments, yards and single family houses. Second, suburbia is where millions of square feet of commercial and residential real estate are financed and built. (Although currently it is abysmally planned, designed, and constructed, this has not always been the case.) Third, suburbia is the location of most of the unpaid labor of nurturing and parenting, reflecting both social and environmental practices. Fourth, suburbia is where the majority of American voters now live. Understanding how existing suburbs have been organized, financed, designed, constructed, marketed, and inhabited is central to calculating the prospects for ending sprawl.

Layer by layer, the metropolitan regions of the United States have filled out with suburban construction, some in the form of individual houses, some in tracts of houses, some in planned and designed communities. The United States is home to diverse suburbs—blue collar and elite, bare and leafy, WASP and African American and Chinese American. But is there a larger suburban ideal, uniting diverse residents? The suburban house is booming. The average size of a new one was 800 square feet in 1950, 1,500 in 1970, 2,190 in 1998.[2] Some analysts say the suburb as settlement form is thriving also. Others claim the suburban frontier is closed, and rush to find new terms to describe the current spatial configuration: out-town, ruruburbia, techno-burb, the galactic city,

postsuburb, exopolis.[3] Do we need new words? Let's keep the term, "suburbia," and rename its layers. One can trace the history of suburban construction over seven eras. The Borderlands began about 1820, the Picturesque Enclaves about 1850, the Streetcar Buildouts around 1870, the Mail Order and Self-Built Suburbs about 1900, the Sitcom Suburbs about 1950, the Edge Nodes around 1970, and the E-Space Fringes about 1990. All of these layers continue to exist, and many are still being built, in the metropolitan regions of 2000.

Most histories of the suburb are categorized by transportation—railroad, streetcar, auto—but the older transit networks are often gone today. This analysis shifts to a cultural landscape approach, stressing land use and using aerial photography as documentation. Most histories of suburbia deal with male perspectives on middle and upper middle class suburbs. This essay will compare working class suburban configurations of house and yard to affluent ones, and look at how both have been presented in popular culture. It will also ask how women and children have experienced suburban spaces.

The double dream for suburbia is house plus community.[4] Model houses have been idealized at some times, and model communities at others, but most people hope for both a decent house and a sense of connection to a more public world. Model houses are often compromised by context; model towns often fail because of expense and social conflict. Perhaps the most common problem is that individual houses have often been promoted as if they were situated in model communities, when they were not. Similarly, tracts of houses have often been hyped as perfect towns, complete with appropriate public facilities and infrastructure, when they were not towns at all. While many intellectuals and designers have sneered at suburban residents as credulous, this is a simplistic, disrespectful response. Ordinary people are hopeful about their family and community life, and they struggle to supply what is lacking in order to make places work. Disentangling the strands of suburban development leads to a clearer sense of which traditions are negative, and which are positive.

In my earlier book, *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life*, I argued that by the 1950s, the American suburban house had become a private utopia, replacing the model town which had engaged many Americans' hopes a century earlier. In the mid-nineteenth century, developer Llewellyn Haskell promoted his expensive suburban enclave at Llewellyn Park, New Jersey, as "an Eden... away from the common haunts of Man."[5] But by the 1890s, when streetcar suburb builder Samuel E. Gross of Chicago depicted an angel with a sword labeled "justice" delivering a small cottage to a workman with a dinner pail, heaven was a modest house. The theme of working class suburban house as heaven is picked up again in D.J. Waldie's poetic evocation of Lakewood, California, entitled *Holy Land*.[6]

Perhaps middle class Americans held on to the dream of the exclusive model community until World War II, but in the aftermath, a scramble for houses resulted. In 1946, a cover from *The New Yorker* showed a large neo-Colonial house descending on pink clouds to an affluent husband, wife and child. (But not everyone was in heaven—outside the back door, an African American maid encountered a Fuller brush salesman.) Currently, middle class residents are being wooed back to a revival of faith in the model suburb, promoted with zealous architectural determinism. In 1992, new urbanist architects Andreas Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk announced "The Second Coming of the American Small Town."[7] Michael Eisner of Disney has predicted grateful people will exclaim, "Thank God for Celebration!"[8] Yet Celebration is a highly publicized example of the difficulties of creating a model community by building "neo-traditional" Greek Revival and Victorian houses:

controversies about its schools and its rigid management style have filled the popular press, while most of the workers in nearby Disneyworld cannot afford to live there.[9] A brief look at each era of American suburban development will reveal architectural forms that Americans may feel nostalgia for, but it will also situate the larger spatial and economic patterns behind the current concern about sprawl.

Borderlands, 1820

Beginning about 1820, some households sought a more rural lifestyle than growing urban centers like New York or Boston could offer. Historians John Stilgoe and Henry Binford have defined the Borderlands as places where families might choose to set up housekeeping in pastoral settings outside the growing cities. The city commute was possible by steamboat, on horseback, or in a private carriage. (Later it could be by railroad.) All classes lived in the borderlands, but the rich had two houses, one rural, one urban, while the poor were farmers or farm workers with small rural homes. Only middle class men and women wanted to have it all, country and city, with just one house. They struggled with the difficult commutes while popularizing life among the trees and flowers, removed from the pollution, epidemics, and economic stresses of the city under industrial capitalism.[10]

Borderland families had two inspirational leaders who wrote best sellers. Andrew Jackson Downing, son of a nurseryman, built his practice along the Hudson River as a landscape consultant in Newburg, New York, helping to define the picturesque styles of country homes he felt were best suited to Borderland scenery and life. His *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening ...with Remarks on Rural Architecture,* illustrated how to convert an ordinary farm into a gentleman's estate with ten years of planting and work.[11] *Cottage Residences* elaborated the architectural choices.

Catharine Beecher, author of a *Treatise on Domestic Economy* in 1842, and co-author of *The American Woman's Home* in 1869, also wrote for a borderland audience. She urged women to take charge of the suburban house and family, which she called "the home church of Jesus Christ," by instructing them to stay home and master efficient house design and gardening, as well as the spiritual nurturing of large families.[12] The gendered, pious approach to middle class suburban life, man nurturing the land, woman the family, first laid out by these two authors, has remained influential, although women complained of "Lonelyville."[13] But the advice givers could not solve one problem of the borderland, the advance of the city. Once remote houses in pastoral locations in 1820 were invaded by industries and their workers, as well as crowded by the shanties of squatters, who might keep goats or pigs on lawns, and steal their middle class neighbors' timber.[14]

Picturesque Enclaves, 1850

Borderland values of scenery and family were codified and expanded when landscape architects and architects began to design entire new suburban communities as Picturesque Enclaves. Beginning in the 1850s, romantic Gothic Revival and Greek Revival houses appeared on winding roads laid out in lush landscaping. Often there was centrally reserved parkland, often some shared community activities and rituals took place in the common space. Idealism about the sanctity of the model suburb connects enclaves to other mid-nineteenth century town-making efforts whose founders believed that building a model community led to the reform of society. In 1840 Emerson commented, "Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket," referring to communitarian socialists such as the Shakers, the Oneida Perfectionists, or the followers of Charles Fourier at the North American Phalanx, near

Red Bank, New Jersey, or at Brook Farm, in West Roxbury, Massachusetts. All of these communitarians thought of themselves as building "patent office models of the good society" because they believed that the founders of other new towns would copy their example.[15] Many early suburbs were conceived with the same religious fervor and environmental determinism. At Llewellyn Park, New Jersey, Haskell, the developer, was himself a religious Perfectionist, and his architect, Alexander Jackson Davis, had a simultaneous commission for a Fourierist Phalanx in New Jersey.[16]

Unlike the communitarians' towns, or the Methodists' camp meetings, which breathed religious excitement, the early picturesque enclaves were rich.[17] Llewellyn Park, in Orange, New Jersey, designed in the 1850s, transported wealthy businessmen, social reformers, and religious enthusiasts from city centers and placed them closer to nature. Davis, two decades earlier, had produced a guide to *Rural Residences* in 1837, including an "American Cottage," a "Farmer's House," and a "Villa" with wife on the porch and husband wheeling the infant stroller.[18] When Haskell first hired him to remodel an older building, Davis got on so well with his client that the job turned into a model community. Haskell's mountainous land had views, cliffs, and ponds. And Haskell and his friends—businessmen, social reformers, religious idealists—had the funds to work with the terrain to achieve palatial Victorian comfort with full-time live-in servants. Llewellyn Park residents celebrated May Day, accompanied by reporters, with an elaborate ceremony in their central park.[19] But true to many model suburbs, they never finished building the library and other community facilities promised at the start.

Enclaves were promoted in newspapers, popular magazines, novels, and plays as models of American life. When Frederick Law Olmsted designed Riverside, Illinois, in 1869, he achieved a most influential design despite a flat, swampy tract of land, because he added 32,000 deciduous trees and 47,000 shrubs. What was not reported in the papers was Olmsted's sour view that his clients were perpetuating a "regular flyaway speculation," with the promoters stealing $500.000 from the city of Chicago to cover overruns (those trees?) and then going under in the Panic of 1873.[20] Thirty years later, that suburb had filled out. Similar landscaped enclaves with winding streets, designed by the Olmsted office for communities from Atlanta to Buffalo, began to set the standard for many other architects, landscape architects, and builders throughout the country for the next fifty or sixty years, although often in reduced form.

Enclaves for the affluent continued to be developed, some noted for their snobbishness as much as for their scenery. In 1886, architect Bruce Price designed the resort of Tuxedo Park, New York, with massive stone gates and an exclusive clubhouse on six thousand private acres surrounded by a barbed wire fence, eight feet high and twenty-four miles long, guarded by private police. Price's daughter was Emily Post, prolific author on etiquette, who called it an "American rural community."[21] In the age of the automobile, Palos Verdes, California, was designed by the younger Olmsted, providing Spanish colonial style architecture on dramatic hills overlooking the Pacific Ocean, with golf club and nursery school. While celebrating Mexican feast days as local rituals, residents saw no irony in adopting deed restrictions to prohibit purchasers of Mexican descent.[22] In Kansas City, J.C. Nichols developed the Country Club District with "1000 Acres Restricted," prohibiting billboards and African American residents.[23]

Historian John Archer suggests that early British colonial suburbs became sites for the "establishment and augmentation of a person's individual identity," architecturally celebrating the alienation of wealth and privilege from the process of production, although dependent upon it."[24] Robert Fishman, who has also studied many of the English precedents for American suburbs in this era, puts it more simply as the "triumphant assertion of middle class values" accompanied by "the alienation of the middle classes from the industrial world they themselves were creating."[25] It is a complex task to unravel the racism and snobbery of certain enclaves from the positive aspects of spaces designed with a picturesque aesthetic in mind, respecting the natural landscape, rocks, hills, rivers, lakes, wetlands, and wildlife. As Mary Corbin Sies has observed, residents' effective strategies for the preservation of physical character (strategies many other Americans can learn from) were often accompanied by extremely narrow views of social coherence, with negative lessons to teach.[26]

Streetcar Buildouts, 1870

From the 1870s on, Streetcar Buildouts provided a cut-rate version of the suburban ideal.[27] A natural outgrowth of the omnibus, the horsecar, and the electric streetcar, these new suburbs were linear developments along expanding transit lines of single family, two-family, and three-family dwellings, with some commercial and apartment structures. Builders marketed these dwellings to second-generation Americans, children of immigrants who had grown up in inner city tenements. Construction proceeded on a modest scale with builders' consensus about what looked good—in New England, generally narrow lots, high lot coverage, long two or three story wood frame dwellings, gable end to the street. In the Midwest and West, smaller cottages or bungalows of a single story were often preferred.

Eugene Wood's article of 1910, "Why Pay Rent?" explored the contradictions of "quiet" streetcar suburbs built out to the maximum, and crowded commutes. These dwellings were never as separated from waged and unwaged work as the Enclaves pretended to be. Multiple wage workers in families included women and children; multiple units included arrangements for kin and boarders; wives also cared for chickens and grew food. At the same time, sweat equity was part of the deal. Owner builders were common in some cities. Bands of settlement were graded by income and available transport. Often ethnic clubs and churches—Irish American, Polish American, Italian American—provided social centers. Involvement by trained architects in streetcar suburbs was minimal, but city governments' planners and engineers started to supply infrastructure (water pipes, gas light or electricity) and think about annexation.

Today the streetcar suburbs may not be thought of as suburbs, because of their density and closeness to the center of the city. People may call them "the old neighborhood." They vary in form and age in different parts of the country. In Boston, the owner-builders were often operating on a very small scale, producing two or three structures in a career. Samuel Gross in Chicago operated on a larger scale, responsible for tens of thousands of houses at varying prices which could be purchased on long term plans. Detroit was somewhere in between.[28] In San Francisco, in the Sunset district, an unusual streetcar suburb was made out of streetcars themselves, older models taken out of service and converted into funky, bottom-of-the-market dwellings.[29]

Whatever the city, the small front gardens of streetcar suburbs were often intensively cultivated. Different ethnic neighborhoods could be identified by their plantings, and the varied delights of their kitchen gardens contrast with the exotic landscapes of the elite enclaves.[30] Where streetcar suburbs have been well-maintained, they offer livable patterns of mixed use worth re-examining for their compact land use and good public transit. They also have offered options for the elderly and the three-generation family unmatched in other models.

Mail Order and Self-Built Suburbs, 1900

By the turn of the century, customers could order a house from a catalogue, and here the Mail Order and Self-Built Suburbs were born. Customers first picked out plans, and then had every last piece of lumber, every nail and door knob, shipped to the site. With the rise of companies producing mail-order houses, such as Sears, Aladdin, or Pacific Readi-Cut Homes, the American house was disconnected from questions of site and neighborhood.[31] In the beginning, companies hoped to appeal to do-it-yourself homeowners. But these kits were hard to put together, so many frustrated homeowners hired carpenters to help them do the job. Many companies also began pre-assembling discreet parts of the house, such as built-in cabinets or bathrooms, to make the job easier. Sometimes they also offered to send a crew to construct the house from the parts in thirty days.[32]

Other homeowners stuck to self-building, sometimes for lack of resources, building the place over time, with scavenged materials if necessary. An African American suburb, Chagrin Falls Park, outside of Cleveland, was a source of pride to those who put it together, despite the lack of infrastructure. One resident said, "I think I bettered my condition...I had nice, fresh air, and you could have vegetables and a garden."[33]

In cities like Los Angeles, which developed 1,200 miles of streetcar lines by 1915, the largest public transit system in the country, the dense New England and Midwestern streetcar suburb was transformed into a giant land sale, setting the stage for the mail-order and self-built houses. Streetcar companies, many of them privately held, were also often in the land business. Subdividers in LA held huge barbecues with slabs of roasted meat to attract potential buyers to auctions of lots in empty terrain. In Chicago, developers offered circus tents with polka bands. Wagons drew up loaded with kegs of beer.

Buyers then decided how to build on their new suburban lots, and many chose the mail-order option. Spanish Colonial might rise next to a Craftsman bungalow or a New England Cape. The mail-order manufacturers recognized the loosening of neighborhood bonds here, and formed clubs that held occasional picnics for their customers. Some of them also paid commissions to customers who recruited new buyers for the company. There were also some new communities constructed entirely of mail-order houses, including company towns, boom towns, and mining towns, but overall, the most powerful effect of the mail order and self-built suburbs was the dissolution of the older, denser patterns of transit-related suburbs, both in physical form and in availability of public transit. Not only were they stylistically diverse. Once lots were sold, many streetcar companies stopped running the transit lines. And the automobile was increasing in popularity, capable of carrying people to new strip shopping centers.

Between 1929 and 1946, due to the Depression and World War II, very few new houses or new suburbs were built. In this time, however, the federal government became involved in housing, through Herbert Hoover's efforts (as Secretary of Commerce and then as President) to promote home ownership as a big business strategy for economic recovery from the depression. Hoover's Commerce Department supported Better Homes in America, Inc.[34] By 1930, this was a coalition of over 7000 local chapters composed of bankers, builders, and manufacturers lobbying for government support of private developers' home-building efforts.

Following Hoover, the Roosevelt era saw the establishment of new town programs in the New Deal, and public housing legislation, but they were never as influential. After a federal plan for a model town to house war workers, designed by Eero Saarinen, George How, Louis Kahn, and Oscar Stonorov, was defeated by the real estate lobby, self-built suburbs grew by default around the Willow Run plant in Michigan, where Ford produced bombers in World War II. Similar self-building occurred around naval bases in San Diego.[35] By the mid-1940s, builders were busily discrediting public construction of shelter as "un-American" and promoting government subsidies for private housing development as essential to democracy. *Picture Windows*, by Rosalyn Baxandall and Elizabeth Ewen, discusses the heavy lobbying by bankers and builders behind the hearings on housing dominated by Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1947 and 1948.[36] McCarthy developed his "sledgehammer style" hassling proponents of public housing and planned towns as socialists and communists.

Sitcom Suburbs, 1950

Sitcom Suburbs of the late 1940s and 1950s were constructed with multiple federal government supports: subsidized mortgages for buyers, subsidized financing for developers, subsidized highways to reach the houses. These suburbs appeared at the same time as national television programs, and many included television sets built into living room walls. Cultural critics such as Lewis Mumford carped at the uniformity, but from the late 1940s on, vast developments of one-family houses on small lots offered the cheapest shelter available to white, male-headed families.

Mass-produced Sitcom Suburbs, created in large numbers for returning veterans, with few community facilities, jobs, or public transit options, resembled earlier, smaller tracts of the Mail Order and Self-Built Suburbs that required commuting by automobile. What was new was their urban scale. The first Levittown, for example, totaled about 17,000 houses, or 55,000 people. Lakewood, California, was even larger. The new developments were produced by far larger corporations who controlled vast tracts of land, worked with the federal government, and sold basic, small houses to consumers, while describing themselves as "community builders" because they built a few swimming pools or small commercial centers.[37]

While the scale and speed of production of such suburbs by non-union workers suggested the industrial might of post-War America, the designs were nostalgic Cape Cod cottages or "ranches."[38] Working class residents were mixed by ethnicity and religion more than before— Italian American and Polish American and Russian American, Catholic and Protestant and Jewish—but all white. Racial segregation, always part of the suburban experience, now was enforced by government loan policies and local bankers' redlining. So was gender discrimination in lending. The long-term economic effects of racial and gender exclusion were heightened by the vast scale of new tracts, and by their promotion in mass culture. Fifty years later, households headed by persons of color and women still lagged behind in their rates of home ownership.

In 1948, William Levitt made his famous comment about male home owners who would be converting attics into spare bedrooms and mowing the lawns: "No man who has a house and lot can be a communist. He has too much to do." Historian Barbara Kelly has documented the way Levittown residents added to their homes in *Expanding the American Dream,* echoing the activity of the Self-Built Suburbs earlier.[39] Now, however, there was less flexibility about multiple units and family types. The three-generation family was split. Older members remained in inner city neighborhoods as renters, adult children were scattered into new suburbs.

In the television sitcoms of the era, only one kind of model family was presented as suitable for one kind of model house. The family had an employed dad, a stay-at-home mom, and a traditional house on a suburban street in *Leave It to Beaver, Ozzie and Harriet,* or *Father Knows Best*. Recent films such as *Pleasantville* and *The Truman Show* satirize overly controlled places, neo-Colonial clapboard houses, neat lawns framed by picket fences, Moms in high heels and dresses

making dinner, racial exclusion. Television reached all households, even the families who didn't get the houses, and because of this, many groups excluded from the sitcom suburbs of the 1950s, and from the public subsidies that supported them, still saw the house as an emblem of belonging and upward mobility. The Sitcom Suburb was federal policy, backed by intense corporate lobbying and reinforced by product placement in sitcoms as well as thousands of television commercials that used the model house as the setting for all sorts of goods from detergents to diapers, dishwashers to Dodge cars. The economic goals of Better Homes in America, Inc., and all of the lobbyists behind McCarthy, had been realized.

Interplay between real developers and the makers of sitcoms and movies in this era is fascinating. In *Bachelor in Paradise*, a bachelor (Bob Hope) heads for a California tract to write an analysis of its social life, sure he will hate it. By the end of the film, he has married the only single woman within miles and moved in for good. In *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House,* an advertising executive (Cary Grant) tires of New York and moved his family to an isolated, custom built, neo-Colonial suburban house. During the construction process, many mistakes are made and Blandings is overcharged for everything.[40] (Because Eric Hodgins wrote for *Fortune* magazine, it is quite possible his novel, and the subsequent film, were meant to play alongside the McCarthy housing hearings, where private builders stressed the impossibility of making postwar housing with unionized skilled construction trades.) Over seventy model Blandings "dream houses" were constructed around the country and raffled off as publicity for the film. For example, in Kansas City, the developer J. C. Nichols demonstrated he could build the same house for less than Blandings paid. Orders poured in.

Meanwhile, Hodgins wrote *Blanding's Way*, the sequel never filmed. The hero gave up commuting and moved his family back to an expensive apartment in midtown Manhattan, where Blandings could walk to his job in an ad agency selling dog food and whisky. Unfortunately, most suburbanites couldn't afford this option. They were stuck with the sitcom, which cast them as Mr. Homeowner and Mrs. Consumer. Houses kept getting a little larger, and many families tried to move up as they discovered the "mansion subsidy," tax deductions for mortgage interest that rose with the cost and size of the house. Estimated at $81 billion in 1994, the mansion subsidy remains larger than the annual budget of the department of Housing and Urban Development.[41]

Edge Nodes, 1960

From the 1960s on, private developers responded to the federally supported infrastructure of Interstate highways, and the lack of planned centers, public space, and public facilities in Sitcom Suburbs, by large-scale construction of commercial real estate—the basis of the Edge Nodes. Malls and offices sprouted adjacent to Interstate offramps in areas hard to locate and often named "intersection of 7 and 84." Terms such as "outtown," and "edge city" did not explain these places. Perhaps "taxopolis" would have been better. As Tom Hanchett has shown, these were usually at the edge of the suburban ring because federal tax policies between 1954 and 1986 offered accelerated depreciation for new commercial real estate in greenfield locations.[42] Developers received huge tax write-offs for "every type of income-producing structure," including motels, fast food restaurants, offices, rental apartments, and of course, shopping centers. As Hanchett notes, "Throughout the mid-1950s, developers had sought locations *within* growing suburban areas. Now shopping centers began appearing in the cornfields *beyond* the edge of existing development." This lucrative tax write-off cost the federal government about $750 to $850 million per year in the late 1960s.

Accelerated depreciation also encouraged cheap construction and discouraged adequate maintenance.

Edge Nodes brought the rise of the mall and the destruction of many Main Streets. Nodes often spilled over into older arterials nearby, where loose zoning and automotive uses (billboards, fast food, gas stations, auto sales, motels) had prevailed since the 1920s. Site plans were scaled to the truck or car, never to the pedestrian. Access by public transit was minimal and routes often reinforced segregation by race and class.[43]

Over time Edge Nodes added more building types— "category killers" (big box discount stores), and "power centers" (groups of big boxes), plus disguised boxes and outlet malls trying to look like villages, cineplexes, and freeway churches. Building was cheap; depreciation was accelerated; obsolescence was rapid. Less and less was local. Businesses were increasingly tied to national or international chains, part of an expanding global economy, often requiring airport access as well as access by truck. Warehouse-like buildings were dictated by management protocols about "facilities" having nothing to do with the towns where they operated.[44]

Although it has become the most visible of American suburban landscapes, Edge Node has few defenders. Those who do speak in its favor, such as Joel Garreau, tend to idealize it as a temporary, rough "frontier" of economic growth.[45] The presence of housing in Edge Nodes was often the result of a developer filling-in leftover sites with "affordable" housing units. Nearby freeways made many of them undesirable. Unlike all of the earlier patterns, almost no one chose to call Edge Node home if there were other residential options. Millions who worked in Edge Nodes refused to live in places like Tyson's Corner, Virginia, or Schaumburg, Illinois, an environment documented by photographer Bob Thrall with the ironic title, *The New American Village.*[46] Instead, many Americans chose to drive to residences located even farther away, on the rural fringe.[47]

E-Space Fringes, 1990

Sometime early in the twentieth century, starting with the Mail Order Suburb, and continuing with the Sitcom Suburb, Americans began to separate the house from its neighborhood, and idealize the house itself. By the 1990s, consumers were focused on the house. Although jobs had moved to the Edge Nodes, cheap gas and subsidized freeways meant that workers could commute outside those Nodes, scattering into the rural areas beyond, creating a new pattern I have named E-Space Fringe.[48] The arrival of digital technologies (e-space) made it easier for the two-worker family to arrange to be in a remote location.[49] Houses might include a home office as some workers were freed by telecommuting. Some might include two home offices. Even rural states such as Vermont have been affected by fringe development so vast it overpowers small towns and rural landscapes.[50] Globally, affluent Americans consumed a staggering portion of the world's resources to sustain larger and larger houses and the patterns of consumption they imply, with or without the home offices.

E-Space Fringe appeared to be a revival of the Borderland aesthetic of the 1820s with its vision of pastoral life in the countryside, supported by digital technologies. By the mid-80s, many feminists thought that housing and neighborhood spaces might be transformed by the addition of day care, elderly care, home offices, and accessory units. Each of these programmatic changes responded to women's increasing involvement in the paid labor force, and the predominance of new family types, including the two-worker family and the single-parent family, with some greater flexibility than the traditional neighborhood of isolated suburban houses provided. Change did happen in Europe, with city complexes like the Frauen-Werk-Stadt of Vienna.

Only a few new American housing projects considered the need for new service elements in multi-family design. Instead, single family houses got bigger and farther

apart, in response to women's earnings and lower interest rates, and more families hired poor women of color as nannies and maids.[51] Corporate cleaning services such as Merry Maids and Maids International paid the minimum wage while charging about $25. per worker per hour for domestic service. Advocates of digital technology touted the e-space fringe as modern, but its patterns rested on a Victorian architecture of gender, on low-paid servants or unpaid female housework and male yard work. It was as old as Downing and Beecher, corsets and bustles, wing collars and frock coats.

The original borderland was "Lonelyville" to many women, and so is the new E-Space Fringe. As women have worked outside the home, their social contacts have increased, but children have less contact with parents, and husbands with wives. The nuclear family of the sitcom suburbs fragmented as American men and women were working very long hours to pay for larger, more remote houses, and for the cars to reach three acres of former farmland, or five acres of woods, and a big house. Often huge new houses lacked any design quality in their arrangements. And with "mansionization" came "tear downs." (Older houses, some of them historic landmarks, were torn down to make way for houses three or four times larger on existing, desirable sites in rural areas or older suburban neighborhoods.)

A second trend has been to create new Enclaves in the fringe, large-scale suburban developments, most of them expensive, some of them gated, some of them designed in historicist styles according to the codes of "New Urbanist" architects and planners who oppose sprawl. These are greenfield developments, organized by many of the same large developers who have produced more conventional subdivisions in the past. What attracts them to the fringe is the lower cost of land, and the availability of large amounts of land not under local regulation.

Why have borderland ideas and enclaves lasted? Many pastoral dreams were revived in the 1950s, as ex-urbanites commuting on special club cars from towns like Westport, Connecticut, to Madison Avenue, looked for ways to sell television programs and consumer goods to residents of Sitcom Suburbs.[52] The producers and ad men liked to think of themselves as superior to the residents of mass-produced sitcom suburbs. The media men thought they were lifestyle pioneers, living two lives at once, having dynamic city jobs and country homes, cultural stimulation and natural beauty, best of both worlds, no compromises. They passed these values on in their work, but their borderland scenarios always rested on servants or an unpaid mom. The borderland life also rested on belief in access to an endless amount of available land, and on access to new technologies of transportation and communication to overcome the friction of distance. With each successive generation, and each mile from the inner city to the outer fringe, it became less tenable socially, ecologically, and physically.

Back to Borderlands and Enclaves, or Beyond?

Many of the spatial conventions and social expectations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remain to the present day, layers tangled in memory, experience, and manners, as well as in the images of popular culture and the pronouncements of architects and urban planners. In the first half of the nineteenth century, residents, designers, and pattern book writers forged enduring ideals of romantic houses set in picturesque terrain inhabited by elite, exclusive communities. The ideals were made three-dimensional, first for individual families, then for rich members of Enclaves between 1820 and 1860. When suburban houses were also mass-produced for working families in Streetcar Buildouts, Mail Order Suburbs, and Sitcom Suburbs, they lost some of their snob appeal. Cultural critics sneered, but modest houses and yards made ordinary, working class residents also feel connected to

nature, able to rear their families, and able to form ties with other suburban residents, despite rather limited natural settings. Because of sweat equity, very minimal places became more comfortable. While the working class patterns are physically spare, they seem far more savvy, recognizing economic constraints and the multiple connections between home and work. They suggest how to go beyond the Borderland and the Enclave, rather than back to them.

Any analysis of the "costs of sprawl" must rest on detailed economic history, substantial knowledge of how the layers of suburban American have been constructed, as well as how the work of reproduction has been accomplished. Without such historical analysis, it is difficult to weigh the strengths and weaknesses of new proposals as well. Architects and developers often suggest today that new enclaves are the best way to solve suburban planning problems, because they offer the fewest constraints.[53] Density in New Urbanist enclaves is fine, so are good proportions and narrow streets, but not the privatized gentility, high prices, and greenfield locations.

Less flashy projects include far more economic savvy, such as Concord Village, a Hope VI project in Indianapolis, administered by Eugene Jones as the Executive Director of the Indianapolis Housing Authority, and designed by Clyde Woods of Indianapolis and Tise, Hurwitz, and Diamond of Boston.[54] As part of a broad local economic development strategy, planners, architects, and organizers trained small contractors to construct sections of the project, house by house. They worked at the scale of the streetcar and self-built suburbs in an African American neighborhood. Instead of contracting the whole project to a large builder, they taught and enabled very small builders to create new one and two-family units to fit in with an existing older neighborhood in scale and streetscape. For the professionals involved, such as project architects Daniel Glenn and Olon Dotson, it meant tough, unglamorous work, with lots of organizing. But they recognized the multiple dimensions of housing as a part of economic production as well as reproduction. And they recognized the importance of connecting physically to an existing community.

A history of American suburbia is the history of the search for the double dream, house and community. Millions of families got houses and yards, although working class families have often had to build their houses, or earn extra cash at home to hold onto them. The getting of community has been more uncertain. Middle class community space is often in better supply than working class community space. But everywhere, real community is constructed by people, not developers. Designers can offer public space that supports or constrains community, but there is no magic connection, no perfect town where architecture makes the better society. That was an idea of the 1840s, a time when designers also thought the perfect prison could eliminate crime, and the perfect hospital cure mental illness.

Political Implications

Where there are existing houses (hard won), existing public infrastructure, and existing community networks (forged over years of propinquity), it makes sense to nurture and protect older suburbs, to infill and rehabilitate, rather than to design again. Communities of activists and voters are essential to this place-based process. It is time to repair each layer in the dispersed metropolitan landscape, and consider how to deal with each type, remembering that government subsidies have been distributed unevenly over the decades and some greater equality is due. The first wave of subsidies came from the federal government in the 1940s and 50s, for homeowners and residential developers. The second wave of subsidies came from the federal government in the mid-1950s to the 1980s, to support commercial real estate. The third wave, the current transit and infrastructure subsidies, tracked in Myron Orfield's *Metropolitics*, are

high property taxes extracted from low income central cities and older suburbs to support new development in affluent outer suburbs.[55] Orfield, a lawyer, works now in the state legislature of Minnesota, and he argues that coalitions must be built at the level of state government to overcome the deficiencies of federal programs and local interests. He sees change as resulting from long-term political activity. Surely better planning and better design do require a new political framework. The implication is that planners and architects need to become more active as citizens who have a strong interest in the political structure that can support better work.

At the same time, planners and architects can assess the current state of their technical skills and attitudes about developers as decision makers. Given that Americans inhabit some fairly unsatisfactory suburban landscapes constructed during eight decades of developer lobbying and five decades of developer subsidy, how should professionals in planning and architecture assess the current tools for ending sprawl through urban design and regional planning? While "smart growth" has gotten extensive publicity over the last few years, and one can download "sprawl-busting" advice from many websites, many of the claims made for the planners' toolkit are far too broad. In buoyant economic times, it is difficult to stop the developers' rush to new commercial and residential real estate. If "smart growth" is growth management renamed, its underlying premise is that massive growth will occur, while older layers will disappear. This should be questioned: what would it mean to preserve all of the existing layers, to retrofit, rather than rebuild?

Similarly, the claims of some "new urbanist" architects overstate their ability to create positive change. As William Fulton has asked, is new urbanism hope or hype?[56] These architects are a diverse group who attend an annual conference. They resist categorization because much of what they advocate is so uncontroversial it would be supported by most designers everywhere, even those who would define themselves as modernists, stylistically. All new urbanists favor pedestrian scale, and most emphasize neo-traditional styles in housing development. Many of them are architectural determinists who believe that getting the design right is essential to making society work, refusing to acknowledge that many people will struggle to create community even in the most dreary physical settings. All new urbanists seem to place excessive trust in complex charters, codes, rules, checklists, and handbooks to keep streets narrow and roof pitches uniform.[57] At times, these rules read like the dogma of a new religion, one where heretics will be cast out.

The clients of new urbanists include many large for-profit developers who can handle the economic burdens of large-scale developments, but recent analyses suggest that these clients often create "hybrids," accepting new urbanist ideas piecemeal, following the codes or checklists only when it suits them.[58] Other new urbanists have clients that include city and regional planning authorities. Peter Calthorpe of California favors transit, and speaks often of energy consumption. Andreas Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk of Florida have done a very large number of projects, including many upper income projects, while promising a broader kind of salvation, the "Second Coming" of the small town. Ray Gindroz of Pittsburgh has made low-cost housing, but his firm also developed the pattern book for Celebration, Disney's expensive new town. None of these firms have specialized in the delicate work of retrofitting and rebuilding existing suburbs, surely because few clients exist to sponsor such projects and make this kind of work pay.

There is a need for diverse non-profit clients—public housing agencies, non-profit developers, environmental organizations, economic development groups—to sponsor the physical reconstruction of suburbia as well as old centers. Historical analysis of suburban development can provide a fine-grained analysis of the seven layers of suburbia, making it clear that different kinds of interventions are useful in different places. The old Enclaves may need preservation, but help should be given in exchange for public access and interpretation of their private parks and natural landscapes. The aging Streetcar Buildouts, Self-Built, Mail Order, and Sitcom Suburbs may need transit restored if it has been disrupted, and green spaces, schools, and social services strengthened or added. They might welcome tax incentives for owner improvements. In the larger and more spacious versions of these suburbs, accessory apartments can improve their flexibility to house smaller families. The Edge Nodes are a lesson in how Americans need to assess developers rather than subsidize them. They cry out for new landscaping requirements and tough infrastructure assessments to discourage greenfield development and to promote adaptive reuse by employers and retailers. And the E-space Fringe? A growth boundary is one tool some communities are using to halt it. Requiring dedicated public open space in new subdivisions, connected to a spine of existing open space, is another. Farmland preservation is a third. All of these tools are partial; each is more effective when applied in combination with the others. The whole metropolitan agenda needs to be more than the sum of the parts.

Sixty percent of Americans live in suburbs, but those suburbs form metropolitan regions. As the conversation about "Smart Growth" proceeds, programs to conserve the physical character of older suburban landscapes, to improve the houses and extend the sense of community, need to be supported by national and state policy as well as by local initiatives. Complex corporate lobbying efforts over the past seventy-five years have led to the current configuration of the cultural landscape, with millions of private houses and relatively few satisfactory centers of public life. For decades, these lobbyists used political influence to shape a private market for shelter based on government subsidies that might have been better directed toward building public spaces and infrastructure. Builders like Levitt then falsely marketed basic shelter as community. White male heads of working class households benefited, but income tax deductions always subsidized the rich more handsomely than home buyers of modest means. People of color, female heads of households, and renters got nothing. The tax situation was compounded by federal policies that recognized the necessity of commercial development in suburban communities, but provided corporate incentives for greenfield sites and rapid depreciation. Americans have cherished suburbia in many of its forms, but feel puzzled and frustrated by its chaotic shape.

With good reason, a new generation hopes to start over. The problem is that many Americans believe starting over means exerting total design control over elite enclaves or placing isolated houses in undeveloped land at the fringe. So what might it really mean to be smarter? Suburbia is the hinge, the connection between layers past and future, between old inequalities and new possibilities. In all kinds of existing suburbs, inequalities of gender, class, and race have been embedded in material form. So have unwise environmental choices. If these are to be changed, first some significant preservation, renovation, and infill must take place on the suburban ground already occupied, as well as in the old city centers. Directing federal, state, and local subsidies toward the less affluent and away from major corporations, designing appropriate public transit, and requiring more environmental accountability will be difficult. Activist groups may be able to mobilize voters' commitments to existing suburban and urban places in order to mount sustained political pressure against the real estate-banking-building-automotive lobby that has wielded influence for the last eighty years. A new political consensus will be essential to reconfiguring the American metropolitan landscape as a place of socially and environmentally responsible development.

End Notes

1 The literature is vast. William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock. "Bold New City or Built Up 'Burb? Redefining Contemporary Suburbia." *American Quarterly* 46(March 1994):1-30, is a review essay with responses from the humanities. Also see Transit Cooperative Research Program, *The Costs of Sprawl—Revisited*, (National Academy Press: Washington, D.C., 1998) for an extensive review of social science and professional literature. A few overviews of suburban history include Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream* (New York: WW Norton, 1984); Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); J. John Palen, *The Suburbs* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1995).

2 Hayden, *Redesigning*, 38; "Separated by Design," *New York Times*, section H, March 8, 2000, p.6.

3 Terms suggested by Paul Goldberger, Leo Marx, Robert Fishman, Peirce Lewis, Jon Teaford, Edward Soja.

4 As planner Jacqueline Leavitt of UCLA has noted.

5 Susan Henderson, "Llewellyn Park, Suburban Idyll," *Journal of Garden History* 7 (1987): 221-243.

6 D.J. Waldie, *Holy Land: A Suburban Memoir* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). This work is 316 prose segments, some as short as a sentence, about the author's life in Lakewood from his boyhood to his present job as a city official there.

7 Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, "The Second Coming of the American Small Town," *The Wilson Quarterly* 16 (Winter 1992):19-50.Also see their forthcoming *Suburban Nation* (New York: North Point/ Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 2000).

8 Douglas Frantz and Catherine Collins, *Celebration, U.S.A.: Living in Disney's Brave New Town*, (New York: Henry Holt, 1999): 8.

9 Bettina Drew, "Celebration," *The Yale Review* 86 (Summer 1998):51-70; Russ Rymer: Back to the Future: Disney Reinvents the Company Town," *Harper's* 293 (October 1996): 65-71 ff.

10 John Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Henry Binford, *The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on the Boston Periphery, 1815-1860* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1984).

11 Andrew Jackson Downing, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening,* 6th ed. (New York: A.O. Moore, 1859): 92-3.

12 Catherine E. Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (Boston: Thomas H. Webb, 1842); Catharine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home* (New York: J.B. Ford and Co., 1869).

13 For an estimate of Beecher's influence, Dolores Hayden, "Catharine Beecher and the Politics of Housework," in Susana Torre, ed., *Women in American Architecture: Historic and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977); for the debates about these issues, see Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981).

14 Frederick Law Olmsted, letter of 1860, quoted in Fishman, 120-121.

15 Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975* (Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1976):8-31.

16 Richard Guy Wilson, "Idealism and the Origin of the First American Suburb: Llewellyn Park, New Jersey," *The American Art Journal* (October 1979): 79-90.

17 Ellen Weiss, *City in the Woods: The Life and Design of An American Camp Meeting on Martha's Vineyard* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

18 Alexander Jackson Davis, *Rural Residences* (New York: 1837). Davis worked with Downing on both publications and commissions. Also see Wilson, "Idealism,"79-90; David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1986) 149-166.

19 Short Hills, New Jersey was a similar effort, a model suburb with extensive parkland and expensive architecture developed by Stewart Hartshorn, a man who made his fortune as the inventor of the rolling window shade, and believed that Adam and Eve could have walked in the lovely precincts of his town. For additional background on British and American designs during this era, see John Archer "Country and City in the American Romantic Suburb," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42(May 1983): 139-156.

20 Fishman, 130.

21 Emily Post, "Tuxedo Park: An American Rural Community," *The Century Magazine* 82 (October 1911): 795-805.

22 Margaret Marsh, *Suburban Lives (*New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990): 172-173.

23 William S. Worley, *J.C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1990): 78.

24 John Archer, "Colonial Suburbs in South Asia, 1700-1850, and the Spaces of Modernity," in Roger Silverstone, ed., *Visions of Suburbia*, (London: Routledge, 1997): 52-53.

25 Fishman, 4.

26 Mary Corbin Sies, "Paradise Retained: An Analysis of Persistence in Planned, Exclusive Suburbs, 1880-1980," *Planning Perspectives* 12 (1997): 165-191.

27 Eugene Wood, "Why Pay Rent?" *Everybody's Magazine* 22 (June 1910): 765-767.

28 For Boston, see Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972) and Matthew Edel, Elliott D. Sclar, and Daniel Luria, *Shaky Palaces; Homeownership and Social Mobility in Boston's Suburbanization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984). On Chicago, see Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913 (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). For Detroit, Olivier Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880-1920 (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

29 Jennifer Reese, "Streetcar Suburb," *Preservation* 51 (January/February 1999): 52-57.

30 Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1995): 35.

31 Alan Gowans, *The Comfortable House: North American Suburban Architecture 1890-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1986).

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33 Andrew Wiese, "The Other Suburbanites: African American Suburbanization in the North before 1950," *The Journal of American History,* 85 (March 1999): 1519. Also see Richard Harris, "Self-Building in the Urban Housing Market," *Economic Geography* 67 (January 1991): 263-303.

34 Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream* (New York: Pantheon, 1981): 197-8. Also see Gail Radford, *Modern Housing in America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996): 51-53. Radford emphasizes Hoover's interest in standardization.

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36 Rosalyn Baxandall and Elizabeth Ewen, *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened* (New York: Basic Books, 2000): 87-116.

37 Mark A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

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DOLORES HAYDEN is Professor of Architecture, Urbanism, and American Studies at Yale University.

An urban historian and architect, she has written extensively about American urban landscapes and the politics of design. Her latest book is *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000,* published by Pantheon Books in September 2003. Recently Hayden has also worked with aerial photographers using low-altitude, oblique-angle aerial images of the landscape to encourage citizen involvement in land use and planning debates. These images are the subject of *A Field Guide to Sprawl* (forthcoming July 2004).

Her early books include *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975* (MIT Press, 1976); *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (MIT Press, 1981); and *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life* (W.W. Norton, 1984, rev. and expanded ed., 2002). These works received numerous awards, including an American Library Association Notable Book Award, an award for Excellence in Design Research from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Paul Davidoff Award for an outstanding book in Urban Planning from the ACSP, and the Diana Donald Award for feminist scholarship from the American Planning Association.

In the mid-1980s, her career took a new direction. As founder and president of The Power of Place, a non-profit arts and humanities group based in Los Angeles from 1984 to 1991, Hayden laid out a downtown itinerary to celebrate the historic landscape of the center of the city and its ethnic diversity. Under her direction, collaborative projects on an African American midwife's homestead, a Latina garment workers' union headquarters, and Japanese-American flower fields engaged citizens, historians, artists, and designers in examining and commemorating the working lives of ordinary citizens. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (The MIT Press, 1995), documents her Los Angeles work. She received an award from the Los Angeles Conservancy for contributions to preservation and continues to consult with museums and the National Park Service on public history.

Since 1973, Hayden has held academic appointments in architecture, landscape architecture, urban planning, and American Studies in a teaching career that has spanned MIT, UC Berkeley, and UCLA as well as Yale. She was educated at Mount Holyoke College, Cambridge University, and the Harvard Graduate School of Design, where she received her professional degree in architecture. She has been a Guggenheim Fellow, and received Rockefeller, NEH, NEA, Whitney Humanities Center, and ACLS/Ford Fellowships as well. For the most recent work, she has received grants from the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Hayden is also a poet whose work can be found in numerous literary journals including *The Yale Review, Southwest Review, The Kenyon Review, Verse Daily*, *Witness,* and *Michigan Quarterly Review*. Her collection, *American Yard*, is forthcoming in 2004.

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Town Planning versus *Urbanismo*

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Giorgio Piccinato (1987) has explained the distinction between *urbanismo* and *town planning* as follows. Town planning is Anglo-Saxon, urbanism is Latin. Planning sees itself as a professional activity distinct from architecture and engineering, urbanism is a shared culture or common ground between these professions. Planning is rooted in social reformism, giving its practitioners a happy sense of their own rectitude, urbanism owes more to the pluralism of real urban politics. Anglo-Saxon planning dominated the post-war years with its social-democratic values and its simple scenario of planners (good) versus speculators (bad). Piccinato observes that Leonardo Benevolo opened the history of modern planning, in his widely-read *Le Origini dell' Urbanistica Moderna* (1963), with Robert Owen's social experiment at New Lanark. In Italian encyclopedias and texts of the 1960s 'urbanistica' used to be synonymous with new towns and housing policy. But this hegemony of Anglo-Saxon attitudes had been broken. Its social reform project was discredited and its elaborate apparatus of paper-based socio-economic regulation had stalled. For Piccinato, the future rested with an *urbanismo* that allowed architects to take tangible and realisable responsibility for urban space.

Here at the conclusion of IPHS2004 in Barcelona, the Gordon Cherry Memorial lecture offers a perfect opportunity to revisit the distinction between town planning and urbanism. Cherry was Anglo-Saxon planning personified. Born in 1931 and educated as a geographer, he entered local government in 1953 and became a leading figure in the fight to establish town planning as a professional discipline in its own right. One of his earliest published papers - 'The Town Planner and his Profession' (1962) - was an angry young man's attack on the supercilious attitude of architects, engineers, and surveyors towards a town planning profession which they regarded as inferior and secondary. Cherry called upon universities to focus their educational curricula onto the planner's distinctive attributes, which he defined as the promotion of 'amenity and convenience'. He summonsed the Town Planning Institute to be more aggressive in advancing the profession's cause.

For the next five years, from 1963-8, he would work as Research Officer in the City Planning Department of Newcastle upon Tyne under Wilfred Burns, who was then one of the very few British town planners to hold the post of chief officer and head his own department within the city administration. Cherry described the winning of chief officer positions in Newcastle and other cities as 'Battle Honours in the war of attrition . . to secure professional recognition'. It is one of the milestones in the Diamond Jubilee history of the Royal Town Planning Institute (Cherry 1974), a narrative of the long march of the chartered town planning profession from small beginnings in 1914 to the granting of a

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Royal Charter (1970), establishment of university programmes, a membership of thousands, and general public recognition. In this narrative, Cherry's view of professional town planning matches Giorgio Piccinato's. He does not see it as a design profession: its techniques derive from social science and its values from social reformism. He himself had a powerful sense of this reformist legacy, being as active the Bournville Village Trust (trustee, chairman 1992-6) as he was in the Royal Town Planning Institute (service on its Council for a quarter of a century, Presidency 1978-9, Outstanding Service Medal 1995).

Cherry left Newcastle City Council in 1968 to become Deputy Director of the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (CURS) at the University of Birmingham. Entering academic life at the age of 37, he had a short but intensive university career. By the time of his death, age only 65, he had authored or coauthored nine books, edited a further four, and (with Tony Sutcliffe) launched both the journal *Planning Perspectives* and the Spon book series *Studies in History, Planning and Environment*. Above all, he had first founded and nurtured the Planning History Group then transformed it into an International Planning History Society, an improbable concept brought to life by his own sheer energy and enthusiasm. Glimpsed on an envelope in the daily pile of post, Gordon's handwriting was instantly recognisable - regular, rounded, relentless. His hand expressed both the talent for personal friendship by which he nurtured our global network of scholarship, and the qualities of genial persistence by which he shaped it into institutional permanence. We are all in his debt.

The two sides of Gordon Cherry's career fit together like an arch. In his writing of planning history we are always aware of that teleological drive towards independent professional status within a freestanding policy sector. Planning's progress is defined by its shift from architectural design towards 'a wider, interpretative fusion to a concern with social welfare' (1982 147). Planning historiography takes a parallel path from art history to social sciences (1981 4). The roots of the narrative are Anglo-centric, finding the reward for Britain's role in the Industrial Revolution in its pioneership of garden cities and green belts. Cherry helped to articulate a sense of national leadership of a worldwide movement, a notion which - despite the best efforts of Stephen Ward (2002) - undergraduates somehow still imbibe and regurgitate in the summer examinations :

> *These many events make the proffession of Town Planning want it is today and helps British Town Planning be amongst the most succsesfull in the world.*

Gordon himself was a good enough historian to recognise that this march of progress had not been altogether straighforward. The definition of our subject which he bequeathed to the IPHS website is '*planning as a process, with all the quirks of the unexpected en route*'. False hopes and disappointments are a recurring theme in his writing, discouraging any optimism about the making of place or the shaping of space. He regarded the city as a 'tantalizingly indifferent ' mechanism for sustaining social contact or inspiring human aims and ideals (1972 246).

> A long established European idea of urbanism is breaking down... Form is disintegrating and the city is vanishing as a central embodiment of collective art and technics. New systems of communication have exploded the centuries-old association between place and people. Suburban culture is quite different, and a loose metropolitan form of cities will change the urban way of life (1972 241).

As an academic geographer Gordon Cherry arrived at the bleak conclusion that these polyform processes of metropolitan change were uncontrollable, and planners' efforts to shape them doomed to disappointment (1982 149). Perhaps it was his sense of an impasse in contemporary town planning that made him focus his energies so productively on the past.

One point on which the narratives of Giorgio Piccinato and Gordon Cherry coincide is the international impact of Anglo-Saxon planning in the immediate postwar years. It extended even to France, birthplace of *urbanisme*. Raymond Unwin, Lewis Mumford and the Reith Report were guiding influences in the *Nouvel Urbanisme* of the 1950s (Cohen 1996). At the high water mark, the Sorbonne's l'IUUP (Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris) replaced its conventional syllabus of architectural design and urban history with a curriculum of law, social science and management theory. Henri Léfèbvre, who taught social theory at the institute, advised his students that their new role-model was the robot-planner, pulling apart the living tissue of towns so as to recombine the pieces into the synthetic commodity-ensembles required by international neo-capitalism. Out in the *villes nouvelles,* planning's supposed modernisation created landscapes of repression and submission to the 'poisonous flower' of Americanization. The Institute was appropriately punished after the 1968 riots by relocation to the singularly unpleasant concrete campus of Université de Paris XII-Créteil, but Léfèbvre and his fellow-critics of the Anglo-Saxon functionalist model brought about a lasting paradigm shift in the discipline. From 1970 onwards *urbanisme* meant a return to the urban spaces of street and square, with their complexity and richness of memory, and a return to the mother-discipline of architecture.

Similar episodes were taking place all over Europe as students and workers took to the streets to defend 'the street'. An urbanism purged of Anglo-Saxon influences became the universal counter-project to town planning (Ellin 1996). Its object, as defined in the seminal work of Aldo Rossi, was the 'architecture of the city', a *gestalt* of building and urban space shaped by time and infused by collective memory. Urbanism reoccupied a terrain that had been abandoned by modernism, the intermediate scale between the global concerns of the economic planner and the architectural building-as-object (Solà-Morales 1997). Its defining methodology was analysis of plan-form (Moudon 1994), first through the elaborate typomorphological surveys of Saverio Muratori, Gianfranco Caniggia and Carlo Aymonino, then through a widening repertoire of cadastral study, figure-ground mapping and spatial typology to which seminal contributions were made by Jean Castex and Philippe Panerai (*Formes Urbaines* 1977), Robert Krier (*Stadtraum in Theorie und Praxis* 1975), Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter (*Collage City* 1978) and Christopher Alexander (*Pattern Language* 1977*)*.

Searching a postmodern meaning for urbanity and citizenship, its intellectual roots extended into richer territory than Ebenezer Howard's late Victorian temperance utopia: to the idealism of Henri Bergson (Calabi 1996), to Maurice Halbwachs' concept of collective memory (Rossi 1982), and the critical rationalism of Theodor Adorno and the Frankfurt school (Berndt 1967). The movement's engagement with the city was highly practical, emphasizing *project* over *plan.* As Henri Léfèbvre had hoped, urbanism became principal instrument in the European left's efforts to revive the legitimacy of municipal politics and reconnect it to the grassroots of neighbourhood activism. Formative episodes were the battle for La Marolle in Brussels, the mass squatting along the metro line in Amsterdam, the community-based renewal of the historic centre of Bologna, and the anti-freeway coalition of squatters, immigrants and environmentalists who saved the Luisenstadt quarter of Berlin.

The last-mentioned episode led in the 1980s to the new urbanism's equivalent of Letchworth Garden City, a bold demonstration project with international resonance, the international building exhibition IBA-Berlin, (Kleihues and Klotz 1986, Uhlig 1994,

Kündiger 1997). Under the non-Anglo-Saxon motto 'the inner city as a place to live', organisers Josef Paul Kleihues and Hardt-Walter Hämer declared a clean break with postwar traditions of land use zoning, town planning and highway engineering. Aiming to 'rebuild the city of streets', they looked to Franco-Italian morphological methods to put new life into the historic forms of perimeter street-block and courtyard tenement. IBA combined contextual design with grassroots community participation in a process known as *critical reconstruction*. It involved a hundred architects, a third of them non-German - including Carlo Aynonimo, Peter Eisenman, Bernard Huet, Aldo Rossi, Colin Rowe, Alvaro Siza and James Stirling - and intense publicity both for the initial drawings exhibited at the Milan Triennale of 1985 (de Michelis 1985) and for the real buildings which would soon make Berlin 'la Mecque des architectes et gestionnaires de l'urbain' (Bédarida 1985). There was delibately wide stylistic variation amongst the architectural contributions within the common morphological framework, though it did not stretch as far as Rem Koolhaas, who dropped out of IBA-Berlin at an early stage on the grounds that instead of romantically trying to revive its streets the stagnant (pre-unification) city should be decentralising into a picturesque territorial archipelago, 'a system of architectural islands surrounded by forests and lakes' (Koolhaas 1989). That was exactly the modernist future from which most urbanists were agreed they wanted to escape.

I am afraid Rem Koolhaas may have been turned off by the minority of IBA participants more interested in neohistorical revivalism than critical reconstruction. In those turbulent times political radicalism could find itself in bed with strange companions. Thus, Léon Krier's contribution to the fight against the onward march of International style office towers was a cartoon-like propaganda for a 'rational architecture' of pediments, columns and cornice lines (Krier 1978). His slogan *L'avenir à reculons* combined the rhetoric of class struggle with a utopian evocation of preindustrial neighbourhoods (Barey 1980):

> For the first time in the history of architecture since the Industrial Revolution there appears a coherent European project capable of opposing the brutal repercussions of profit - a convergence of thought, a convergence of directions (Culot and Krier 1978)

The convergence in the minds of Maurice Culot and Léon Krier was of a revived urbanism with a return to artisan skills, stone building and the timeless aesthetic of the classical orders (Galle and Thanassekos 1984). With seriously rich patrons and clients replacing Marxist agitprop, architectural ultraconservatives have sustained this imagery through a series of overlapping networks - the Movement for the Reconstruction of the European City, *l'altra Modernità,* Urban Renaissance, the New Architecture Group, Vision for Europe and the Council for European Urbanism. Suggesting that wealthy private clients had a better sense of public preferences than the modernist-dominated establishment, Krier hailed Seaside, Kentlands, Poundbury, Port Grimaud, Potsdam-Drewitz and La Heredia as 'the first concrete demonstrations of a form of modernity that is not alienating, kitsch or aggressive but serene and urbane' (Krier 1998 16).

Classical pastiche may have some merit as a basis for infill schemes in historic towns but is hardly a mode of modernity. The attempt to claim this architecture for the revival of European urbanism has been equally harmful for history and for urbanism, reinforcing mainstream architectural opinion against both. The stronger the link between architecture and urbanism in a handful of traditionalist academies such as San Sebastian, Notre Dâme and Ferrara, the less its influence elsewhere. In the US the impetus of the Congress for New Urbanism has been stalled by its association with neo-trad design and the same is true of the Prince of Wales's modest attempts at institution-building in the UK.

Europe's most ambitious urban design experiment, the morphological reconstruction of post-*Wende* Berlin has been dragged into acrimonious controversy by neohistoricist design requirements. While IBA-Berlin of 1984-7 demonstrated the scope for architectural diversity within the common frame of critical reconstruction, the post-unification *Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin* has, rightly or wrongly, become associated with a reactionary homage to Schinkel: stone facades, uniform cornice heights and vertical windows (Ladd 1997, Neill & Schwedler 2001).

Javier Monclus reminds us that twenty years ago Oriol Bohigas cited Berlin as the clearest exemplar of the new urbanism:

> a reconstruction of the centre starting from the absolute respect for the road and the traditional form of the street (2003 406).

Today, urbanism in Berlin stands compromised by neohistoricist dogma. By common consent the exemplar city for European urbanism today is one as celebrated for its contemporary architecture as for the restored continuities of its streets, plazas, boulevards, parks and promenades: Barcelona.

In Spain the switch from town planning to urbanism was heightened by the death of Franco and the transition to democracy. Town planning had been an intrusive presence during the last decades of the dictatorship. In the opening up of the Spanish economy under the aegis of the World Bank, a speculative building boom had been facilitated by highways construction and a relaxation of building controls. The suburbs of Spanish cities began to take a loose autocentric form, with free-standing blocks in a dusty 'hypertrophy' of public open space (Lopez de Lucio 1995 15). By the time of the first municipal elections in 1979 there was widespread public demand for measures to stop the erosion of urban quarters and *desperdigamiento urbana*, that is, sprawl. Out went Anglo-Saxon planning and in came a physical urbanism - *fisicalismo* - bringing the techniques of Italian and French morphology to repair the public realm, revive the block, reclaim streets and boulevards from *obras publicas*, and restore the dignity of urban greenspace (Gotlieb 1998).

Barcelona was bound to be at the forefront of the new urbanism (Monclus 2003). Historically the city embodies Europe's most extraordinary morphological experiment, the 1859 extension plan of Ildefons Cerdà. Cerdà almost invented the word *urbanismo* - his neologism was *urbanizacion* - and the *Eixample* still provides a point of departure for comparative analysis of urban form (Magrinya & Tarrago 1996). Already before Franco's death, Catalan architects were deploying the rigorous morphological techniques of the Italian school in oppositional community-based 'counterplans'. The counterplan for Poble Nou published by Manuel de Solà-Morales and colleagues in 1974 was one of Europe's earliest systematic exercises in repair of an urban quarter. Solà-Morales recalls the radical impact within Barcelona next year, when Philippe Panerai and Jean Castex published the first edition of *Formes Urbains,* their powerful study of the 'agony' of the European street block (Panerai 1997). Over the next three decades Barcelona's *Laboratorio de Urbanismo* would be an international centre of excellence both for its practical assistance to towns and neighbourhoods wrestling with development pressure, and as the Iberian point of entry for practitioners such as Aldo Rossi, Carlo Aynomino (IUAV, Venice), Philippe Panerai (Versailles) and Josef-Paul Kleihues (IBA-Berlin). And, from 1980 onwards, the municipality of Barcelona would give *urbanismo* the highest quality of political attention under its three Socialist mayors, Narcis Serra, Paqual Maragall and Joan Clos.

Appointed head of urbanism in the restored democratic municipality, Oriol Bohigas's first reaction was an excoriating attack on town planning. His paper 'Barcelona, el urbanismo no es posible' (1981) closely resembled the contemporary

onslaught on British planners by Mrs Thatcher's cabinet minister Michael Heseltine. Bohigas and Heseltine had both made successful careers in commercial publishing and found nothing to admire in multi-volume development plans - our library shelves are still full of them - the cherished output of procedural planning, supposedly comprehensive documents supported by elaborate consultation, chapters of socio-economic analysis and elaborate but senseless phasing provisions. As Bohigas observed, long term planning is a 'sin of pride' permitted only to despots. While planners spent their time on *planeamientos*, their vacuous bureaucratic diversion allowed speculators to plunder historic districts and public works engineers to destroy the public realm in the name of traffic efficiency (Bohigas 1981, 1999).

In his four years as a city functionary, Bohigas aimed to *desplanificar* Barcelona. From Mayors Serra and Maragall he sought and got control over the public works department, releasing the municipal technicians from their technical isolation, and making them partners in the sequence of outstanding boulevard designs and public realm improvements around the city. He brought in the private sector as a development partner in neighbourhood revitalization. Resources and energy were focussed into 150 concrete projects and the general policy framework was left on the shelf. Though Bohigas's full-time commitment to the municipality ended in 1984 the momentum of project focus was brilliantly sustained by Josep Acebillo as Director of Urban Projects 1980-88 and Director of the Municipal Institute for Urbanistic Promotions in 1988-93.

From his reflections upon Barcelona Bohigas has drawn a general proposition that urbanism should be based on *projects* rather than *plans* (Bohigas 1999, Monclus 2003). It so happened that the *Plan General de Madrid* of the 1985 - selfstyled 'spearhead of the new urbanism' - came down equally strongly in favour of an urbanism of *plans* rather than *projects* (Lopez de Lucio 1995, de Terán 1999). Significant issues have been raised in the debate between plan and project, top-down versus bottom up. However, in practice Barcelona and Madrid combined both approaches, as did other Spanish cities (Gotleib 1998, Gaja 1999, Monclus 2003). The common ground was what Manual de Solà Morales (1987) called an *urbanismo urbano* - a morphological urbanism, respectful of embedded memory, combining precise initiatives with a global vision, which in Barcelona centred around reintegration of the suburbs and a bold reorientation to the sea, chrystallised in Olympic projects and their supporting infrastructure.

The city's urbanism has its limitations. Javier Monclús (2003) reminds us to see the design achievements of the historic centre and *ensanches* of the core city against their wider setting of an unsustainable and apparently uncontrollable sprawl. Here as elsewhere in Europe the most urgent tasks for spatial planning are on the metropolitan scale. Rem Koolhaas (1995) would have us think that the one annuls the other, and that the face of the future is to be found in the sprawl, not the consolidated city. I prefer to think the reverse is true. The multiple challenges of diffuse metropolitan growth can only be tackled through consolidation, place-making, the creation of new centralities. The solution to the sprawl is to be found in the centre. American New Urbanism, by the way, sees this well (Leccese and McCormick 2000, Hebbert 2003).

What CNU doesn't always see is how to encourage architectural creatives back into the urban canyon. Barcelona's most precious contribution to urbanism is less the primacy of projects over plans than the dialogue between urbanism and contemporary architecture. The city has reinstated the primacy of the street, the square, the park and the public ream without any compromise to its century-long affair with modernism. The European school of neotraditionalism has never gained a foothold in Barcelona (Monclus 2003 404). Again, we should acknowledge the seminal role of Oriol Bohigas, which extends far beyond his two stints with the municipality as officer and elected politician. In 1981, the year he took responsibility for urbanism in Barcelona, his practice MBM had taken first prize in IBA-Berlin for their project for a city block in Friedrichstadt. As an architectural historian and commercial practitioner, and head of the Escola Tècnica Superior d'Arquitectura, he took a very different architectural stance from romantic non-practitioners such as Léon Krier and Maurice Culot. One constant throughout his long career has been the desire to reconcile sense of place with modernity. The enigmatic title 'Grup R' which he adopted with Josep Martorell in 1951 stood equally for regionalism, for realism and for rationalism. While staunchly upholding the principle of morphological continuity, Bohigas has not accepted architectural pastiche - in his words, 'historical stylised buildings do not make a historical city' (Drew 1993, Frampton 1996). Barcelona's street-based urbanism may be called 'traditional', but it never seeks to annul the formal and typological conquests of the modern movement :

> This is surely one of the most interesting challenges of the new urban design. It is not trying to reorganise urban space with residential typologies borrowed from the Baroque or Neo-classicism, but to give them enough autonomy and articulation to allow cohabitation with the constructional formulae already endorsed by the modern movement. (Bohigas 1987 73)

Bohigas has continued to wrestle with these challenges. His manifesto *Ten Points on an Urbanistic Methodology* (1999) calls equally for architecture that innovates and challenges custom, and for an urbanism that sustains the shared urban language of street, square, block and park. We can see the working of that dialectic of received typology and inventive form in the Nova Icaria Olympic Village, master-planned by MBMP, which the Royal Institute of British Architects singled out in 1999 when, for the first time since 1848, it awarded the Royal Gold Medal not to an individual but 'to Barcelona, its government, its citizens and design professionals of all sorts' (*JA* 1999).

Josep Acebillo and Oriol Bohigas travelled to London in 1999 with the three Socialist mayors to receive the RIBA Gold Medal. Presenting the five men at the award ceremony, Robert Maxwell drew a contrast which I think you will recognise :

> City planning is a modern subject, about as old as modern architecture, almost as old as Le Corbusier's concept of *urbanism*. But does this subject really exist ?... City planning was meant to be a science, but standards change as fast as the practical measures taken, so that evaluation becomes difficult. Analytical concepts may not last for very long, statistics have little effect on appearances... Attempts to reshape existing cities like our own Birmingham, using analytical concepts like *motorway box, neighbourhood unit, tower block* have not been very successful. Appearances have been against them... Could it be that city planners need to be more sensitive to what buildings can do to shape the city and give it meaning ? Because this seems to have been the crucial idea that has resulted in the conspicuous success of Barcelona. (*JA* 1999)

Maxwell went on to acknowledge Aldo Rossi as the inspirational text. Scientific town planning had failed. An urbanism based upon *Architecture of the City* succeeds.

So we come full circle to Giorgio Piccinato and the eclipse of the Anglo-Saxon concept of planning as 'process'. The full significance of the Gold Medal became apparent when Pasquall Maragall came back to London to help launch the report of an Urban Task Force chaired by the architect Richard Rogers, *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (1999, Hebbert 2001). Maragall's radiant optimism about the role of the cities

as centres of creativity and exchange proved infectious for Anglo-Saxons. With Birmingham in the lead, British cities have been rediscovering the power of a morphological strategy for the public realm. National policy guidance and frameworks began to speak the language of European urbanism, albeit with an American New Urbanist accent. The Royal Town Planning Institute redefined its professional mission, giving less emphasis to procedure and process, and more to *fisicalismo* - the mediation of space, the making of place. Reducing postgraduate programmes to a mere twelve months it tacitly abandoned that historic claim of equivalent professional standing to the architect and the engineer.

This has been a paper about a struggle between two paradigms. Paradoxically for a memorial lecture its outcome is the triumphant ascendancy of the urbanism paradigm represented by Barcelona over the model of planning to which Gordon Cherry committed his life-work. This may seem strange homage, but to quote again from his words on the IPHS home page, the history of planning is a journey with all the quirks of the unexpected en route. He might have been surprised at the turn in our discipline, but he would have been proud of Birmingham's leading role. He would be delighted at the geographical range and quality of scholarship assembled at the conference. Who could ask for a better legacy than IPHS2004 Barcelona ?

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Born in Glasgow, Michael read modern history at Oxford, prepared his PhD in geography under the supervision of Peter Hall in at the University of Reading, and taught town planning history for six years at Oxford Polytechnic. His academic career has always combined the three disciplines of history, geography and town planning. He was a founder member of the Planning History Group and served on its council through the successful mutation into an International Planning History Society. In 1985-7 he edited the *Planning History Bulletin.* He is also active in the Regional Studies Association and for many years chaired the management committee of its journal *Regional Studies.*

His research interests revolve around the themes of regionalism and urbanism. Contributions on regionalism and metropolitan government include 'Transpennine : imaginative geographies of an interregional corridor' (*Transactions of the IBG* 2000), 'Greater Manchester – 'up and going' ?' (*Policy & Politics* 2000), *Dismantlers : The London Residuary Body 1986-1992* (with Anne Edge 1994), *Unfamiliar Territory : the reshaping of European Geography* (edited with Jens-Christian Hansen 1990), *British Regionalism 1900-2000* (edited with Patricia Garside, 1989), *The London Government Handbook* (with Tony Travers 1988), "Regionalism - a Reform Concept and its Spanish Application" (*Government and Policy* 1987) "Regional Autonomy and Economic Action in the First Catalan Government 1980-1984" (*Regional Studies* 1985), and "Regionalism versus Realism" (*Society and Space* 1984).

Work on urbanism includes "New Urbanism - the Movement in Context" (*Built Environment* 2003), "A City in Good Shape : town planning and public health" (*Town Planning Review* 1999), *London: More by Fortune than Design* (1998), 'The City of London Walkway Experiment' (*Journal of the American Planning Association* 1993), 'Town Planner as Social Scientist' (*Society and Space* 1992), *How Tokyo Grows - planning and land development on the metropolitan fringe* (with Norihiro Nakai 1988), and several book chapters on aspects of the history of the garden cities movement, London government, Spanish regionalism, Japanese planning and other topics.

All paper proposals had been refereed by the scientific committee

Full papers are included in the Conference CD and also at the website www.iphs2004.com

Preservation of Historic Living Environment and Citizen Participation

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The City of Tochigi and the City of Kawagoe are the cities that both promote a community planning with preservation of historic landscapes and buildings, especially warehouses called "Kura." Including these two cities, Japanese cities that preserve their historic properties often start the preservation programs and continue them as a part of their community planning. However, while consulting documents on community planning in the historic living environment, I have noticed that people tend to put too much attention to the preservation programs, forgetting that the preservation is only one part of their community planning. It may be because some of those areas are designated as preservation areas by the government. However, if people preserve old historic properties forgetting that those areas are primarily the places where people live, the harder they try, the more difficulties they will face in their daily life.

In this study, I have surveyed the City of Tochigi and the City of Kawagoe where a large number of historic landscapes and buildings are preserved as important assets for their community planning. The purpose of this study is to examine residents' views and attitudes toward preservation in the historic living environment and to consider possible solutions to the problems and conflicts that occur between preservation and community planning in that environment.

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Creative culture and Urban Planning: The Bandung experience

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There is greater understanding on the cultural economy of cities and its role in the development of planning policy. Discourses on the nexus between creative culture and urban planning have been enriched with recent publications such as *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Florida, 2002) and *The Creative City* (Landry, 2000). What remains lacking are critical examinations of these planning models and empirical knowledge from different cultural contexts, particularly of cities in developing countries.

As Indonesia's fourth largest city with a population of approximately 2 million in 2000, Bandung has a long history of local culture where a society involved in creative-based activities and an abundance of educational institutions have become its greatest asset. With the decline in its textile manufacturing, Bandung began developing high-technology industries (aircraft and microelectronics) and more recently, information technology related facilities. Home to nearly fifty universities including Institute of Technology Bandung - the country's most prestigious school for engineering, architecture and fine arts - it exemplifies the role of universities in providing human resources for various creative-based and IT-related industries in the region. The city has over 15 major art galleries and numerous independent studios for multimedia, animation and music recording. In essence, Bandung has the potential to play a major role in the cultural-symbolic economy, towards the true objectives of a 'service city'. The combination of creative-based cultural industries with information technology provides synergies that require the support of strategic urban planning policies.

With this framework of understanding, this paper outlines the planning history of Bandung and development of its cultural industries. It maps the localities of creative activities and provides imagery on the spatial qualities of their settings. The paper attempts to explore to what extent these creative-based cultural industries generate urban development. Findings from this preliminary study, as part of a larger continuing research project, aim to inform future planning policies for Bandung and contribute to the discourse on planning and the cultural economy of cities.

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Fatehpur Sikri: A Utopian Approach to Urban Planning and Design

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The medieval city of Fatehpur Sikri is a world heritage monument in India, visited by many domestic as well as international tourists. Located about 120 miles south of New Delhi, the capital of India, Fathepur Sikri is a city frozen in time: a place where Mughal architecture, urban planning, and urban design principles can be seen, intact, as they were in the sixteenth century. The city's imperial complex serves as its focal point. Its buildings are linked together through a series of interlocking courtyards set to the cardinal points. The locations of the buildings in the courtyards allow them to be viewed from a number of different vantage points, creating a dynamic visual experience.

Fathepur Sikri was commissioned in the sixteenth century by the Mughal emperor Akbar to serve as the capital of his empire. Akbar was a revolutionary man of the sixteenth century. He established a new social order based on equality in an attempt to foster unity and social harmony among his subjects. The physical structure of Fathepur Sikri reflects Akbar's new order. The buildings of Fathepur Sikri reflect the unique and secular approach of Emperor Akbar, who blended together the varied religious and cultural traditions of his empire. Akbar founded his own religion, *Din-i-ilahi*, which was a synthesis of the existing religions of the era. He made powerful social and political statements through his architecture and urban design. Akbar's utopian concepts may inspire educators, city planners and urban designers to develop a social framework for a new architecture and urban design which may bring stability and social harmony to our society. Urban planning and design based on a social theory responding to our present context may provide successful solutions for tomorrow. This paper has explored Fathepur Sikri in terms of its social theory and urban tourism issues. The urban tourism issues were investigated through site interviews and inspections.

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Concepts of Culture in Society and Planning in 20th to 21st Century Australia and Britain

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This paper sketches concepts of culture as they have evolved in Australia and Britain from the beginning of the twentieth century up until the current day and examines the impact of these concepts on planning.

In overall terms, the first half of the twentieth century saw the dominance of the concept of high culture in society. Planning concepts of culture reflected this. With the advent of the 1970s a watershed occurred. A more democratic concept of culture broke through that emphasised culture seen in Raymond Williams' terms as 'a whole way of life, material, intellectual, spiritual'. This emergent concept influenced society and planning increasingly and now, understood as culturalism, dominates planning discourse. An anthropological perspective to the study of culture was also propounded in the 1970s, stressing the importance of systems of meaning and the symbolic. The practical and normative implications of both these concepts for planning are being slowly realised as the de-cultured approach of planning modernism fails the test of relevance in the face of the expansion of the cultural economy and the diversity of postmodern and postcolonial communities. Added to this, is the fashion in which culture now operates and expands through itself in a postmodern age.

In conclusion, it is suggested that perhaps, as in the 1970s, societies stand on the cusp of significant changes that may lead, in an Age of Interpretation, to a broader and more thoroughgoing integration of culture in planning.

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Cultural heritage as an agent in contemporary urban redevelopment: an Auckland city case study

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The paper presents a case study of the Britomart Precinct project, involving the comprehensive redevelopment of three urban blocks and associated streets at a key location within the Auckland Central Business District. The area includes a significant number of heritage-listed Victorian era commercial and warehouse buildings that collectively constitute two 'heritage precincts'.

The paper traces the development history of the area, including land uses and street patterns as these were shaped by the strategic location of the area between the commercial heart of the city and its port. Subsequent changes to this historic urban pattern are outlined, including the introduction of a bus terminal and a multi-level parking building in the mid twentieth century, with consequent interruption to the historic city grid.

Two different redevelopment proposals for the area are then compared – the first (abandoned) proposal erasing almost all traces of the earlier urban environment, and the second (implemented) proposal based upon re-establishing the historic street network and retaining existing heritage buildings as an integral part of a revitalized urban precinct. Key features of the adopted urban masterplan are outlined. Attitudes towards the cultural heritage of the area, as exemplified in these two very different proposals, are then compared.

The paper concludes by comparing the shifts in planning strategy represented by the 1994 and 2000 Britomart precinct proposals with similar recorded shifts in the case of the Kings Cross urban renewal project, and with features of planning strategy for the proposed redevelopment of London's Leaside Arc.

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Cultural heritage preservation: creating a sense of community

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Cultural heritage preservation is a concept that allows a community to take custodianship of its culture to reestablish its identity and create a base to encourage economic benefits through adaptive reuse or cultural tourism. Therefore, it is a concept that needs to be adopted by both the public and private sector and the community. This paper will focus on a model where cultural heritage preservation is used as a tool to improve the quality of life in neighborhoods.

Generally, the vernacular buildings in need of preservation are located in low-income neighborhoods where residents either do not have the financial means to maintain buildings or they have left them for more desirable neighborhoods. This project has been developed as a tool to record and archive the heritage that might disappear otherwise. The main goal of the project is to envision that there are social, and economic benefits of being custodians of community's rich culture. The pride gained as a result of preserving cultural history can stimulate economic activity and consequently create attractive neighborhoods where people want to live rather than leave.

The project offers a set of tools for residents to use in order to see their neighborhoods through a critical eye, to archive and market their heritage for economic benefits. The first set of tools involves hiring community apprentices to "mine" the rich memories of the residents who understand their cultural heritage. The second set of tools are school curriculums, exhibits, and brochures, which can be used to convince developers and investors to value the assets of these neighborhoods. The third set of tools involves archiving community heritage, developing local cultural museums and audio tours, which are used for economic benefits such as tourism and adaptive reuse.

The originality of this model is that it is conceptual and applicable globally whether in a developed or a developing country. The need for such a model could occur because of poverty in one case and disinvestments in another.

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Sustaining an indiscrete cultural landscape: A case study of the South Brisbane peninsula

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The aim of this paper is to expand heritage conservation philosophy and practice, particularly as applied to inner urban areas experiencing rapid change. It is hoped that the paper will contribute towards the development of a cultural landscape orientation in planning, and thereby towards 'sustainable conservation.' The paper focuses on the Australian urban conservation context, using the established conservation practice guides as its starting point. These guides, *The Burra Charter* (Marquis-Kyle and Walker, 1992) and *The Conservation Plan* (Kerr, 2002) provide rigorous and useful definitions of 'cultural significance' and 'conservation'. It is argued that further development of cultural landscape theory and practice will assist the achievement of more effective urban conservation.

Heritage conservation practice in Australia has, to date, concentrated on the identification and conservation of discrete elements of the humanised environment: heritage 'places', 'items', sites, buildings, and Conservation Areas. These discrete items and places can usually be defined with considerable precision, both spatially and in terms of their heritage values. The cultural significance of many of our everyday cultural landscapes, however, remains much less easily defined. This paper pursues these issues by examining the South Brisbane peninsula, one of Queensland's oldest and densest inner urban areas. This area of physical, socioeconomic and cultural diversity demonstrates Brisbane's history of development from colonial outpost to postmodern capital city. The concept of cultural landscape enables us to balance the traditional focus on discrete heritage elements with a broader concern with the diversity and dynamism of the wider urban environment. The management of such indiscrete cultural landscapes raises challenges for contemporary urban conservation planning, beyond the limitations of established, discrete, heritage conservation systems.

The development of theory and practice in cultural landscape offers potential for a broader understanding of heritage and its relationship to contemporary urban life. Cultural landscapes cannot be managed by the discrete mechanisms of heritage conservation legislation alone. Cultural landscapes are diverse, contested and continuously being made and remade as circumstances and values change. Every land management decision is a cultural landscape making decision, and so cultural landscape planning requires engagement in the full range of 'everyday' urban management legislation and practice.

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The city as a collective work of art: plans by the École des Beaux Arts for four "echange cities"

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Tony Garnier's cité industrielle and the application of its main ideas to the city of Lyons (1904-1933), together with plans by Léon Jaussely for Barcelona (1904-1907), Ernest Hébrard for Thessaloniki (1919), Henri Prost with the Danger brothers for Izmir (1924-1926) can be considered a test for the "French school of formal urbanism" (Gaston Bardet's opinion expressed in *Le Nouvel Urbanisme,* Paris 1948) who undertook most town-planning works during the inter-war period.

The above plans are based on a knowledge of the city's supporting structure formed over the long period and direct their attention on the distinguishing features of each of these "exchange cities": ports for long distance business, social and cultural relations, in a close contact with dynamic hinterlands, so much so a double nature of the settlement (city and country, center and periphery) and frequent combination of different activities (housing, work, leisure) are real resources for overall change.

Our paper will discuss how Tony Garnier, Léon Jaussely, Ernest Hébrard and Henri Prost – called "les Cinq" (with Eugène Bigot) by Gaston Bardet – approached, case by case, the culture of the city, far from just putting into practice ready-made ideas elaborated at Villa Medici. We will try to show how they envisaged future development in accordance to the city's past and "physiology", and how they experimented an urban composition in which architecture took a leading part.

Much can be learned from a close study of these plans to approch current debate: the question can be expressed as "designing with the aid of history", not only a source of inspiration, but also as a knowledge of structural factors related to the architecture of a city.

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Multiple exposures. European Historical Centers and recent immigration fluxes

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Since last 15 years many non-european people arrives in the old continent looking for work and safe life conditions. They come from far, or very far, countries with completely different life systems and spacial criteria.

A huge number decide to settle their communities in historical centers.

This choice is basically due to the bad phisical conditions of many old districts –with low rentals and permanent "danger" of rehabilitation programs- but also to the tendence of local residents to move to the neighborhood searching more modern comfortable areas excaping the limitations imposed in order to preserve the artistic image and the touristic appeal of the centers.

Immigrants, depending on economics and logistic chances of intervention on the constructions, try to build their environment inside the existing town. The result is a mix of old european scenarios with unusual ways to live (sometimes to modify) these spaces. Moreover, immigrants give their own city-interpretation, re-discovering ancient behaviours and meanings under new points of view (street life, holy images in buildings), and/or trying to put their character in typical european places (commercial activities, religious temples).

Lecture will explore the basic aspects of this combination of cultures and spaces and will analize the effects of immigration in historical centers of three towns. First is Barcelona, where in Santa Caterina district the problems related with Morocco and Santo Domingo communities have had an influence on the city council rehabilitation projects. Second will be Florence: in Santa Maria Novella district Somalies use inner courts and the main monumental square as public space and have built an indipendent commercial and communication net. Finally, in Prato, Italy, where Pakistani, Chinese, Indian and Maghreb communities have found a pacific co-existence in the narrow streets of the centre behind the catedral.

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The new town within the old town
An intellectual journey on town planning's context of historic towns

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This writing deals with the progressive discovery of an intervention's methodology within historical centres, from the experience acquired on plans and projects, from a lived intellectual atmosphere, as well as from the readings and travels. It is about an individual reasoning, developed in the context or the "dialogued discontinuity" of architects working on this subject, which may be explained from the metaphor of Europe.

From an aggregative-classificatory orientation's tradition, a whole formed by unitary pieces interrelated by public space, and the excessive prevalence of simple visuality, made by axes and textures, the new methodology of the decomposition of the architectonic objects, and their links to diverse concepts, references or conceptual angulations prevails.

It discovers a new "project's technical space", different from the superposition of alignment's geometries or classifications and aggregations of types and zones. An "intermediate space" within the analytical cartography is set.

Analytical cartography, a technique of town planning analysis which has got a lot of diffusion from times of typology-morphology, far from the sterile streets' spider-webs and plots, turns into the space of reference of a range of compositional rules of different thematics and scales.

From those analytical works a new type of strategies or narrative relations is developed; in which some traditional concepts like type or diagram acquire a new relief. Type becomes from the minimum unity of the composition to the generating idea. Diagram becomes from the unitary reference of all variables to the expression of one of the many concepts and nuances that take part in the project.

As technique, this methodology starts a new relationship with human troubles. Collective life, quotidianity, arts, construction and techniques become protagonists, without great theories' mediation. Here is where the metaphor of Europe, or dialogued discontinuity, whereupon begins this article, acquires all its meaning.

Far from the heavy deductive reasonings, which are hardly a good starting point in the project, new links between analysis and architecture are opened. Creative tension between analysis and project becomes a promising opening of the fields of the possible.

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The projects for the area next to St Paul's cathedral: conservation and planning

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St Paul's cathedral, after the Great Fire of 1666 (which devastated two thirds of London) and its rebuilding by Sir Christopher Wren, became the symbol of the city and of the nation: the 8th wonder of its time and the first big domed cathedral of Britain.

Which are the conservation measures undertaken for such an outstanding monument and even more specifically, which are the conservation and planning policies regarding its surroundings?

The early 20th century projects, the 1935 Parliament Act, known as St. Paul's Act, the protective regulations regarding the cathedral's strategic views and the depth of the basements of the buildings close to the cathedral are among the most explicit protective measures. However, after the II WW bombing and devastation of the area around it, the reconstruction projects, as well as the redevelopment projects of the 1990's for the same area – known as Paternoster Square – made evident, in a striking way, different and contrasting approaches of tackling issues of planning and conservation.

More specifically, the alternative projects presented both in 1944-47 (as well as the scheme implemented for the area surrounding the cathedral in 1961-67) and in 1987-90 posed questions of architectural style, of compatibility between old and new structures and functions, of urban morphological criteria in understanding, interpreting and valorising heritage monuments and their context while promoting new development, of public participation or of political patronage; in one word posed the question of planning and conservation. How these issues were approached, evaluated and tackled by the different projects (in two quite distinct time-periods and for such a sensible, culturally and symbolically speaking area) is the core of this paper.

Furthermore, the development of the area next to St. Paul's cathedral is even more revealing, as a case study, if one considers that it functioned as a testing ground of how London, if not Britain, should look like and how similar questions regarding transformation and preservation should be tackled. In fact, the debate, the ideas and the projects presented were representative of the debate around the country and were actually leading it, as the case – just to mention one – of the redevelopment in 1963-73 of Eldon Square in Newcastle upon Tyne, in northern England, reveals.

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To conserve a unique town-planning heritage example of Kyrgyzstan by legal zoning means (from old rules to new ones)

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The city of Karakol was established by Russian military engineers in 1869 after an annexation of the East Kyrgyzstan to the Russian Empire. The city has received regular rectangular planning system that becomes the basis of future city development.

Now this city may be considered as a unique sample of Russian town-planning heritage in the Central Asia. Among basic merits of its historical environment are:

- submission of "ordinary" development to a priority of public spaces and the town-planning form;
- variety and individuality of the each house's shape under use of a traditional Russian architectural decorative elements common for the whole city;
- subordination of historical development to a relief, its coordination with views of mountains surrounding city;
- visible evidences of the former practice of the townspeople's daily care on their nearest environment (planting of poplars along streets, carved wooden porches and fencings in a zone between private and public space, etc.).

However during later Soviet and especially post-Soviet time numerous examples of the town historical environment's destruction are observed, which conduct to irreversible losses of a local identity.

Besides the city lives without the actual town-planning documentation and develops spontaneously almost three decades.

In this situation the idea has appeared to use zoning means for conservation of a town-planning and architectural heritage.

The concept of legal zoning is taken as a basis of the new system of the town-planning management, which is carried out in frameworks of "The Kyrgyzstan Land Reform Project", an international technical assistance project, sponsored by the United States Agency for International Development. The urban territory is divided into zones with the various lists of permitted functional usage according to the city development' history and natural logic of urban functioning. Real estate's owners have the right to change sorts of usage of their property within the list's framework without special administrative permissions.

It is offered to establish two special legal zones (the first one in the structure of city center and the second one inside an inhabited belt) with regulations of realty use that answer tasks of a heritage conservation and to create the Zone of Monuments Protection inside the united border of two "historical" legal zones where the majority of listed monuments concentrated. It is a way to connect closely the functional, architectural and historical requirements to the old town environment's conservation.

These proposals are included in the first version of a draft of the Rules first redaction of "The Land Use and Development Rules in Karakol" developed by this report author's consultation in 2003. During discussions of "The Rules" the public attention will draw to problems of city heritage's conservation. After their acceptance as the local legal and standard act a process of historical environment's destruction should be suspended.

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Historic Town Centres: a comparative study of cultural significance and conservation management

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It is now over 30 years since the adoption of the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* and an opportune time to consider recent developments in the World Heritage nomination and listing process. Of particular interest is the capacity of the World Heritage List to protect both the physical fabric of historic urban centres and their continuance as 'living' cultural entities. This interest is based on a growing recognition that heritage significance is founded on a complex balance of economic, environmental and social factors rather than the historic attributes of built fabric and urban morphology alone. Central to this debate is the concept of sustainable development and more specifically, sustainable tourism. This paper considers current literature on sustainable development in relation to the nomination and management of World Heritage Listed historic urban centres. The concept of 'evolutionary conservation' is explored through an analysis of five recently successful World Heritage Nominations for the historic towns of Hoi An (Vietnam), Karlskrona (Sweden), Lamu (Kenya), Lunenburg (Canada), and Vigan (Philippines). Each nomination document is analysed in terms of its justification for inscription, and the type of framework it establishes for the management of the property. Nominations are then assessed in terms of the capacity for long-term sustainable development to occur within each management framework. The paper uses discourse analysis and logical argument to suggest that a sustainable approach to the management of heritage places should be central to the nomination and ongoing World Heritage management process.

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Bazaar and its role in the development of Iranian traditional cities

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The study of urban history reveals that a variety of factors have influenced the development of ancient cities. Among the most important factors, economy has always occupied an important role in development of cities and in fact, survival of a city was highly dependent on its economic power. It has also played an important role in development process of Iranian cities, and among the diverse public spaces allocated to economic and commercial activities, bazaar is considered to be the most important one. Bazaar, a traditional public space in Iranian cities, has always accommodated a great section of commercial activities in urban life. The history of bazaar and urbanization are interrelated to each other and in fact, no city can be imagined without bazaar. The word "Bazaar" is an old Persian word which has become an integrated part of Iranian culture.

Bazaar of Iranian ancient city is comparable to plaza in cities of pre-industrial Europe. In traditional city of Iran, bazaar was also a place for social, political, cultural and civic activities of people. In this regard, it was similar to forum and agora in ancient Roman and Greek cities. Besides the mentioned similarities of bazaar to plaza, forum and agora, they had some substantial differences too. The public spaces of Europe, Rome and Greece were always constructed as open and outdoor places, but bazaar of ancient Iranian cities were all covered.

Architectural and spatial nature of bazaar was highly dependent on climate, culture and economic power of the city. It was undoubtedly the most prestigious and influential place in the urban life of people and in fact, those who worked in bazaar were considered to be among the high-ranking members of the society.

In other words, bazaar was the heart of the city and most of the important and prestigious buildings as well as governmental ones were always constructed adjacent to it. In addition, bazaar has always defined the major street of urban fabric, connecting two major entrances of the city.

Bazaars of different cities were not equally important. Some of the cities which were located alongside trading routes (like Silk Way) had a greater bazaar, and the others which were distant from these routes had a weaker bazaar. As a consequence, different aspects of bazaar have always had a very significant impact on urban structure and townscape.

In this paper, the intention is to explore the architectural typology of bazaar as an urban space and to analyze the historical interactions between formal, spatial and social qualities of it and planning ideals and the urban structure and development of diverse Iranian cities.

A New Strategy of Preservation of The Ideal Renaissance Town of Zamosc in Poland

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The paper will present and discuss a new strategy proposed for the preservation of Zamosc.

Zamosc with its 50 thousand inhabitants is a rather small, provincial town of Poland, situated far from the main trading roads in the southeastern part of the country, near to the Polish-Ukrainian border. Despite its size and remote location the Polish and international specialists have recognized the unique value of its Old Town, as a rare example of the Renaissance ideal town, and in 2002 Zamosc was listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The Renaissance Old Town was developed mainly in the 16th and 17th centuries and left almost untouched in its historic form till today. Consequently, plans to develop it are drawing exceptional attention from the Polish urban planners and conservationists

A new strategy to preserve and maintain the cultural heritage of Zamosc is based on the principle that the Old Town should be a source of funds for the town, rather than of consuming its budget. Some basic principles of the strategy for the Old Town of Zamosc.

The strategy is a continuation of the earlier, recently executed plan allowed by easing of the earlier conservationist restrictions. For instance, new attractive building lots have been provided in a historic core with the aim of attracting the developers to invest in the Old Town. The lots were not built on since the erection of the town in the 16th century. These building lots are to be filled in with small hotels and school edifices, preferably in forms that will blend well with the historic style. There are already some positive signs showing that the strategy of the more flexible conservationist approach to the protection of the Old Town of Zamosc was well chosen.

The authorities of the town of Zamosdc hope that the new functions will generate income that will fund improvements to the existing condition of its historic structure.

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Heritage networks and the structuring of New Peripheries

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It is quite usual the presence of wide industrial and residential *continua* in periphery of our cities. Their continuity with city center is currently generating new morphological situations which would be useful to know better, with the aim of guiding their transformation into solidary systems. The present work analyses the formative process of an industrial corridor of a Barcelona metropolitan area. Its evolution towards morphological expressions of some quality - as a result of considering rural patrimony from a global vision - is assessed. Everything of it can be interesting as a model for future transformation of other suburban *continua*. This model underlines the necessity of patrimonial networks due to their capacity of generating guidelines of order and taking part of citizens.

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Living in an old place: the reasons, the passions, the contradictions: a study about the contemporary living in an historic preservation area – Pole Santo Antonio, São Luís do Maranhão, Brazil

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This paper seeks to understand the contemporary living in a historic preservation area, Pole Santo Antonio, São Luís, Maranhão, Brazil,[1] by attempting to apprehend how the dwellers' social representations influence their decisions about where to live and about their way of life. As the theoretical and methodological support, Serge Moscovici's social representations theory emphasizes the common sense and orients the methodology that defines the dwellers as agents and authors of their own narratives of life in order to answer the following questions, "What does it signify, for the people who live there, the inclusion of their own property in a historic preservation area?", "What do the residents think about living in this old historic place?", and, " Which consequences and influences can be perceived in their way of live?".

The resident's narratives revealed that there are not only one but several city centers. There is the city center that still lives in the past. There is the one that is losing little by little the battle against the new spaces. There is the Historic City Center, the World Heritage City Center. But there is also the city center that lives intensely a communitarian life, the one that is still a place to live. This continuance of the community life shows the quality of that urban space and its architecture. Yet, that continuance is caused, in part, by the fact that that area was declared a historic preservation area. Nevertheless, to the dwellers, the heritage is not considered part of their lives, even though they agree with the preservation in general. How to revert this distance?

Considering that historic preservation theories are part of a scientific universe, which representations were transmitted beyond the limits of that universe? Therefore, reflecting about the dwellers' social representations lead us to think about our own representations as urban planners and preservationists. The very representations that have been guiding the interventions in urban space, and that, for many times, have not considered the old places' capacity of continuing to be a good place to live, completely integrated with the city life. In other words, lead us to think that cities are a place for people, and that it is important to know what they want and how they want the place where they live.

1 São Luís was included in the UNESCO World Heritage list since 1997.

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Urban Regeneration in South Dallas: South Side on Lamar

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Located in the Sunbelt of the United State, these last decades the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex has experienced a mushrooming growth cycle. Between 1970 and 1990, it grew by more than one-third, consuming 372.4 square miles of open land and was ranked as the seventh most sprawling metropolitan area in the United States. Simultaneously, like many European and North American cities, South Dallas was affected by deindustrialization and economic decline. The Cedars, a neighborhood adjacent to the central business district had become a nightmarish island of desolation and despair, victim of racial and class discrimination.

Until the late 1860s, South Dallas was populated by small houses and mills. Then, the creation of the City Park and streetcar lines brought an increase in property values and made the area more desirable to Dallas wealthy residents. By the 1880s, farmland was developed and large Victorian mansions became part of the Cedars' landscape. By the turn of the century, more than 90 percent of the Jews in Dallas were settled in the Cedars. However, the era of the Cedars acting as the most affluent neighborhood in Dallas did not last long. Industrial development in the area and the need for cheap labor led to the creation of slums for African Americans. By the 1920s, only a few wealthy families continued to live in the grand Victorian mansions of South Dallas. The construction of the interstate highway system in the 1960s furthered the "ghettoization" and decline of the neighborhood by establishing a physical barrier with downtown that isolated the poor and minorities. The de-industrialization trends of the end of the 20th century furthered that trend and affected dramatically the Cedars and its population.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of 21st century, the future looks more promising, thanks to the implementation of the Dallas Area Rapid Transit (DART) light-rail system and the desire of a real-estate developer fed up by the poor quality of most contemporary developments "to do it right." The opening of the DART Cedars station, the preservation and conversion of the old Sears Dallas Catalog Merchandise Center into the South Side on Lamar residential complex by Matthews Southwest—a mixed-use, mixed-income, racially and ethnically diverse project—and the opening of the new Dallas Police Headquarters are fostering the revitalization of South Dallas through a creative and ingenious public-private partnership that has the potential to become a landmark in the history of urban planning.

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Governing cultural industries: the case of the design sector in Montreal, Canada

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Cultural industries have assumed an increased importance to economic development, and given their localization in large metropolitan areas, there has been heightened policy interest in urban creativity. However, initiatives have often focussed on the establishment of art museums and theatres as a means of stimulating tourism and /or urban renewal, rather than viewing cultural industries as an end in themselves. Our paper considers the design sector in Montreal, Canada, including graphic, industrial, fashion and interior design. We analyze the relevant institutions and levels of government that come into play in regulating this sector. Animated by a concern with the contradictions inherent in the cultural economy, we suggest some of the complexities of intergovernmental relations. For example, local, provincial and national governments are often characterized by a strong functional division of labour, whereby design falls within the purview of both Industry and Culture/Heritage departments. This tension is manifest in conflicting discourses concerning design and culture, and raises questions of how urban economic development should proceed. We argue that a new conceptualization of cultural industries is needed- one which recognizes their irreducibly hybrid nature.

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The designer in the city and the city in the designer

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The symbolic attributes of commodities as a basis for economic competitiveness in late capitalism has been a focus of analysis in the bourgeoning literature on cultural industries. This literature, and most notably the works of Allen Scott, contends that aesthetic features can serve as a source of distinctiveness in the marketplace when most key innovations have become ubiquitous and that those regions and places that are best situated to exploit such attributes will come to define the leading edge of advanced capitalism. The system whereby symbolic attributes evolve, however, remains a veritable black box. Few studies have considered the process by which these attributes are produced, reproduced and commodified, i.e. deconstructing how 'culture' is produced.

In this paper, I examine the production of New York City fashion. I document the innovation system for the high-end women's wear industry and look at the ways in which fashion designers exploit local artistic and commercial institutions in the city for the conception, physical design and marketing of their products. A detailed examination of the system by which designers create distinctive commodities sheds light on the complex interplay between products and place. It reveals how a fashion design infrastructure in New York City actually shapes, conditions and gives meaning to the seemingly idiosyncratic act of producing 'culture'.

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Preserving Diversity in Rapidly Expanding Cities via the Planning System

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Although traditionally accessible to many different groups of people, increased demand for areas close to cultural activities and employment nodes is contributing to Australia's capital cities fast becoming the dominion of higher socio-economic status groups. One of the effects of this is that lower income groups are being displaced to outer areas, and metropolitan areas are increasingly becoming socially polarised.

While it is recognised that investment in inner city areas is vitally important for renewal and for delivering a high quality urban culture and form, which then contributes to generating growth and innovation, policy and planning mechanisms should also be employed to deal with some of the social dislocation issues that these trends reinforce.

Planning mechanisms, such as inclusionary zoning, can assist to some degree in preserving the diversity of inner areas while not creating an unnecessarily large burden on those contributing to the urban form.

However, the application of the inclusionary technique requires careful consideration of the extent to which social and cultural matters should be brought into the planning realm. This paper also explores the boundaries of the planning mechanisms and the need for co-existent non-discrimatory cultural policies at higher levels of governance.

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Contemporary Urban Spectacularization

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The notion of city is in crisis. This crisis becomes visible mainly through the idea of the non-city. Cities tend to be seen as a frozen space (museum-city) or as a diffuse space ("generic city"). Although they seem to be antagonic, both conceptions lead to the "spectacularization"of the contemporary city.

It is usual to treat the city centres as museums and the suburbs as large-scale city-shoppings. Local governments seem very concerned with developing a strong image of their cities, in order to reinforce their position in the global economy, bringing investments and visitors. Paradoxically, contemporary cities seem to become more and more alike.

In fact this strong image is supposedly based in what should be the cultural singularity of each city. The implementation of cultural policies and projects, however, is guided by international standards, which are not appropriate to local conditions. Very often, the population at the origin of the cultural singularity of a place is forced to leave, in a gentrifying process that makes the cities look like postcards, and not the opposite. In the suburbs we watch the disappearance of the public space, replaced by consuming space, gated communities, circulation and "junk spaces".

The "urban spetacularization" is the consequence of this process. The spectacle means that people become spectators and not actors in their relation with the city. The spontaneous apprehension and transformation of urban space, as it happens during popular celebrations or at the favelas, along with the situationnists1 critical ideas, should be seen by those who work with the urban space as an invitation to reflection, auto-criticism and debate, in the search for the collective construction of the cities.

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Conceptual intersections: urban furniture, public art and urban imagery

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This paper reflects on the public spaces at contemporary cities, its urban furniture, public art and other urban elements. From the twentieth century on, the terms which define these elements turned into imprecise concepts. This is due to the multiplicity of physical forms and spaces and to a wider range of new uses required to the public spaces, especially in metropolitan evnvironments. Is there a possibility of distinction between the multiple interpretations of these elements? In the cities evolvement, this assemblage of elements has always played an important role in the singularity of the public open spaces. To develop a sharper reading of the present processes of aesthetization of the public open spaces, aspects such as patrimony and preservation, memory and collective identity are considered. The urban furniture, the public art and the so-called urban imagery are important pieces to the study of the contemporary urban memory and culture.

The culture on suburb planning: limits and potentialities

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Starting from the Aubervilliers's, case study, north suburb of Paris, with industrial origins, an important immigrant population and scene of various recent urban projects, in this article we seek to highlight what seems to be turning into a specificity of cultural uses in the planning of suburbs and unfavored areas. Said singularity is related to historical and economic processes so as work mobility, immigrations in consequence of wars and emptiness of industrial sectors by technological obsolescence, generating multicultural interactions which planners and managers must face. It also reveals a complex situation, where conflicting cultural representations between the Public Sector and local groups do not reach the point of impeding an apparent consensus on the social and *regenerating* function of Art.

Upon verifying a trend initiated in the 1990's in France to broaden the territory aimed by cultural municipal policy measures, we seek hereby to raise some questions regarding the potentialities and limits of this "culturalisation" as gears of urban requalifying. In terms of planning, this "territorialisation" of culture would be known as "Aménagement culturel du territoire" and entailed the arrival at suburbs of artists charged of developing socio-cultural projects supposed as potentiality inductors of a new quarter dynamic. The challenge that arises is the articulation between international models and local contexts.

The approach is made, on one side, by incorporating the local history of Auberviliers, and, on the other side, by placing it in the scenario of peripheries and problematic districts that we consider "key-spaces" for contemporary planning.

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Visible Management & City Marketing. From the plan to city building in Maracaibo's Municipality, Venezuela

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The object of this paper is to present the results of the author's doctoral thesis in urban policy in the Municipality of Maracaibo (capital of Zulia´s State, Venezuela), between 1989 and 2001. Three main conclusions were drawn from the research: first, visible management as emerging urban practice and link between urban policy, city marketing and local governance. Second, Maracaibo's Mayors govern by policies and city building and, third, in this context, urban management makes the plan. The strategy implemented by the last two city Mayors is directed towards generating real impacts in life quality, in order to be recognized as a good government, legitimize themselves politically and increase local governance. This practice results from the questioning of the validity of urban plans to generate changes in cities and in the social web, in Venezuela and, responds to three basic needs: to govern in a local-global context continuously changing, to satisfy citizen's short-term demands and to increase the Mayor's political capital. These three aspects are the pillars of the New Public Management (NPM) in Maracaibo's Municipality and have implied the transit from the plan to government by policies and visible management, where efficient execution of urban policy (strategic management) constitutes the nucleus of the process of city construction. Coherent with this new practice, urban management in Maracaibo's Municipality is oriented to the improvement of city structure, urban corridors, public space, housing and the environment -through public, private and community partnerships-. Marketing Maracaibo as an "attractive and habitable city" and hence, attract national and international investments is a new goal. Five positive aspects characterise the NPM implanted by Maracaibo's local government: greater dynamism and agility in the local government and focalisation of government's actions in priority urban problems. Administrative transformation and modernisation and, the functional and social recovery of the city following years of zoning and the possibility to re-establish a framework to act on the built fabric of the city based on political decisions and not only on the logic of urban rent

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The "culturalization" of planning and of the city: new models?

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This paper discusses the urban plans, projects and politics which have been widely diffused in the last decades, and which use culture as their main strategy. The creation of new cultural equipments, the design of the public spaces, the use of public art and cultural animation are means used in plans for the preservation of historic sites, for the regeneration of dismissed central areas and for the urban expansion. The results of the "cultural regeneration" have been discussed and criticised in the fields of architecture, urbanism, urban planning, and social sciences. Critics point out the well-known processes of gentrification, as well as new processes named as aesthetization, musealization, mediatization, and spectacularization of the city. The name culturalization has been diffused referring not only to the requalified spaces, but also to the planning practices, which creates them.

This paper comments their first spatial and temporal manifestations, their origins, their characteristics and the context in which they developed, arguing if this can be seen as a fashionable tendency or if it is possible to refer to as a new model of urban planning – an urban and cultural planning model.

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Urbanistic-cultural approaches in town planning since the 1980s: 'urban revitalization' projects in the city of Rio de Janeiro

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Firstly, it was our intention to expand on some recent discussions in the areas of history and urban geography, related to the concept of memory and its implications for recent urban planning. Here, we sought to identify some concepts of memory and their relevance for the understanding of significant aspects of urban planning, now fairly associated with cultural questions. We referred, specifically, to the clearly urbanistic-cultural approach of the so-called 'urban revitalization' projects that, being responsible for the preservation of the urban cultural heritage, are also keepers of the 'city's memory'.

In our view, the new 'revitalization' projects are the present versions of the well-known urban renovation plans and projects. We have also established the need to consider these new projects as urban development alternatives as suggested by Fernandes and Santos.

Next, we outlined the historical background of the urbanistic/cultural legislation in the city of Rio de Janeiro, as well as the main urban projects from the 1980s onwards, called projects of urban 'preservation'/ 'revitalization'/ 're-qualification' or 'rehabilitation'. We focused in particular on those actors involved in the elaboration and promotion of recent urban policies and planning efforts, and attempted to clarify on which conceptions of cultural heritage those policies were based. Going back to the thoughts on the construction of memory, we attempted to identify the notions/ conceptions of memory in urban plans and projects, thus developing a critical discussion in the light of the concept of cultural promotion. Finally, having in mind the possibility of structuring an urban development project, we analyzed the views and roles of the public authorities with regard to those urban interventions that seek memory preservation and urban revitalization.

Denied East: culture, market and place

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The right to the city includes the access to the urban wealth, which includes the freedom to circulate and stay in the public spaces. It is fundamental to stress out this dimension of the right to the city in face of the current employment crisis, social exclusion and diffusion of security ideals that increase spatial segregation. In this context, it is insufficient to repeat the diagnostic that sustains current hegemonic proposals of urban reorganization – economy of services and technological innovations, together with enterprise stimulation. Following this diagnostic, one observes the divulgation of urban policy projects that emphasize the marketing of culture, and are responsible for the homogenization of space, the depletion of historical sites, the scattering of the urbanization and the disintegration of the history of the places. A conception of urban development, that ignores the ancestral links between public space, market, culture and language, predominates. What it is important, in this moment, is not to deny the market but understand what market we are talking about. I believe that the historical links between commerce, self-management and sociability should be valorized. These links, present in the memory of the popular classes, feed the spontaneous life of the urban places. In this regard, the rescue of the popular experience may help us to discover more inclusive urban forms. Why have us to follow, blindly, models that deny the strength of places, their historicity and originality?

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Maracaibo's malecón on stage: Towards a new urban planning culture in Maracaibo, Venezuela

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The recuperation of the urban space and the patrimony integrates three key factors, revitalization of the existing built environment, the recovery of the querencia (affectionate sense of belonging) of the place and, the generation of a collective sense of affirmation, fundamental resource for social cohesion and urban sustainable development. Nowhere is the implementation of sustainability more potent and beneficial than in city historical centers based on the connection between old and new, and the location of innovation and investment. On the other hand and within the concept of sustainability, a new form of citizenship must be evolved that responds to the needs of contemporary city. Greater emphasis on citizen participation and better leadership are vital as well as involving communities in policy making. Frame in these considerations, the paper presents the results of an applied research whose main objective was to put on stage collectively the Malecón of Maracaibo. A deteriorated urban assembly but of great historical and patrimonial value, located in the foundational nucleus of Maracaibo (Zulia State, Venezuela), where a vivid relationship with the Lake of Maracaibo still prevails. A dialogue process, with the participation of different social actors -involved and interested in the revitalization of the city center- but with objectives in conflict and competing for leadership, was implemented to build an agreement for the Malecón. This approach generated a collective learning through the experience and a new urban planning culture that was summarized with the firm of a STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT AGREEMENT FOR THE REVITALIZATION OF MARACAIBO'S MALECON. In this agreement, twelve institutions - public, private and civil society - learned to co-operate, and public-private partnerships were developed, as they understand the need of rescuing collectively the Malecón for the future, as Maracaibo's image and identity symbol. The involvement of different actors in this urban process, sharing objectives and leadership, was the authentic key for the development of a bottom up urban policy and sustainable communities and cities.

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Culture Cities: Planning or Branding?

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The designation of the cultural city and the use of the arts and entertainment as tools in urban regeneration is now a universal phenomenon which has accelerated in the era of the *city of renewal*. The branding of commercial entertainment products and leisure-shopping – functional and *flaneur* - together present a synthesis of the physical and symbolic economies of urban consumption spaces and which public culture has now emulated. Hard branding the city through cultural flagships and festivals has created a form of *Karaoke* architecture where it is not important how well you can sing, but that you do it with verve and gusto. At the same time the notion and practice of cultural planning has emerged as a response to competitive city and place marketing, but in the absence of traditional planning norms for 'culture', in contrast to other aspects of amenity and infrastructure provision (Evans, 2001). This paper reviews the phenomenon of culture cities and their branding through flagship cultural facilities - the archetypal art museum.

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Expos and Olympic Games as motors of urban development. A typology of concepts

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In the past few weeks the world's press reported that Madrid, Paris, New York and London had reached the final round of the competition for holding the 2012 Olympic Games. The competing cities have made big political and planning efforts, not to mention gone to great expense, to present themselves as candidate cities, and thus as potential venues for the Olympics. Why do it? Certainly, prestige, the excitement of the games, political reputation, and economic prosperity. It is also about the importance of major events for urban development.

World exhibitions and Olympic Games are always key projects for urban development. The whole world's attention has always been focused on venues which have always gone to great lengths to present themselves as positively as possible. Political, economic, and social changes and constraints, though, have increased the pressure on organisers to justify their demands. The idea of an economic long-term use for facilities – for expo buildings or for sports venues – is becoming more important. The question of how the host city could derive some benefit from the huge expense devoted to the realisation of the events of international importance has become increasingly important. Nowadays the host cities try to use the energy generated by the major event to crank up their urban development by bundling the media-resonant event together with some planning intentions in order to acquire extraordinary funds, so that events lead to big renewal and development changes in all parts of the city, not just at the various venues.

On analysing world exhibitions since 1851, and the Olympic Summer Games since 1896 against the background of questions about the planning fundamentals, the post-event visions, and the actual development, four development phases become clear.

The beautiful city – urban embellishment and open spaces
Ephemeral interlude
Continuing use: exhibition site and sport park.
For the benefit of the city – instrumentalisation for urban development

Concepts have evolved, though not at a steady rate.

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Getting Hooked – Becoming an Event City

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Both Barcelona and Montréal, are cities with provocative parallels.
In both cases:

- Demography is comparable.
- Each is the second city within a state, while at the same time the major metropolis of what could be described as a 'country within a country'.
- It is necessary, while looking at the events in the respective periods in question, to consider the role of a resurgent autonomous national identity, seeking to differentiate itself from the rest of the state.
- There is an active policy of self-characterisation as 'world event cities'. That is, both cases display an ongoing policy of using events to promote themselves and of identifying the city with the past event and its vestiges (stadiums, waterfront development, transport, communications towers etc) as *insignias* of the city.

Moreover, in both cases, the projects of becoming an 'Olympic city' were part of a genesis of event strategy stemming from having previously held the World Exposition. In Montréal, the 1967 Expo precedent was nearer in time and involved many of the same key actors; the 1976 Olympics project fed directly off Expo 67's success – locally, nationally and internationally – as a landmark event.

For their part, the Barcelona Expositions of 1888 and 1929 were more distant in time, but had done much to physically shape the city as it is now known. Furthermore, consciousness of these historical precedents was influential in leaders and key actors (planners, architects, elites...).

Finally, in both instances, the Olympic project was part of a genesis involving other major events, aborted projects and prototype plans.

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Sevilla, contemporary city by the impulse of Exhibitions (1929-1992)

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In their contemporary condition, Sevilla and Barcelona share at least one coincident factor: they both celebrated simultaneously, in 1929 and 1992, large scale events which became decisive factors in their urban history. In 1929 they both celebrated international Exhibitions (Iberoamerican and International), and in 1992 the Universal Exhibition and the Olympic Games. In Seville, instead of the ordinary urban systems, those events constituted the real urban development instruments of the 20th Century. In 1929, the Expo substituted a planning vacuum and, in 1992, it forced the Master Plan (still in progress at that time) to integrate decisions which were taken by the Expo officials. They both generated urban transformations which are symptomatic of the urban thinking of their time, with exceptional investments that in 1992 excelled 7.000 million euros. In both cases, the exhibition sites reconciled their location to feasible yet highly valuable options; and, in each moment, such factor became strategic for the development expectations of the territorial structure, using the Guadalquivir River as an explicit or tacit referent. Nowadays, the examination of each Expo layout model allows us to review both, the successful decisions and the failures of the applied models, which conditioned the following urban processes related to those large spaces, even more extraordinarily in relative terms.

From the point of view of their exceptional meaning, the resulting territorial influence and –at the city scale-, the built environment, the transport system and the transport infrastructure should be highly appraised.

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The 1929 Barcelona exposition: consolidation or urban metamorphosis?

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In 1929 the city of Barcelona had to reflect the Expo promoters' goal: to make known a competitive industrial production. The urban transformations that were taking place were the result of successive applications of urban plans and infrastructure projects approved beforehand, and that affected the city center and the Montjuïc mountain in particular. The revision of the transformations that were to change the city opens the debate on academicism and modernity in urban interventions. This revision allows us to analyse the subsequent period of growth and development of the city and determine if: a) planning practice got caught in its own tradition, albeit remaining sufficiently operational to be able to carry out later projects within this continuity, or b) planning practice broke with its tradition and found a way towards a modern line of thought.

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Landscapes and representations of the International Expositions. Paris and Barcelona at the beginning of the 20 th century.

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The purpose of this communication is to show that these urban entities, namely the surface of reception of the exposition, are in spite of their transitory and ephemeral characters, real structuring urban projects. By urban landscapes and symbols, these expositions leave a considerable trace in the urban network of the host's cities, but also in mentalities, the urban vision and the techniques of constructions of the time. The aspect symbolic system and the gigantism of the perspectives will be used as hot lines to the town-planners in load of the organization. The actors of the city took very early conscience of the capacity and the possibilities offered by these events to structure the social life and the landscape urban system of their cities. From the moment when one decides to organize an exposition, the developers put themselves from a double point of view, namely to build and manage the transitory and/then the durable. Contrary to the development of a very great urban project like the regeneration or restoration of a district, the expositions must be thought and built according to three phases. There is a stage moreover, one before (strategy adopted) during (course of the festival, six months generally) and after (the closure of the expo, its assessment and the re-employment or not of the infrastructures).We are in front of a planning action much more complex, with a before, a during and an after the expo, to take into account or not by the decision makers of the moment. The urban history of Paris and Barcelona at the beginning of the twentieth century, will justify for the example and the comparison the singularity of these events. Paris and the heritage of the World Fairs of the nineteenth century and the International Exposition of 1925, 1931 and 1937. Then, Barcelona and the first experiment of World Fair of 1888 follow-ups by a long political and urban process bringing to the International Exposition of Montjuich in 1929. The choice of these two cities is not neutral. At the beginning of the 20th century, Paris is a model to be followed for Catalan intelligentsia. Barcelona wants to be the "Paris of the south of Europe". How not to see in the realization of the Park of the Citadel in 1888 at Barcelona a replica of the Park Monceau at Paris; idem for the hillside development of Montjuich in 1929 thought by the architect and politician Cadafalch on the model of the Parisian perspective Champ de Mars - Hill of Chaillot. The rule and the model! We will show in a first part that the organization of an exposition is accompanied by the mobilization and the justification by financial means and human, using the expedient of the political and construction actors, at the national and international scale. The symbolic of the political message, cultural or economic become an obliged starting point. In the second time, our reflection will relate to the topic of the reorganization and the transformation of the urban network opposite to the question of the ephemeral. It is the question of the choice between the provisional (the destruction) and the perennial (planned installation) and the confronted vision of the town planners in load of the projects of the parks expos. We will enclose our reflexion on the contributions and the utility as of these ephemeral events from the point of view of the techniques and the innovations in the landscape construction public works and installations.

A World Fair or International Exposition is a real urban project. The research of the urban Utopia and the best cultural, economic and urban wellbeing is her principal vocation. A demonstration or exaltation goes with a prefiguration or a transformation of the city, for all purposes imaginary or material.

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International Exhibitions and Planning. Hosting large-scale events as catalysts of urban regeneration

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A large part of the criticism of the hosting of hallmark themed events and their associated large-scale urban projects are based upon their eventual correspondence with the neo-liberal context and the competitiveness between cities, characteristic of an increasingly globalised economy. However, some of these forms of urban intervention have an important tradition in the urban development and planning culture. This is the case of the international Expos.

Shomething that stands out when one analyses the physical effects of the different Expositions in the host cities is the diversity of situations that arise. Thus, while in some instances the traces of the Expos are barely visible, in other instances the strong impact produced involves alterations to the structure and the urban forms of the city or of the wider territory in which the Expos have taken place. In the same way, the planning and architectural conceptions present in each of the Expos can be placed in relation to the different conceptions and cultural traditions of each place and historic moment in which are carried out. Because of that, it is also important to make the distinction between what can be considered as innovative and what continues as part of an established tradition. A long-term view is also necessary when dealing with the impact of those ephemeral events on urban forms and structure.

The reflection that is proposed, based on a selection International Expositions (from the classic Expos to those of the "era of modernity" and to the recent Expos and those in preparation), aims at the distinction between novel elements and the more traditional ones, in the successive urban operations considered.In addition, it seeks to address the question of the real impact that such operations can have in the cities and metropolitan regions, from the processes of regeneration to "enclave" effects, paying attention to the different degrees of integration in the urban environment. The Barcelona experiences -with two international exhibitions held (1888 and 1929) and holding now the Forum of Cultures 2004- will be discussed with comparative perspective.

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From local trading fair to global convention - urban transformations through the Olympic spectacle in London, 1908-2012

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On May 15th 2003 the UK government announced that it was prepared to support a bid for London to host the 2012 Summer Olympic Games. The rhetoric of this decision was based on a predicted legacy of urban transformation akin to the Barcelona model of regenerating thorough sporting spectacle - linked to economic and tourist growth through place marketing, the regeneration of vast tracts of underused and disused land, and, significant infrastructural improvements. This paper seeks to critically question the appropriateness of the London bid by drawing on London's two previous experiences of hosting Olympic Games in 1908 and 1948 as well as other summer Olympiads, to highlight some of the historical lessons that the current bidding team might take into account when refining their bid. Both previous London Olympics which were both heralded as technological triumphs of thier age, albeit in very different social, technological and political-economy contexts, but with dubious legacy benefits. In particular, this paper unpacks the planning and urban regeneration implications of being an Olympic city, and argues that there is a danger that there is a mythology of positive benefits associated Olympic hosting which blinds urban policy makers to the potential risks associated.

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Driving urban change: the impact of the winter Olympics, 1924-2002

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In contrast to the large volume of research into the infrastructural implications of the Summer Olympics, much less attention has been given to the Winter event. This paper reviews the role of the Winter Olympics in changing and modernising the built environment of its hosts and evaluates its role as a tool of urban regeneration. Based on archive research, the paper first traces the intensification of the competition to bid for the event, which gives a clear indication of the benefits of the event as perceived by prospective host centres. Second, the changing infrastructural demands of staging the Games since 1924 are discussed within a four-phase framework: (1) minimal infrastructural implications, 1924-1932; (2) emerging demands, 1936-1960; (3) tool of regional development, 1964-1980; (4) large-scale transformations, 1984-2002. Finally, the implications of these changing infrastructural demands on the organisation, planning, funding and long-term legacies are also evaluated.

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Reviving the panegyrics: cities and the staging of the Olympic arts and cultural festivals, 1896 to 2000

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While much has been written about the physical and economic transformation of cities occasioned by staging the Olympic Games, less attention has been paid to the cultural festivals that accompany the Games. In fact from the start of the Olympic revival in 1896, cultural festivals have been an integral part of the Olympic Games. Moreover in recent years, the cultural elements of the Olympics have begun to mesh with the cultural agendas of cities and governments keen to develop culture-based urban regeneration strategies.

Sporting and artistic contests were an essential part of religious ritual and ceremonial in classical Greece. For Pierre de Coubertin, the 'renovateur' of the modern Olympics, the aim was to revive not only the sporting competitions of ancient Greece but also the cultural and festival character of the original Games. In so doing, Coubertin highlighted three areas in which art and culture could contribute to this goal. The first was the introduction of artistic competitions as an integral part of the Olympics, taking its place alongside the sporting events. The second was to devise ceremonies to lend dignity to the Games, making use of stirring music, colourfully dressed athletes and participants, and conscious use of symbolism and ritual. The third was to instigate significant programmes of arts and cultural activities to accompany the Games and provide entertainment for participants, officials, visiting spectators and the local population. Some suggested activities ? for example, drama, choreography, concerts and oratory ? were distinctly high brow. Others, such as processions, parades, street decorations and night festivals (including fireworks), would have a more popular appeal. To these would be added formal banquets and receptions, exhibitions, artistic performances and less formal gatherings that might enhance.

This paper examines the evolution of the cultural dimension of the games from their inauguration in 1896 to the Millennium Games of 2000 in Sydney. During this time, the cultural festival has been used by both cities and national governments to address political, economic and urban planning goals. This has been helped by the flexibility of the cultural event, for while the length of the sporting festival itself is strictly limited to sixteen days by the Olympic Charter, the Cultural Festival is required to be staged for a minimum of five weeks. The temptation to stage ever longer festivals became hard to resist. In 1968 Mexico City staged a year-long festival and Barcelona the first four-year Cultural Olympiad culminating in the 1992 Games. At the same time the content of such festivals evolved away from narrow connections with sport to embrace national and international cultural forms. Olympic cities have become increasingly keen to present themselves as centres of culture with a cultural infrastructure that can benefit their residents, create desirable environments to live, work and spend leisure time as well as attract tourists. The Olympic Games provides a wonderful opportunity to attract artists and cultural investment that will leave a tangible cult

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Consultation or Communication: Negotiating Community Involvement in the Bondi Beach Olympic Volleyball Stadium

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This paper will examine the extent to which citizens were included in the preparations for events held at Bondi Beach for the 2000 Sydney Summer Olympic Games. The Bondi Beach Volleyball Stadium, a semi-permanent structure that occupied a third of the beach for six months, comprised several practice courts, changing areas and a main stadium. It was this imposition, and in particular its duration, that frustrated the strong local community whose vociferous demonstrations were aired through the global media. The infuriation felt at the significant reduction of the beach's usable space during the construction, event and demolition periods, for regular users was compounded by the increased number of tourists that visited Bondi at this time, drawn by the publicity for the city and the Olympics. This abstract will summerise some of the arguments posed in the literature, discuss selected issues that affected another major Australian hallmark event, the Defence of the America's Cup, and outline the elemental exclusions placed on participation processes in the planning for the Bondi Beach Volleyball Stadium.

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The social representation of Ciudad de Mexico

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The point of departure of this article is the distinction between the concept of the city and the urbane. Although it is true that it is necessary the presence of the city for the urbane to exist, it would be false to argue that every city incorporates the urbane. At the same time that the technique's of control are developed, the representation of the space of modernity and progress is constituted, that is, the representation of what we call "the urbane". In the present, what ever might have been the transformations of the concepts, we cannot but recognize that in the discourse, the "city", is a totalising sign that allows the construction of socio-economic and political strategies such that it facilitates the generation of an absolute image about being able to count with a multiplicity of options of enjoying and living the city.

Nonetheless, when we think on a definition of the city, this sends us to a representation of posibilities and needs, considered as the existence of a contradiction in the same process of representation (a struggle for the opportunities, for what is desired for the city), and what you really get from her. This way the city becomes an urban representation that generates a series of life expectations that are never satisfied. On the other hand, the images of the city implies rupture, mobility and change within the physical space. Is a vision or image about progress, modernization and with that, anonymity that one experiences being part of the population or just a statistic, within a permanent process of transformation, mutability and transit, that affects the ways of living in the very city.

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The image of the norm and the image of the city: a new look towards the urban norm

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The social reality, dynamic and complex, demands for its analysis and theory, instrumental comprehension that it trespasses the parameters of a simple technical translation of the real object. Under that point of view the city's interpretation must be, for sure, multidisciplinary.

The social practices translation implied in the legal and planning models presuppose the reflection about the challenges and obstacles of the contemporary city.

The methodology adopted in this work main priory is the reference-case Boa-Viagem's border, in Boa-Viagem district, in Niterói City, State of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The shore is situated in a region with the splendid Guanabara´s bay natural landscape, from where you can also see the Sugar Loaf, without forgetting to mention the MAC Building (Contemporary Museum of Art), an architectural project of Oscar Niemayer.

This all-together man-made and natural landscape, a landscape heritage, should include principles of urban normative interpretation in the perspective of the city's social function.

The tutelage of the landscape heritage as principle of interpretation of the urban norm makes possible the comprehension of conflicts and demands, a characteristic of the dynamics of urban areas in the contemporary metropolis.

The interpretation of the urban norm in the field of law and social efficacy is based in a right that is exclusive of the city, institutionalizing social practices.

The right to a city, in the perspective of mediation between Law and Urbanism, included in the field of right to the human being dignity, constitutes the core of a system composed by many rights, such as right to home, education, labor, health, public services, well-fare, security, Cultural patrimony preservation, historical and landscape model, a balance between natural and non-natural environment – understanding the landscape as a social right, in the category of the diffused interests, a patrimony of the whole society.

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The City in Transition: Engineering, freemasonry, and liberalism in the planning of the modern city

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The consolidation of an urban world was accompanied by the perception that the problems of urban growth, especially health and social order, had to be organised and planned. Since the eighteenth century the city was being understood as a system of free circulation of elements, powerfully rooted in contemporary models of biological and economic thought, in which new types of architectural forms such as hospitals, prisons, schools, cemeteries, and markets, had to be integrated into a more functional and homogenous spatial organisation. In this sense the construction of a series of medical, legal, and architectural discourses, which represented the city and most of its social fabric as sick, dangerous, and ugly, as something to be treated, disciplined, and embellished, gave way to considerations impelling the transformation of the city structure *from within*.

Nineteenth-century urban landscapes were depicted as a space for intervention and reform, and several thinkers began to conceive the current situation as a period of transition, a period that must be superseded in order to achieve new, more liveable urban forms. From this point of view the transformation of the city in the nineteenth century appears to be a combination of the tradition of rational thinking inherited from the Enlightenment on the one hand and the specific techniques of urban transformation created by architects and specially engineers during the nineteenth century, on the other.

In these projects engineers began to conceive the city as a system, i.e. as a dynamic system in which mobility and viability were the most important challenges; and to perceive the hidden and anonymous historical logic, which actually shapes urban development.

This transitional view of history applied to urban planning is analysed in this paper through the influx of freemasonry and early-socialist thought in the theory and practice of nineteenth-century engineers and planners. Accordingly I have divided this paper into two main sections. In the first section I explore in France and Spain the scope for urban transformation in the debates triggered by the followers of Fourier and Saint-Simon and other early-socialist thinkers like Etienne Cabet, in order to develop a comprehensive account of urban change as a "transitional" historical process. By focusing on Ildefonso Cerdá's urban projects for Barcelona and Madrid, in the second section I discuss the reception of this thought in Spain and the insights that Cerdá's categories of *ensanche* and "urban reform", had in the emergence of modern urbanism.

Contemporary Urbanism and Medieval Citizenship

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The contemporary moment of globalization is characterized by a distinctive economic and political order often understood as neoliberalism. This ideology and practice of free markets is vividly manifested at the urban scale., from the entrepreneurial remaking of cityscapes to the vicious management of poverty. More generally, it is marked by the withdrawal of the state from the agendas of social responsibility. In various parts of the world, non-state actors have taken the place of the state, providing resources to compensate for austerity policies. For example, in Latin America, international drug bosses provide urban services to the favelas of Rio; in the Middle East and South Asia, religious fundamentalist groups, be they Hindu or Islamist, perform similar patronage functions in the informal settlements of Cairo, Beirut, and Mumbai. These spaces can be thought of as medieval enclaves regulated through the democracy of modern consumption. However, they are not simply the domain of the poor. With the deepening of socio-economic polarization, the urban elite now enjoy fortified isolation in gated communities. In cities like Sao Paulo, the elite can even avoid the streets of the city, taking to helicopters to occupy a wholly different realm of circulation. These practices have been labeled postmodern, interpreted as a vision of the dystopian urban future portrayed in films like *Blade Runner*.

In this paper, we argue that these seemingly new urban practices are better understood by employing the "medieval" as an analytical device. The term medieval operates here not as historical category but rather as a trope that can shed light on structures of contemporary urbanism that have congruence with historic processes.

Three points of congruence are particularly important. First, if modern citizenship is constituted through a set of abstract individual rights embedded in the concept of the nation-state then now there is the emergence of forms of citizenship that are located in urban enclaves. As in medieval times, this citizenship is linked to either patronage (as in the feudal lord) or to associational membership (as in the guild) and in both cases is fundamentally about protection. Second, such forms of citizenship substitute for or are even hostile to the state. From the private homeowners associations to the neighborhood-level Islamic republics being declared by religious fundamentalist groups, these are private systems of governance that operate as medieval fiefdoms, imposing truths and norms that are contrary to national law. Third, this logic of rule has territorial manifestations. The city comes to be articulated in what some scholars have termed a "honeycomb of jurisdictions," a "medieval body" of heterogeneous and increasingly private memberships.

These forms of urbanism present a challenge to the ideals of planning - to liberal democracy, public space, progressive civil society, and the role of the state. They also challenge planning scholars to take serious account of history. If planning is a future-oriented enterprise, then our conceptualization of contemporary cities as governed by medieval practices disrupts this teleology. By examining cases from Latin America, the Middle East, and South Asia, we historicize the discussion of everyday urbanism, showing how specific modalities within history can be used as analytical tools rather than simply as historical periods. In doing so, we draw attention to processes that are considered deviant or anomalous but that are in fact fundamental components of today's urban landscape.

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The Power of Anticipation: Itinerant Images of Metropolitan Futures Buenos Aires 1900-1920

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Daily life in any society necessarily contains memories of the past, needs of the present, and expectations about the future. Images and ideas about future are tools that societies create to shape themselves. The construction of a sustainable and just future begins by imagining it. We need to take decisions and act today to get there tomorrow.

This chapter analyzes images and ideas about the urban future produced and circulated in Buenos Aires around the turn of the 20th century. At this time, Buenos Aires was experiencing unprecedented rapid urban growth triggered by economic, social and technological development. Anticipations and ideas about the future were pervading daily life and the subject of extensive and diverse public debates. The future was a driving force in society. The diverse ideas about the future composed a complex horizon of possibilities, containing available options at the time decisions were made, for both the private and public sphere.

To get to this horizon of available options of the urban future, this chapter analyzes the urban anticipations published in Buenos Aires magazines, and compares them to ideas about the future contained in urban plans formulated by governmental and/or professional institutions. It contrasts two models of creation and representation of an urban future, originated in two distinct fields – that of the media and that of the professionals. This comparison allows for a closer understanding of the process of reproduction of the metropolis. It also shows the persistence of some images that, though not incorporated into any urban plan, have endured almost one hundred years, and had impacts evident in some parts of the city of today.

Secondly, this chapter analyzes the City of New York as the implicit model of "the city of the world to come" as published in Buenos Aires magazines through news about New York. Finally, this chapter discusses the graphic urban anticipations produced in New York for New York, and their relation with the anticipations published in Buenos Aires.

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The happy city.
Urban governance in advanced economic contexts

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There are urban places in Italy where good living is the norm, malaise the exception.

This is the result of a development process that was able to skip the threats posed by an economic growth unaware of a parallel human and social development; on the other side, indicators show that these places have taken full advantage of more general growth processes. Cultural, social and environmental moderation factors were obviously at work. This has happened, according to a first recognition, in a number of small centres of the Marche region. The paper gives an account of an ongoing research intending to demonstrate the hypothesis. It regards theoretical as well as methodological and empirical concepts involved in the search for evidence of such conditions. Our understanding of happiness, as it evolved and is considered in the scientific literature is examined first: the switch from the concept of happiness (as it was in the 18th century) to that of economic progress in the 19th century is being more and more questioned nowadays, when some people emphasise the modern paradox that more wealth can bring more unhappiness. The paper then takes then into account observation applied to cities, added to statistical analysis, as a tool for understanding the quality of the urban environment. The first results of a research on the city of Fermo, including socio-economic analysis and direct survey on people perceptions, are also presented and discussed.

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The City between Image and Identity

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What we learned about the historical city in the last decades, about its protagonists, its structures, elements, monuments, and typologies, is becoming challenged and threatened from one exterior yet fundamental side. The general uncertainty about the role of the image has a detrimental effect on the city. Images are the most important sources of our perception. But at the same time, the confidence in them is eroding due to an excessive use in the postmodern era and due to the supposition that ‚virtualization' might take over the control of all areas of life.

My proposal intends to cast a light on the role of the image in the city by scrutinizing it historically. Since antiquity, real built cities have been used as images and could be transferred this way to other places with the aim of creating or changing their identities (either by literally painting another town over the walls of an existing one; or by symbolically implanting emblems which embody the ‚mother city'). Piazza San Marco in Venice, for example, gained its unique identity through foreign images which were imported there and displayed to the public. But very soon this composition itself became the image which was then implanted in the Venetian colonies. Even in immobile urbanism, images have always been highly mobile and transportable. But they require the specific location to convey their meanings; only within a spatial and physical experience they can develop their potential to create identification.

In the conclusion, the historical insight will be confronted with its possible actual problems in practice; possible consequences and solutions will be touched on briefly.

Constructing the Civic Body in Barcelona: Planning, Metaphors and Digressions

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Beyond the formal, quantitative and technical issues of concern to planners and planning historians alike, the ways in which planners and government envision their city and citizens as agents, participants or threats to urban reform provide critical culture prisms through which to understand urban reform and its diverse impacts. Perhaps nowhere is this cultural underpinning of planning more striking than in contemporary Barcelona, a city whose remarkable recent transformations have fostered and demanded citizens who are informed, engaged and generally supportive of multiple initiatives. Both the image and realities of Barcelona planning, in fact, are grounded in longterm scientific, urbanistic and popular discussions that this essay explores through the use of an organic analogy in relation to the city, its divisions and Catalonia and the Spanish state. Bringing anthropological, literary and planning perspectives to planning, architectural and medical documents from the nineteenth century onwards, this paper shows how organic models of the city as body and the healthy citizen participant emerged in nineteenth and twentieth century metropolitan discourses of planning. The paper also explores how these discussions influenced areas characterized by unhealthy or immoral citizens and actions – most notably, the portside slum known as the barrio chino (now part of the Raval) that has been a central focus of urban reform for more than a century. It also underscores the links between the rational discourses of planning and mass media discourses about place, salubrity and morality as well as some of the less formal ways in which residents in a marginal neighborhood respond to such discourse as citizens. Finally, it suggests some ways in which we may continue to read and question this metaphor in the contemporary city. Even as newer models like the network city, the consuming city or the globally connected city reshape discussions of what a city is or should be, this cultural historical perspectives allows us to explore changing implications of civic bodies and the city and thus to understand more completely Barcelona's planning lessons for other world cities.

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The urbanities. Osaka and the concept of urbanity in culturally diverse contexts

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What is city? That seemingly simple question, of course, defies all attempts at an answer. Cities are the most representative products of human civilisation, they are the true reflections of the complex web of social relations, times and rhythms onto the specific place – and, thus, essentially undefinable.

Definitions focused at the essence, at *what makes cities cities*, often use term *urbanity*. In his discussions of *the urban*, broadly enough, Spengler wrote about the *soul* of the city. His vagueness might not help the pragmatists in their search for a rigorous definition, but his attempt comes closest to that elusive, undefinable - *something*.

In a globalised world we are becoming aware that definitions of urbanity have to be as culture-specific as the cities are. That they all have their own urban cultures, their *souls*, their very own urbanities. That adds another, necessary and long overdue, level of complexity to the issue.

Our current research focuses on understanding of urbanity in several cities of the West (Mediterranean and Continental Europe) and the East (East and South-East Asia). A number academics, urban planners, urban designers, architects, engineers and policy-makers involved in the shaping of Belgrade, Barcelona, Bangkok and Osaka answered a simple questionnaire. The results offer insights into the ways in which the experts see urbanity of their cities and of their cultures, a view into how those cities and those cultures see themselves. Of particular interest to us was the emerging notion of uniqueness of urbanity of cities in culturally diverse contexts and plurality of corresponding definitions. That provides a specific focus of this paper. In order emphasise urbanity of *the other* we focus at the city of Osaka. As our project is still in progress, a number of open-ended conclusions are an invitation for discussion.

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Latino Stories: Public Art as a Layer of City Culture

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The Pueblo of Los Angeles, established in 1783 by 44 pobladores from Spanish Mexico, has reinvented itself as an American city since the mid-19th century. Yet, since the 1970s, which saw the rise of the Chicano movement, through the early 21st century, the city has become increasingly Latino in its demographics. During this period, Los Angeles has been undergoing a lengthy process of revitalizing its city center (downtown).

From the mid- 1980s, urban renewal began to heavily incorporate public art works. Traditionally, the urban revitalization process took as its departing point the idea that the public realm is democratic and neutral.

However, contemporary discussions of public art recognize that complete consensus on public space and art in public places is impossible, because the concept of the "public" relies on a series of layered historic, social, economic, and political representations. Instead of building consensus, the role of public art is to give voice to public discussions about these representations. This paper will examine selected public art works documenting the Latino history of Los Angeles, such as murals, sculptures, physical environments, and temporary installations, from the perspective which conceives of public space as an intersection between the politically consensual and the historically layered.

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Idensity®: a communicational paradigm in urbanism

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The presentation focuses on the changes of public urban space due to medialization and develops scenarios for an interplay of the public urban space and the public media domain.

This is illustrated by the project "Public Media Urban Interfaces", publicly accessible interfaces between the global media space and the local urban place. This project proposes an alternative scenario for the interplay of mass media in order to reinforce the function of public urban space. It develops a hybrid urban network-space, a fusion of media space and urban space. It emphasises the role of the public and occupies the vacuum in between the local and the global

This project should not only be read as a model for space in the information/communication age but also as a "model of reflection and claim" (Constant), as prototypes for an "architecture of connecting/of switching" (Flusser).

This project represents a prototype for a new interdisciplinary field of design and planning ('Soft Urbanism'), researching the transformations of urban space of the emerging "information/communication age", exploring the dynamic interaction of urbanism and the space of mass media and communication networks. 'Soft Urbanism', dealing with the "soft" aspects of the city, not only intervenes in the realm of infrastructures, but also adopts their concept and paradigm: by supplying networks, 'Soft Urbanism' creates new fields of possibilities and frameworks for self-organisational processes.

Today, the communicational paradigm, with its "network-cities" and "nodes", "terminal architectures" and "urban branding strategies" is infiltrating and transforming the urban discourse and practice. Within this framework, "idensity®" is proposed as a conceptual tool for developing urban space in the information/communication age: "idensity®" is a composite term consisting of the combination/fusion of the word "density" of urban and media communication spaces (density of connections) and of the word "identity".

Idensity® by incorporating a wide range of future (communication) spaces, offers an integrated model for dealing with hybrid (media and "real") space in the information/communication age.

This term carries the discussion on the urban from the morphological level of a formal description of the network patterns of the "network city" („Landscape" versus „City" etc.) to a more integrated structural understanding of the networks of spaces for social communication.

A general introduction is illustrated by projects.

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Complex mapping of the urban landscape: new methods and complex maps

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The contemporary city is a place of complexity and contradiction, of instability and dispersion (Bauman, 2000; Secchi, 2000). Indeed, as it appears nowadays the territory, it is extremely difficult to interpret and represent it through traditional analytical methods and cartography.

The condition of nomadism in which we live stems not only from evolutionary changes but also from continuous rapid change in cultural environments, consumption sites and scientific, technical, economic and mental landscapes (Koolhaas et al., 2001; Landrove, 1997). Researchers have therefore imported from other disciplines ways to see, research, explain and represent the city and the natural, mental, virtual places in which we live, constructing proper methods of transversal, multilevel decodification and analysis. In order to give suitable terms and explain such new sites, several academics have tested maps, words and multimedia images, hypertext, software, able to render this complexity and to permit readability, which have created in most cases new interpretations of urban features (Gausa et al., 2003).

Starting from such premises, the aim of this work is to investigate new methods and tools to analyse the urban area and landscape as well as identify new elements of contemporary urban identity which may lead to cultural change.

Four main categories of approach, the virtual, multiscale, lateral and nomadic, were identified, involving mapping (Careri, 2002; Boeri, 2003; Mitchell, 1996; MVRDV, 2002). These categories of approch are not separate entities but intersect at several points, through which the main elements characterising contemporary urban identity can be identified. The new urban facts of the territory are the networks, the empty spaces and infrastructures, the new containers (urban attractors/shopping centres/malls) and the urban perceptions. They are not easily identifiable neither can be represented through a traditional planimetric relief; however, they have an extraordinary ability of penetration into the different parts of the city.

A subsequent investigation should aim to compare the various methodological approaches, to find other elements and try to construct the scenes of transformation of the future metropolis focusing on the different conceptual and disciplinary implications.

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Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Founding Mother of Modern Planning

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Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905-1983), a town-planner, editor, and educator, was at the center of a group of people who shaped modern planning and urban design during the 1930s-1970s. Tyrwhitt's great contribution to planning is under-recognized, largely because she willingly served, in various ways, "as the woman behind the man"— notably, as a disciple of Patrick Geddes, as a collaborator of Sigfried Gideon, and Constantinos Doxiadis. While it would be a mistake to say that she was responsible for, or the originator of their ideas, she was able to focus them and take them deeper in the direction they were going, by publicizing them, framing current debates around them, and drawing them into a common frame with the converging currents of ideas in environmental and community and international development movements of that era. Thus her career serves as a touchstone for this era, considered by many to be a watershed in the history of planning as a global intellectual and professional movement, shaping the current consensus on holistic community design as a strategy for sustainable development.

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The transfers of urban ideas and models of foreign planners shaping the urbanism in São Paulo, Brazil at the beginning of the XX century

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During the XXth century we can follow the important influence of international urbanistic ideas shaping the urbanism in Brazil. Over the last ten years this influence has been analyzed through different perspectives. First, the studies unveil the knowledge Brazilian urbanists had of the literature produced and disseminated in congresses, books and specialized journals. Contracts with specialists for plans and projects were an important way of contact with the models developed in Europe and United States.

The notion of influence was gradually abandoned because it had implicitly a conception of this relation as one of a one-way movement and the notion of transfer has been substituted for it. It corresponds to the historical study of the means of circulation of urban models and ideas.

Three main hypotheses give basis to this research project:

- Firstly understand urban planning as an international movement whose key ideas traveled throughout different countries and changed depending the context;
- Secondly, urbanism as a field of exchanging experiences that modify all the professionals involved in this process
- Third, the forms of contacts with planning ideas changed during the XX the century as the field of urban planning in each country was consolidated in educational institutions and professional associations.

The garden city model was one of the key ideas on urban planning during the XXth century. Barry Parker one the architects responsible for the project of the first garden city in England came to Brazil during the First World War and developed a series of residential and urban projects for a company in São Paulo. We can say that it was more the urban form than the concept of the garden city model that were assimilated by Brazilian engineers in the projects of new urban suburbs.

The idea of garden city as originally conceived by Howard comes to Brazil with the diffusion of the example of Radburn, an American suburb project developed by the Regional Planning Association of America. The RPAA had relationship with the English garden city movement, but also had contact with the experiences of the German urbanism especially those of Martin Wagner e Ernest May.

We can say that during the XXth century in different countries and contexts forms a genealogy of urban reformers as Patrick Geddes, Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin in England, Thomas Adams, Clarence Perry and Lewis Munford in United States sharing similar ideas and utopias on urban planning.

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The 30´s and the new urban planning institutions in Brazil

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Urban planning, institution, politics, Brazil

In the 1930´s, in a context of radical political centralization associated to the modernization of the public service in Brazil, planning is defined as a government function and the scope of urban planning is amplified from its limits restricted to great urban centers, which prevailed since the end of the 19th century, to a perception of the urban question reaching both capitals and inner cities.

Although the planning aim of federal government was the financial control over the municipalities, Brazilian planners, mainly a groupwho have studied at American universities, had an important role in the creation of municipal and state institutions that started a long way to organize, legitimate and construct a qualified new urban planning professional staff inside and outside the municipal administration.

Two kinds of institutions are established in the 30´s: at the state level, agencies for technical assistance to inner cities governments - the "Departamentos das Municipalidades" - and at the municipal level, mainly in the capitals, consultant boards composed of professional and civic associations –the "Comissões de Planos" .

The "Departamentos das Municipalidades" are in the origin of a range of institutions that in the following three decades are constituted outside public administration and at the federal level, which consolidate the field of urban planning consultants in Brasil. In the 40´s and 50´s they involved architecture and planning schools and entities of social research. In the 60´s they assumed the private consultant enterprise form.

The "Comissões de Planos" are in the origin of the local planning agencies organized by the municipal government that conceived planning as a coordinated process. Only in the 60´s those agencies reached institutional autonomy from the pubic services departments, but at this time zoning takes the place of planning.

From hygienism to taylorism: how the projects became the urban reality of Medellín in 1870 – 1932

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The growing of the Medellín city, Colombia, has been explained by historians and researchers from the perspective of two urban projects: the first one, which was made of the colonial Indian dammar, and the second one – Haussmann´s project, coming from thew second version of *Plans of the Future Medellín City* in the beginning of the XX century. However, both projects are just myths and simplifications, similar to those studied of other cities in Latin America.

Even if some aspects of the Haussmann´s project had been raised, as the beauty or the aesthetics, the hygiene and the intrerest of commerce, those also came from other sources, and from some smaller projects presented by Barón. During the years 1870 – 1932 there were plenty of plans developed from the French and English hygienist movement, from Cerda´s scientific urbanism in Barcelona, the technical pragmatism presented by Baumeister in Germany, from English and American issues of *City Planning* and *Town Planning*, *Garden City* and *Garden Suburb* of Howard, Unwin and Griffin, and even from Henry Prost´s *Plan Directeur Of Paris*, and the urban art of Camilo Sitte.

The following work recognizes different contributions and project ideas transfered from Europe and America into Medellín, their transformations and adaptations, also of ideas not directly related to urbanism, as the Taylor´s economy for instance. The economical taylorism had been adapted to impulse the development of the city and to create the modern urban culture during the mentioned time.

Urban models and transferences in Caracas: The case of Manuel Mujica's first garden suburb in Caracas

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Between 1881 and 1936 the population of Caracas grew four times and the urban area spread over the cultivated valley. This process of urban expansion was the result of the increasing income revenues from oil production after 1918. That situation brought the growth of the middle and working urban classes and, consequently, their aspirations and demands related to housing and suitable environmental conditions to live in. Therefore, new urban developments were carried out by private agents to fulfil the demands of those emerging groups. Different models of urban districts were built, some of them represented enlargement of the traditional urban gridiron and others adopted the form of isolated suburbs, breaking previous urban continuity, incorporating a new proposal inspired in the garden city movement: the garden suburb. One of the most important one was La Florida, designed by Manuel Mujica Millán in 1929, since it produced a great influence on the design of Caracas' middle class suburbs during the XX century. Mujica demonstrated a great knowledge about Unwin's ideas and projects by introducing for the first time in Caracas the morphology and many of the most significant formal concepts of the garden planning, therefore, La Florida was the first case of the garden suburb model transferred to Caracas. Mujica had grown up and studied architecture in Barcelona, during a time when the garden movement was diffused in Catalunya and the Hampstead Garden Suburb concepts and project had been published by Civitas, the main diffusion media of the Garden City Civic Society of Barcelona. At the same time, he seemed to have been strongly influenced by the new urban developments as the garden suburbs, parks, underground, etc. No other suburbs in Caracas had applied before La Florida the formal concepts and morphological elements related to the garden suburb model, consecuently, it is possible to affirm that the cases of El Paraíso (1890) and Los Jardines del Valle (1928) were antecedents of the first garden suburb in Caracas. This hypothesis is sustained by comparing the morphological concepts of Unwin's garden suburb and La Florida, since it has not been possible to obtain detailed evidence related to academic programmes studied by Mujica.

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Unexpected transfer: the Spanish republican exile in Venezuela, 1938-1958

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Considering that exiles have marked the 20th century, and that they will undoubtedly keep doing so in the present one, it is assumed that these processes have forced large groups of people to leave their countries, avoiding the institutional repression imposed by the winners of gruesome wars and coups d'etat. These processes have made of exile an unavoidable category in the "history of the present time", which in turn means that as a category or concrete object of historic investigation, it must be inserted in at least two national histories: that of the expelling country, and that of the receiving country.

When we use the concept of "urban history", which is a tributary of the history of disciplines and institutions, and in turn of the social history of science and technology, an analysis of exile in terms of the transfer of knowledge by exiled professionals requires delving into their professional expertise and experiences, into the model of their discipline, into the public and private platforms of their actions, into their ideologies and political positions, and into their geographical roots, as well as an evaluation of the level of development of the disciplines and institutions of the countries involved.

The examples selected to validate this theoretical-methodological proposal -the particular objective of this paper- are related to the activity of architects Rafael Bergamín and Fernando Salvador who were exiled in Venezuela. This transfer, far from the glitter of great personalities, is found in two particularly interesting areas for the social history of the urban and territorial construction of Venezuela during the first half of the 20th century. In his private activity of teaching and divulgation, Rafael Bergamín, combines the construction of neighborhoods for the booming civilian and military middle class with the discourse on urbanism and urban planning in the academic, professional and journalistic arena. On the other hand, Fernando Salvador became part of the public administration as a sanitary architect, to confirm the social responsibility of the state and of the professionals at its service -in his case refined by liberal republicanism- at a time when physical planning and models (regulating plan and neighborhood unit) led an increase of state intervention in Venezuela, up to the level of having municipal typologies for projects in popular housing, education and health, necessary to provide Venezuelan cities with these public services.

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Influence of foreign theories and urban models in the formulation of masters plans of Latin American cities, during the 1930-1960 period

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In Latin American at the beginnings of the thirties the foreign european urban models were used as paradigms of the notion of unlimited progress and modernization to which were supossed to be subdued the continent's cities. The 1929`s world wide crisis marked the turning point which evidenced the exhaustion of the economical prosperity produced by the agro–exported system and wich raised the structural changes of the Latin American cities. In the 1930-1960 period it were concreted eclectic urban transformations in the Latin American cities's traditional centres, and, over all, it were initiated and consolidated the features of peripheral growth, which, lastly, would define the form and esence of the current Latin American city. This work will emphasize on the study of the influence of foreign's theories and urban models in formulatinng masters plans as supposed means of controlling the emergent peripheral urban growth of Latin American cities. It will study the proposed masters plans for Buenos Aires, Bogotá and Caracas made by the foreigners urbanists Le Corbusier, Maurice Rotival and Francis Violich. It was stablished that masters plans debated between the conservatives and progressives postulates of the french tradition's urbanism and the emergent methods of the american urban planning. At the same time, they reflected the dilemma between both approaches for conceiving the urban growth's control: urban renewal and urban expansion.

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Circumstances and adjustements in the adoption of Strategic Planning

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The production of urban planning models is submitted to the questions, tensions and pressures related to each place. The adoption of strategic planning presupposes, on the one hand, reliance on pre–reflexive basis and a political work necessary to impose representations and categories of perception and judgment; on the other hand, it depends upon the intellectual work of adjustment of the imported model to the new situation. The work notes the situated character and the practical dimension of urban planning theoretical production and questions some urban planning theories for they are unable to provide explanations for the succession of models of decision and action: they refer to some intellectual traditions as if planning solutions would spring from them in a spontaneous way and would be destined to assume a predominant place among other decision-making models because of their intrinsic quality. So considering, these theories ignore the proper dynamic of the social space and therefore the intellectual work and the social conditions that allow the emergence and acceptance of new ideas in which planning models are generated, legitimated and diffused.

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Shaping a Modern City out of an Ancient Capital: Henri Prost's plan for the historical peninsula of Istanbul

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Henri Prost, who was one of the leading figures of the French urbanism, is mostly known with the planning work that he undertook in the early 20th century; especially with his comprehensive planning work for the cities of Morocco under French protectorate and for the extension of Paris metropolitan area. Prost was invited by the Turkish government for the planning of Istanbul in 1936. Starting from this date until 1951, he headed the planning of the future city of Istanbul.

The task was the "modernization of Istanbul" in Prost's own definition. However, according to him, this task could only be compared to a "chirurgical operation," since it was not about "creating a New City on a virgin land," but "directing an Ancient Capital" in the process of "complete social change [...] towards a future." Prost's words summarize his attitude as an urbanist: the objective of planning was to modernize the historical city, a goal which was mainly determined by the socio-political circumstances and the revolutionary atmosphere of the period in Turkey. Yet, for him, special attention had to be payed to the historical heritage of the city. In this perspective, Prost put forward a plan of urbanism which aimed to combine modernisation and conservation. However, his proposal for the historical peninsula brought forth radical operations on the existing urban fabric. Besides functional considerations, the hypothetical restitution of the Ancient city served the urbanist as a system of reference for creating the future urban network. Having already studied the archaeological structures of the Ancient Constantinopolis as a young architect of *Prix de Rome*, Henri Prost obviously referred to archaeology in shaping the modern city.

The present paper proposes to display how the objective of creating a modern city was coupled with archaeological references in the planning work of Henri Prost on the historical peninsula of Istanbul, and to search into the very nature of his understanding of conservation in a historical city subjected to social change.

Curing Congestion: Competing Plans for a "Loop Highway" and Parking Regulations in Boston in the 1920s

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In the United States of the 1920s, traffic congestion was one of the top two or three issues concerning urban planners. At the time, traffic mitigation efforts boiled down to a fundamental conundrum: was the solution to traffic congestion more roads, or more rules? While most observers liked the idea of road expansion in principle, the enormous expense and disruption to the city fabric made major road building programs relatively rare. Traffic regulations were cheap to introduce, but required expensive enforcement efforts and were extremely unpopular with the driving public. Thus, cities found themselves torn between two problematic solutions, a situation often resulting in little or no effective action. No better demonstration of this "roads-versus-regulations" controversy can be found than 1920s Boston.

This paper looks at debates over traffic congestion relief in downtown Boston during the 1920s, analyzing the two competing proposals: roads, in the form of a major new surface thoroughfare called the Loop Highway, and regulations—more specifically, tightened parking restrictions. Roads were the heavy favorite in this debate, with the Boston City Planning Board and influential business backers aggressively promoting the Loop Highway. At the same time, a small but increasingly influential group of Bostonians called for new parking regulations in addition to—or instead of—the Loop Highway. After describing the Loop Highway planning efforts and the major parking proposals, the article concludes with a discussion of why the city ultimately adopted neither proposal, despite the endless complaints about congestion. The city and state leaders' failure to adopt any strong congestion-relief policy resulted from various factors, but central among them was a fundamental planning analysis failure. In particular, no attempt was made to quantify and demonstrate project benefits, nor to establish the superiority of one project over another, thus allowing project critics to quash the proposals on the grounds of their disbenefits.

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Transport ideology, modern urban planning and conservation movement in Scandinavian capital cities in 20th century

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Although every capital is unique, they have many historical features in common. Comparative study can display both their uniqueness and the common elements they all share. My intention here is to introduce some aspects in the 20the century traffic planning and urban reaction towards it. 20the century was "the golden age" of metropolitan development in all Nordic countries and their capitals, those being Denmark and Copenhagen, Sweden and Stockholm, Finland and Helsinki, Norway and Oslo, Iceland and Reykjavik. Main concern is in the post-war period. Most capitals counted upon substantial urban expansion and big investments were made in communication systems like better undergrounds, harbours, motorways etc.

The issue is addressed through a two-part examination. Firstly, I will examine the pattern of "Nordic capitals" and present the unique network in between them. In the second part of the paper I attempt to examine municipal capital traffic planning and compare how, why and when the traffic ideology was developed in Scandinavia and what kind of reactions it created especially during the 1960s.

A central issue here, when we talk about capitals, is the relationship between the state, the municipality and public opinion. It is obvious that at every level of the urban history in Scandinavian these players have a relationship when it comes to capital planning, "urban question" and the image of number one city of the nation. The status of planning is high in Scandinavia. Public control exercised by a professional bureaucracy is well established in the North and has been at least since the 17th century. During the 19th century an effective system of municipal administration was created. Over the last fifty years political life in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland have been dominated by social democratic parties. It includes a great interest to the social control of land use and planning. The so-called "municipal planning monopoly" means, that municipalities must approve legally binding physical plans before they are ratified.

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A study on the life of Organic City and the image of citizen – A comparison between Metabolism and Patrick Geddes

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The aim of this research is to clarify the extent to which the ways of living within the organic nature of city – that cannot be understood in the context of the modern universally shared values such as technology, production, and consumption – is related to humanity. In this research, the understanding of a city in analogy of living organism shall be generally referred to as Organic City.

At first, abstract views on courses of development in the Organic City of Metabolism(in the 1960s; The avant-garde architectural movement in Japan) and Patrick Geddes (1854-1934; A biologist, social reformer and city planner in Britain) are each given; and then the relationship between Organic City and nation is observed from the aspects of politics, economy and culture, people's living, and thoughts on values.

The Organic City of Metabolism and Geddes share the common feature of being designed as destined to develop from the scale of architecture to city, as does an organism grow. However, the each content of their Organic City differs largely. In Metabolism, the opposite city-nation relationships – the denial and reinforcement of the concept of nation –were proposed. These are common on the point that they assume the application of scientific and engineering technology which is the counterpart of capitalistic economy, prior to individuals' spontaneity and sociality. As a result, a viewpoint of city formation in cope of the culture, including spirituality and art, has fallen out. This also leads to the lack of obvious need for architects to lead city planning.

On the other hand, Geddes' Organic City was proposed as a desirable relationship of city and its suburbs, which is in line with the concept of nation. His Organic City is an environment for the healthy life of each citizen who is also the people. To him, the nation's survival meant the same not as its militaristic or industrial win through, but as its social outlive. This way of thinking of his, is based on the value to make use of all technologies for living, and stands facing the post-Industrial Revolution social mainstream to make the most of technology in monetary economy. Also, Geddes defined the citizens' shared ideals as something to lead all of their living, autonomy and city planning. This has enabled to make the culture of city a subject in his Organic City, which was missing in Metabolism.

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A Great Utopian and Sharp-eyed Observer – Architect Olavi Laisaari and his Plans and Planning Theories in Post-war Finland, especially in Lahti

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The post-war times in the late forties and early fifties were a special era in Finland. The heavy and traumatic war was over. It had ended in an enormous defeat with territorial losses and war reparations but it had also united the Finnish people in front of the common enemy.

People worked hard for reconstruction. The time was full of hope and joy of life. Many cultural fields experienced powerful and creative regeneration, especially Finnish literature, design and architecture. This was also an era for great urban plans and utopias. For example Tapiola, a celebrated Finnish garden city was planned and built in the forties and fifties.

Among the famous Finnish urban theorists and planners there was a less known architect Olavi Laisaari who made his civil career in three towns, Vyborg, Lahti and Turku. In addition to this he made several plans for other towns and boroughs in Finland in the years 1935 - 1970. During these years and especially after them he devoted himself to sciences and published articles dealing for example with the growth of urban centres and traffic problems.

Laisaari was a thoroughbred functionalist who regarded practicality, fluency of functions and utility principles as the most important values in planning. If the plan did not fulfil these demands, it was not beautiful either. But occasionally his plans also turned to utopian visions that had nothing to do with reality and everyday life. The Lahti general plan from the year 1949 included for example four airports, two new railway stations, highways which were broader than anywhere else in Europe, the multiple functions of the port as well as wide industrial areas around the whole town. There were 38 000 inhabitants in Lahti at that time.

My paper deals with Laisaari's visions particularly against the background of the atmosphere of the post-war time, an era of great optimism and conviction of bright prospects ahead.

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Planned Cities and Authorship: Contested Visions in the Chandigarh Plan

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This paper examines the authorship of the plan for Chandigarh, the new capital of the Punjab created following its partition consequential on Indian independence. The literature on Chandigarh's planning, celebrated principally because of the central involvement of Le Corbusier, is largely architect-centric, descriptive, and positivist with a few critical evaluations. Despite exposing the readers to the complexities involved in planning the city, the scholars anchor their narratives around what they call the 'Corbusier Plan'. As they talk about it, they create and shape the "Corbusier Plan" as a unified and uncontested creation. Also missing in the discourse is the idea that people - including administrators, politicians, and planners - are not passive recipients of external ideas; ideas do not get transmitted across cultural boundaries without mediation. The exclusive praising of Corbusier only reflects the poverty of the discourse and its narrators. The paper offers another narrative. It argues that the plan is negotiated between multiple agencies, and not the creation of a single author. As most of the actors advocated various 'modernities', the plan represents 'contested modernities', and a particular moment in the planning process characterized by the collision and collusion of the advocates representing different imaginations for India and Chandigarh, identities, details, and the compromises they made. No single imagination emerged victorious; no one author created the plan. They very idea of plural authorship, or authority, challenges the order of the discourse as it is. However, the plan is much more chaotic, hybrid, liminal, and diverse than its architect-centred discourse suggests.

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The Experience of Modern Urbanism in the city of Rio de Janeiro

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This paper discusses some of the most relevant experiences of modern urbanism which occurred in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, based on the principles approved by the International Congress of Modern Architecture ("Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne"-CIAM). The inception of modern (modernist) concepts began with the visits of Le Corbusier to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in 1929 and 1936. Several articles published by specialized journals spread the new ideals which were adopted initially in architectural constructions and later in urban planning.

The application of these principles, however, was not a simple, short term process. It took place gradually with some adjustments and reveals two aspects of this complex experience: first, the transition from the architectural to the urbanistic planning scale; second, the attempt of surpassing some obstacles put by the modern agenda itself, such as the denial of the city inheritance, followed by the search for a centralizing and vertical urban model.

At the end of the thirties and the beginning of the forties some principles of modern urbanism, such as the separation of roadways for vehicles and pedestrians, the concentration in towers and the absence of subdivided lots are not used even in projects, contrary to architectonic principles. In addition, some proposals are directed to the ideal city and not the existing city. The pilotis, the blocks of different heights and the central elements of the "Ville Radieuse" (1934) of Le Corbusier – sun, air, green areas are always present in theoretical proposals or in the projects.

As modern urbanism was based on architectural principles, architects became the more suitable professionals for conceiving these projects. Lúcio Costa, for example, one of the most distinguished Brazilian architects, designed in 1960 the new capital of the country and in 1969 produced the Master Plan for Barra da Tijuca in Rio.

We discuss the impact of modernist innovation in urbanistic projects in Rio and the adjustments which became necessary for the application of the modernist principles. The paper also examines if, after almost four decades, these projects were successfully integrated into the city and how the city inhabitants are connected to them.

Wiener and Sert's pilot plan for Medellín. Contract and presentation. Colombian Urban Planning and its vicissitudes

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In the development of urban planning in Colombia, the figure of the Master Plans, adopted by the law 88 of 1947, have been regarded as a foundational mark. The Pilot Plan for Medellín, as antecedent to the Master Plan, represents an example of the general guidelines for the reorganization and growth of the city and its region, based on the proposals from "modern architecture". The plan proposed by the architects Jose Luis Sert (1902-1983) and Paul Lester-Wiener (1895-1967), between 1948 and 1950 in collaboration with the city's Master Plan Bureau, materializes the transference of ideas from the "Athens Charter" and put forward directly in Colombia by the presence of Sert Wiener, and of course Le Corbusier. It was a moment in which "modern architecture" represented an ideal for the development of cities. The next decade would demonstrate the impossibility to carry out this ideal of modern urbanism.

The present study intends to give an account of the different historical aspects intertwined in the process of making the contract for, elaboration and presentation of the Pilot Plan, as well as the advising process for the Master Plan for Medellín. It will also address the vicissitudes of the architects, the active participation of Sert in the International Congresses of Modern Architecture, CIAM; the country's political situation during those years, and the interest of a local elite in modernization and urban development.

The later development of the city was unforeseen by the Plan, but still the ideas proposed by the Pilot Plan for some sectors of the city, mainly the western side contributed in modifying the urban space, unleashing a dynamic of new interventions and setting adequate solutions, that in harmonious ways regulated future growth of the city.

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The modern Art Museum: Its place in Caraca's modern cityscape

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This paper points out to the relationships between art museum and city, focusing on their significance in the configuration of Caracas's modern cityscape. Viewed as a mechanism of historical analysis, the work explores the different ways in which this relation is revealed through urban and cultural practices in Caracas's modern project, going from the art museum as a symbolic object strategically used to stimulate urban development, to the representation of the city´s collective memory in the architectural display of the "city-as-museum". From that perspective, this analysis presents the case of the Modern Art Museum (MAM) -an unbuilt project designed by Oscar Niemeyer in 1955-, as a framework for an aesthetic approach to the violent metamorphosis overgone in Caracas during the fifties, a time when the city was intended to be positioned as capital of modern culture.

Apart from its built results, MAM could still be considered a very significative urban and architectural operation. As an architectural gesture, the museum had the intention to be a monumental-scale landmark, a symbol of modern avant-garde to dominate, from the top of a hill, the valley of Caracas. In a joint formalization of construction and landscape, the building was meant to possess the site of the given set emerging beyond the city in an artificial/natural tension. From an urban perspective, the idea of MAM could be interpreted as a cultural machine whose main function would be to translate, as a new form of colonization, a reinvented modernity into the dynamics of production of its own territory: the place of the metropolis.

Coexisting at the time with other large-scale urban processes identified with the "museumlike" potential of the city, like the construction of the campus for the University City of Caracas by venezuelan architect Carlos Raúl Villanueva –an urban assemblage declared World Heritage by Unesco in 2000 and one of the city's most significative cultural complexes-, or the ambitious project for Caracas's International Exposition for 1960 in terrains of the future park "Parque Nacional del Este", MAM was also a representative piece of international architecture to be placed inside this "city-as-museum" of modern architecture. In this sense, the analysis of the urban operation of MAM, its political, social and economical circumstances in the context of the reinvention of modern cityscape –viewed as the material and symbolic production of urban space– can give us some cultural notions to better understand Caracas's modern utopia.

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The city of criticism to the modern movement

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From the 60's on, architecture and city turn out to be a binomial found in the different speeches all over the european and north-american scenarios. Their position coincided through the idea of the reconciliation of both architecture and city, which Anthony Vidler identified as the "Third Tipology". This means that the historical mechanisms of urban analysis of the so-called neo-rationalists, together with the analytical formalism acclaimed by the Cornell School, would become the main pieces of the urban interventions inspired on the criticism to the Modern Movement.

In the various areas of culture and thought, this period pointed out the impossibility of any unitary synthesis. The end of the metanarratives announced by Jean-François Lyotard shaped itself in the urban problematic through the coexistence of the different ideas and the exaltation of the fragmentary character through which the city should be worked. Tipology and urban morphology, together with the claiming for an autonomous discipline formed the basis for an intervention in the existing city from those years on.

The first urban experience based on the criticism to the Modern Movement was the IBA – Internationale Bauausstellung - which took place in West Berlin during the 80's. Through the analysis of the speeches and theories on its organization process, we can design a framework from its more cristalized attitudes and practices, and identify the inflexion points they promoted in relation to the tradition of the modern architecture and urbanism. IBA, if considered far beyond its built results, can give us the key to better understand the scope of such a debate and show us the clear influence it had on the urban interventions that followed, such as the Olympic Barcelona and Rio Cidade.

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Adamo Boari, Mexico City and Canberra

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Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin's victory in the 1912 international design competition for Australia's new capital city Canberra propelled the couple out from under the shadow of their former employer Frank Lloyd Wright. Central to their submission's success, the Griffins' plan encapsulated an almost worshipful regard for the future city's rugged site. Most striking is the plan's symbolically-charged, crystalline geometry. Crucially, this modular system not only accommodated, but was also informed by, and accentuated the site's irregular landforms. The remarkable structural dialogue between the plan's geometry and the site's topography has attracted considerable scholarly attention. When seeking to identify its compositional origins, many have concluded that the Griffins' design cannot be 'understood simply in terms of either late nineteenth century City Beautiful models or Howard's Garden City principles'.

Given this, some have ascribed the design's structure to the 'secret' formulas of ancient cosmological and other esoteric sources. This paper, however, argues that the Griffins drew upon more immediate, exoteric sources. These sources, in turn, are to be more accurately identified through an investigation of the couple's own pre-Canberra projects. This alternative interpretation features works produced during Walter Burley Griffin's early (ca 1900) and little-known tenure with Italian-American architect Adamo Boari.

Adamo Boari is today remembered almost exclusively (if at all) as the architect of Mexico City's Palace of Fine Arts. Almost no attention has been given Boari's considerable experience as an urbanist. Beginning with work on national infrastructure projects in Brazil, Boari next practiced in Chicago. There, he apparently worked for Daniel Hudson Burnham at the time of the World's Columbian Exposition. Later sharing an office with Frank Lloyd Wright, Boari was soon immersed in Chicago's progressive design milieu. Although recognised as a singular achievement, Boari's Palace of Fine Arts was, in fact, but one component of his broader initiative to transform the city centre of the Mexican capital. In this urban design endeavour, Boari also developed, partly informed by ancient Meso-American technique, a modular geometric system as an urban ordering device. Sharing his elder employer's Meso-American enthusiasms, the young Griffin similarly formulated his own proportional systems. In parallel with re-establishing Boari's position within a town planning, this paper concludes that his Latin American urbanism offered the Griffins an important precedent when conceptualising their exoteric design for the Australian capital.

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Europa, Francia and Bahía: diffusion and adaptation of urban european models

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New studies of urban history bring to discussion the subject of the haussmannization, the formation of an urban pattern and his exportation as an aesthetic style, functionality project and intervention form. We discuss haussmannization as an urban pattern and how it had been adapted at the urban reforms in Brazil, in especially, at Salvador de Bahia (1912-1916).

The haussmannization is no more a model implanted in other cities but an urban style that had been adapted to realities different from Paris. The new bourgeois and modern cities of the 19th century took place with the arguments of cleaning up, circulation and beautification, through strong interventions in the urban mesh already constituted, but each one of them respecting their own reality. This way, different cities have different results that respect the own characteristics of each city.

The Brazilian cities still maintain the colonial urban plan at the end of the 19th century. These spaces need to be adapted to a new reality. Some of the Brazilian urban historiography refers to that intervention as a haussmannization that pass some of the Brazilian cities, mainly Rio de Janeiro. The city, capital of the country at that time, changes her image through the modernization, by cleaning up and changing her structure. Salvador accomplishes her urban reform among 1912-1916 carrying out works of urban renewal to adapt her to the new demands of a modern city. We looked for the Salvador's example of urban reform in Brazil to understand if it could be classified as haussmannizations.

The travel path of the Neighborhood Unit: From the US and Europe to Latin America. The transfer of the model to Venezuela planning

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The transfer of the Neighborhood Unit (NU) model to the Caracas of the 1950s offers a useful opportunity to trace the adoption of modern planning concepts in Latin America, and it sheds useful light on the little known but important history of Caracas's urban development. It could be easily assumed that the NU model was transferred to Venezuela directly from the US, where it was created in the 1920s. But this research shows that in fact, it reached Venezuela through European and American cultural channels. By the time the American NU concept appeared in Caracas, it had already been informed by European planning ideas discussed in the CIAM meetings (Villoria, 1998; Mumford, 2000). Walter Gropius, Richard Neutra, and Le Corbusier were among the notable and influential practitioners who espoused and supported the NU model at that meeting (Mumford, 2000). This flow of information from Europe and the U.S. provided young and older Venezuelan professionals with an opportunity to absorb the state-of-the-art planning concepts of the time.

The growing influence of North American theories and European modernism in Caracas were evident –at least rhetorically— in the Regulatory Plan of Caracas *(Plano Regulador de la Ciudad de Caracas* 1951). In practice, NUs built by private developers were for the most part, loyal to the original elements of the model, characterized by low-density suburban neighborhood filled with single-family houses. Progressively, Caracas was extended over the virgin landscape of the east and southeast filled with new NUs designed and built by private developers. When the NU model was applied to public housing in Venezuela, changes were made. In order to shelter Caracas's booming population, planners clearly merged the NU idea with CIAM proposals for dense housing—seen in Le Corbusier's *Unite d'Habitation* in Marseilles. Le Corbusier's plan—high rise housing complexes and community facilities scattered over vast green areas— informed the design of most of these NUs.

The application of the NU concept in Caracas shows the results of the merging of planning models, demonstrating how ideas are carried out to radically different regions and adapt to different contexts. It shows American and European influences on Venezuelan planning, and also how these different paradigms and practices helped to transform the Venezuelan landscape in ways that today reflect its particular culture and past.

The Influence of the Garden City's Idea in Israel and Egypt

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The aim of this paper is to investigate the influence of the Garden City's idea during the Twentieth century in particular in contexts located far apart from those in which the idea was initially conceived (Europe and Great Britain particularly).

The hypothesis is that this influence can be conveniently described in terms of four basic elements, each used according to a specific meaning: the *central parts of the city,* according to the multiplication of the centres; the *lay-outs of the streets*, as systems of free lay-outs, that can be re-conducted to a character of fluidity in the design and in the shape; the *"minimum units"*, organized following a hierarchical sequence; the *open mainly natural space,* generally assuming a double role, as element of separation and, at the same time, of connection among the different parts of the city.

The aim of the paper is to investigate this influence through two study-cases located in the South-East Mediterranean: Israel and Egypt.

At least three main aspects are common between these two study-cases and appear particularly significant in relation to the hypothesis of this paper.

The first aspect consists on the fact that in both countries during the Twentieth century some attempts to improve the distribution of the population and to exploit the natural resources on a national scale are undertaken. In the case of Israel two necessities are particularly urgent, to oppose the internal areas and the Northern and Southern desert regions to the densely settled coastal strip where the most important urban centres are located and to host the great amount of new population following the creation of the new State of Israel.

In the case of Egypt, the geography itself of the country has lead the settlements to concentrate primarily along the Nile river and the coastal areas of the Read See and of the Mediterranean, creating an unbalanced condition between internal desert regions and densely urbanized river and coastal regions.

The second reason consists on the fact that both countries undertake a politics of construction of a whole system of new settlements, in order to respond to the above mentioned conditions: about thirty new towns are built in Israel after the creation of the new State, fifteen in Egypt.

The third reason consists on the fact that, in both countries, these new settlements are built according to the Garden City's principles.

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The diffusion of the term "Garden-City": some issues on the transfer of town planning models in Brazil

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Since the beginning of Letchworth's building, in 1903, until the more recent formulations of Richard Rogers, for example, the diffusion of the garden-city set of ideas knew a trajectory that marked the town planning thought and practice along the twentieth century. By observing the vast construction of cities or expansion areas – neighborhoods, especially – that were named garden cities, one can ask which mechanisms allowed for the success and fast application or materialization of this set of ideas. The valorization of the low population density standard of growth in the suburbs? The reduction of the original concept to an easily reproducible formal scheme? The discussion on the process of transference of town planning ideas establishes some parameters that help understand these questions. Specially, the graduation of Brazilian technicians in foreign institutions and the hiring of foreign professionals, as Barry Parker in the 1910s, are some ways to understand the circulation of town planning cultures. However, one cannot understand the reach of the garden-city term's diffusion without discussing the relationship between its forms of materialization and the original formulations established by Howard back in the late nineteenth century. This work discusses this relationship, thus interrelating the processes in which the transference and the assimilation of town planning ideas and models took place, based on the case of Brazil. The narrative axes of this paper helps to uncover some of the main mechanisms of this process of transference and diffusion in Brazil: the hiring of foreign professionals, the significant reference of their planning accomplishments for the local technical environment and the influence in the formation of new professionals, such as the engineer Jorge de Macedo Vieira; the appropriation of the garden city model by the town planners with polytechnic education as an instrument for the building of healthy and beautiful cities, based on the performance of the engineer Lincoln Continentino; finally, the shift of the garden city term into garden neighborhood and their meanings based on the analysis of the Natal's Master Plan (1929-1930) by the Greek Italian architect Giacomo Palumbo. It also points to the form in which the term was appropriated in a debate that overcame the professional and technical limits, becoming involved in the local political disputes and interests. This fact would often aggregate new meanings to the term and promote a definitive severance towards the ideas of social reform that marked the original conceptions of the garden city.

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Chronicles from the far east: the garden city model of planning in the Federated Malay Satates, 1920-1929

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The establishment and history of town planning in the twentieth century in the Federated Malay States (FMS), part of present day Malaysia, has been the subject of various studies including by scholars Meng et al (1990), Lee (1991), Shamsudin (1996), Home (1997), and Bristow (2000, 1996). However their publications focus mostly on the rationale behind and the outcomes of efforts to develop and improve modern planning legislation that commenced with the *Town Planning Enactment* (1923). Attention has also been paid to key individuals who contributed to these efforts. One of them, Charles Reade (1880-1933), inaugural Government Town Planner (1921-1929) in the FMS, has been of particular interest for his initial and critical role in disseminating the message of town planning and the garden city idea, and in drafting and implementing town planning legislation. Yet little has been published on the actual projects that he initiated. This paper seeks to examine the broad nature of the works that Reade sought to implement and specifically on two projects in and near Kuala Lumpur in the state of Selangor. Principal sources include Annual Reports of the Government Town Planner, Reade's articles in the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, newspapers, and other published materials including histories of Malaya and Kuala Lumpur. Information about the contemporary status of the projects reviewed is informed by site visits undertaken in 2002.

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William Alexander Harvey (1874-1951): Bournville and after

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Although W.A. Harvey received two R.I.B.A awards in the 1930s, he is best remembered for his earlier efforts at Bournville. This paper will review Harvey's work at Bournville and his later career.

Harvey came from an artistic family and attended architecture classes at the Birmingham Municipal School of Art. He was recruited as a very young man by George Cadbury to design cottages for the new Bournville estate in 1895. Whilst Harvey's other Arts and Crafts designs were well received, he became best known for his simplified cottage designs. The varied disposition of these dwellings led Bournville to be considered an object lesson in estate development.

Harvey left the employment of the Bournville Village Trust in 1904, but he continued to design most of the public buildings in the village. He was also responsible for the layout and most of the cottage designs on the Bournville Tenants' estate.

The publication of Harvey's book, *The Model Village and its Cottages: Bournville*, in 1906 led to an increase in his profile. He began to design houses, public buildings and estates in Birmingham and elsewhere. Harvey came to be seen as one of the country's experts on 'the cheap cottage problem'. After the First World War his estate plans and house designs were used by a number of English local authorities. His inter-war work also included churches, municipal buildings and conservation and restoration projects. He remained active in artistic, architectural and planning circles. In his last years he was still being consulted about post-war reconstruction plans.

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After the New Towns

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This paper outlines what has happened to a key tradition in British planning since the 1980s. It traces policy from the marginalisation of the new towns in the 1970s and 1980s, through the pressures for private new towns in the 1980s to very recent moves to build new sustainable communities in growth areas. It discusses the politics of policy shifts and highlights the evolving concepts of public private partnership in new settlement developments.

The new towns were Britain's best known planning programme of the post-war years. In the 1980s and 1990s, the programme suffered downgrading and abandonment. New towns that were underway remained but their development was completed by private developers. No further new towns were designated. The decline reflected growing concerns to revive declining metropolitan areas, and the shift away from state intervention under the Thatcher governments. The new towns had traditionally been very much state-led projects.

However, there have still been strong pressures to build in outer metropolitan locations. Since the 1980s, there have been several proposals for freestanding private new towns. Almost all have failed to gain planning approval, reflecting very strong local opposition. The only real exception has been around Cambridge. Several large scale private housing developments in the form of urban extensions have, though, proceeded elsewhere.

Recently, however, the policy climate has changed noticeably. The acknowledgement of an acute housing crisis has led to a major reinvigoration of planning of growth areas. In 2003 the Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, unveiled a sustainable communities action programme. This involves the creation of large areas of growth around London. Most attention has been focused on the Thames Gateway. This idea of linear development east of London, using large amounts of brownfield land was launched in the mid-1990s but with little real government backing. In 2003, it was enlarged and new 'delivery mechanisms' announced (including two new urban development corporations). Other large growth areas have also been announced. These are Milton Keynes-South Midlands, Harlow-Stansted-Cambridge and Ashford.

Several former new towns are continuing to be key growth areas, particularly Milton Keynes, Northampton, Corby and Harlow. Yet, so far, at least, there has been no return to the statutory new town. It is clear that, even though state intervention is certainly increasing, private developers will play the key role in developing these new settlements, in various forms of partnership with public sector agencies.

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Urban Landscape Planning of Palace Zone in Tokyo after Meiji Revolution

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It is seldom recognized that Tokyo has the huge open spaces in her heart of the dense city. The core area is Imperial Palace, however it is the complex of many different open spaces originated from the former land use of Edo period since 17th century. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the historical evolution of Palace Zone, considering the influence of landscape planning introduced through the modernization of Japan.

The four periods is classified. The first period is during 1868 to 1918, when the direct introduction of western architectural and urban design was taken place. Tokyo Civic Improvement Law was implemented (1888-1918). The basic structure of Palace Zone, such as the location of major land use and street pattern, was established. The second period is Pre Second World War (1919-1945), when the Landscape Beauty Ordinance was introduced. Civic Center Panning was established, influenced by the City Beautiful Movement. Imperial Outer Plaza was created as the symbol of the nation. The third period is after the World War Second (1946-1990's). The Landscape Beauty Ordinance was not implemented and expressways were constructed, cutting through the forest and moat. The fourth period is Urban Redevelopment (1990's to present). Tokyo interred into the city of Tower. This paper clarified the existing assets of remaining open spaces, and discussed how to re-excavate them as the cultural heritage of Tokyo.

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Urban Recentering - Memory and Urban Refoundation. The Oporto Replanning of Central Area by Barry Parker (1916)

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Our days meet in the end of a cycle of urban development with 200 years. This cycle, initiate in century XIX, it modifies the traditional picture of joint of the city with the territory, because it modifies the nature and the physical configuration of one and of another one. Since century XIX, the city and the adjacent territory had left to constitute an autonomous unit want if it sees for the physical base, politics (institutional and administrative) or economic. The integration in nets of territorial circulation redesigns the structural and functional base of the city to all the levels, with immediate impact in the physical configuration. The city is not plus a central unit of a proper territory that involves it, nor if it presents as an urban mass that if structure as an involving periphery of a nuclear centre. The functional specialization of the century, the acceleration and diversification of the activities, it imposes space distributive alterations that make to emerge areas of nature and "central" configuration, with an allied historical load to the reuse of constructed structures monumental, deactivates or substituted. Today, the city is not plus an urban centre of an undeveloped or per-urban territory, nor it has an only centre of functional and configurative nature; today, the city and the territory are urban units where if they find some centres, of diverse degree and nature, articulated between itself or with other centres in other territories, also urban they and also they central offices. The challenge that it places today is of redesigned this picture in bases renewed to all the levels, between the functionary and material-configurative, introducing values of "fundamentum" that they do not need "reasons" of alteration of the Order Politics, but that constitute a true "Refundamentum" to all the scales - of the city as centre of a territory, of the urban centre as centre of the city, of the city as structure of centres. This "urban Designium" will have to become in full guarantee of the values of identity and historical richness, based in the city and the territory - values that if find enrolled in the Urban Memory, as one of the distinct and "almost" genetic marks of the territorial units that suffer to alterations from nature and physical configuration since its creation, but that if they insert in a line of historical continuity where if they inscribe the conjunctures of urban development.

The example of Portugal, in the specific case of the city of the Oporto, it serves of reason to fit this agreement, that if it will be able to equate as a operative concept for the urban development. The historical case of the downtown reform, in the beginning of century XX, with the Plan of the Civic Centre elaborated by Barry Parker -1916 - it serves of base to this argue.

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Biographical Study of Japanese "Civic Artists" before the W.W. II - Acceptance and Development of Civic Art in Japan -

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Civic art appeared in the books of Charles Mulford Robinson and Raymond Unwin as a concept for pursuing urban beauty as a result of city improvement based on the view of art with the social purpose at the beginning of the 20th century. This paper aims to show how civic art was accepted and how it developed in Japan, through the thoughts and activities of the following three Japanese.

Kenji Ishihara (1895-1984), architect planner of the Tokyo City government who was fascinated by social art theory and practice of William Morris and his successor Unwin, tried to set urban beauty planning in city planning system. He was one of the progenitors of the Society of Civic Art (SCA). He continued to take the lead of SCA in to develop its activities.?

Yoshitane Tochinai (1888-1945), who had been under the influence of Robinson's idea for civic art, prompted people to be involved in making their own town beautiful. He was originally a journalist and started SCA with Ishihara and others. Then, he interpreted civic art to people. Besides, he advocated historic preservation and tried to arouse public opinion for urban improvement in his hometown Morioka through so many articles on local newspapers.

Hideaki Ishikawa (1893-1955), who had reinterpreted city planning from Unwin's advices, developed his original civic art as public resort planning to produce liveliness. He was not only the one of the most famous governmental planners in Japan but also was the one of the most unique advocators of civic art. He thought shopping districts with urban beauty were as important as public resorts. He tried to produce and manage public resorts with various citizens, mainly commercial community.

They respectively sought another kind of city planning other than existent city planning. For example, "urban beauty", "civic society" and "liveliness" were the points, which had been missed in Japanese modern city planning system, born from the national request for developing as an economic and industrial country rapidly.

In other words, the developments of civic art were the discussions and practices on improving city planning by some "civic artist" in Japan before the W.W. II.

Garden city urbanism?: Barry Parker and Oporto

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As Portugal's second city, Oporto possesses an eclectic urban tradition, influenced by English Palladianism in the 18th century, and by 'Haussmania' at the turn of the 19th. The Avenida dos Aliados, and the rebuilding of the Camara Municipal, was one of the most important landmarks of the city's early 20th century urbanism, involving Barry Parker (1867-1947), who with his partner, Raymond Unwin was internationally renowned for masterplanning Letchworth Garden City (1902) and Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907).

The Oporto City Council (Camara Municipal) began planning city improvements in the late 1880s. In 1889, the engineer, Carlos de Pezerat proposed a grand boulevard between the Praca Don Pedro [Praca da Liberdade] and Praca Trinidade. Jose Marques da Silva, City architect 1904-7, and his successor, Correia da Silva were influenced by French beaux-arts architecture, and began to update Pezerat's proposals as part of a comprehensive plan for the city improvements. In 1913, an Aesthetics Commission was formed to evaluate the design of city buildings, followed by a Technical Commission in 1915, to examine city improvements in detail. Councillor Elisio de Melo, in charge of public works, urged the appointment of an eminent foreign consultant.

The First World War disrupted architectural practice in Britain. Unwin was seconded to the Ministry of Munitions emergency housing programme. Parker arrived in Oporto in late August 1915, for an eleven-week stay. He reworked Pezerat's plan as a wedge-shaped boulevard, and sited the new Camara Municipal centrally at the head, facing a new town square. Links were made to the off-axis Praca da Trinidade beyond. Parker's design concept included a low-key Camara Municipal, to provide axial visibility of the Trinidade church tower. The architectural style was Palladian Classical, with vernacular touches.

Parker's initial plan attracted criticism, but a revised version was approved in November 1915. Back in England, Parker developed the scheme in detail, and it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1916. Parker's final report also included reconstruction of the cathedral district, and a new road to the Ponte Luiz I.

Construction of the Avenida dos Aliados commenced in 1916, and construction of the new Camara Municipal, designed by Correia da Silva began in June 1920. The elaborate Franco-Flemish building with its central tower contrasts with Parker's simpler concept, but confirms the appropriateness of the tapering boulevard and axial gardens of its setting. Parker had achieved mediation between the vista and the closure of urban space.

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Beijing, Berlin, and Bucharest: Legacies of socialist modernity at the end of history

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Sociologist Ivan Szelyni has argued that it is possible to differentiate socialist cities from capitalist cities in three important ways: less diversity (relative scarcity of consumer services); less concentration in the use of land (absence of a land market), and less marginality (inhibition of individuality or creativity). What Szelyni has not addressed is the modernist obsession of socialist planning that gives the socialist cities still another distinctive character, very different from the capitalist order of cities. The culture of planning in the socialist era has been shaped by the central and authoritarian command of the Faustian state, and its obsession with axis, symmetry, monumental scale, ceremonial public spaces, segregated and hierarchy of land use, and the like.

This paper will expand on these ideas and explore further, how, at the end of history (Fukuyama, 1992), the socialist legacy of urban form is adapting to the new order of global economy. The paper will argue that it is precisely the modernity of the socialist city and its rational order, ironically, that has helped to accommodate the Faustian development triggered by the contemporary globalization. This will be demonstrated from case studies of the contemporary development of Beijing, Berlin, and Bucharest, three important cities associated with the socialist era.

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The *Invention* of Brasilia

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The commemorative exhibition marking Lucio Costa's birth centennial that took place at the *"Paço Imperial"*, Rio de Janeiro, from March to April 2002, showed a surprising collection of study drafts for the Capital-City of Brasilia (1956/1957) design competition. This paper attempts to document and critically analyze these sketches from a renewed methodological perspective of research, which scrutinizes its 'design logic'.

It has been considered that, in the absence of reliable or rigorous accounts of a design process, these graphic records can be inspected, rebuilding a complex chronology of motifs, methods and circumstances informing the conception and development of an idea. For that matter, besides presenting these original and unpublished study drafts, a concurrent intent is to investigate the implications of graphic notations in a practical use for problem structuring, problem solving, creativity and conceptualization in architectural and urban design.

Costa (1995, p.283) argued that he was "...unarmed of design preconceptions and urban taboos and imbued with the implicit dignity of the program: to invent the definitive capital-city of the country." The architect alleged that he did not intend to compete, just rid himself of a possible alternative. The influences, acknowledged long after presenting the *"Plano Piloto"* [Master Plan], were described as the 'Ingredients for the Urban Design': "... The sweet loving memories of Paris ... the immense English lawns... the pureness of distant *Diamantina* [old colonial city inland Brazil] of the twenties... the fabulous photographs of China in the beginning of the century... attractive typical viaducts in the surroundings of the city [New York]..."

The opportunity that arises with the production of a master must be seized aiming to comprehend, in a general way, the nature of an act that is both difficult and commonplace to architects. However, as some authors have been demonstrating, through the examination of remarkable situations, one could understand the importance of graphic notations for the practice of the architect.

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Contested places for Australia's capital city

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This paper argues that Canberra is the product of nineteenth-century conflict as the original colony of New South Wales separated into smaller entities. The rejection of republican ideals in preference for a "commonwealth federation" is explained, particularly leadership by Henry Parkes. The notion of a "neutral city" located in its own seat of government territory away from the commercial ports of Sydney and Melbourne constituted a political compromise that also shifted from British interpretation of "primate capital city" functions within an imperial hierarchy towards Australian re-application of the Washington model of a constrained "federal capital city". Subsequent conflict over various sites for the future capital included debate over water rights for the future city. Further conflict needed resolution after local engineers immediately challenged the first city design by Walter Griffin (1912). The Griffin street layout, gazetted in 1925, but substantially varied within two years to meet engineering problems, has been the target of many subsequent re-interpretations. Since 1927, evolution of a "national capital" vision has initiated major re-definitions of the roles of Canberra, with centralization of capital city authority strengthened during the Second World War and by post-war creation of the National Capital Development Commission. This expensive metropolitan vision changed with acquisition of self-government for the Australian Capital Territory in 1988 to follow a binary planning process shared by the Commonwealth and ACT Governments through the National Capital Plan (1990) and the ACT Territorial Plan (1993). Subsequent capture of some national roles by Sydney and a new metropolitan vision for Canberra, the Canberra Spatial Plan (2004), mark a further urban design change as a new interpretation of an Australian unitary state emerges.

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Planning, city image and metropolitan growth in Brasilia

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This paper discusses the production of space in Brasilia, the national capital city of Brazil. The objective is to contribute for the analysis of the role of planning, ideology and city image in the production of metropolitan space. The perspective adopted assumes the following relations: social, economic and ideological context; public policies for territorial organization; and the perceived image and spatial practices towards the land and the environment. The basic assumption is that not only planning culture but also social perception, influence environmental quality in cities. City images, while collective experiences, have a decisive role in spatial practices. Furthermore, key actors may create city images to suit their interests.

The analysis focuses on the influence of territorial planning policies, not only in the continuous production of a segregated space, but also in the recent establishment of a chaotic metropolitan growth. Since the start in the nineteen fifties, the governmental discourse attributed to Brasilia the image of an ideal city. The modernist city plan not only expressed the progress period in which the country was to enter, but also served as a model. The conservative development that characterized the ensuing phases and influenced territorial management was determinant to produce a dual urban structure. The governmental discourse, however, continued to produce an image of a planned and equalitarian city.

The analysis suggests that the perception of a disruption between governmental discourse and effective action may have contributed for spatial practices that emphasize private over public interests. In Brasilia, the perception of a disjointed image seems to have influenced spatial practices, turning them away from planning directives. The main source utilized is a bibliographical research and references to different territorial plans for the city, considered representative of different periods through which the urbanization of Brasilia has evolved.

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Implications For Twenty-First Century Capital City Planning

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Comparison of sixteen capital city case studies reveals patterns that may be useful in building future capital cities. The implementation of capital city plans generally requires good practice on six themes: 1) creative urban design, 2) political support, 3) political champions, 4) administrative organization, 5) financial strategy and 6) coordination of development with favourable economic conditions. The best implementation agencies run public competitions for key projects and have outstanding urban design consultants available. Broad based political support throughout the implementation of capital plans is also important. A strong political champion can be useful in giving a strong push to the project and establishing an implementation agency. Some form of arms' length agency is a proven method to implement a capital city plan, but its powers must be closely matched to the type of capital and its stage in development. Stable long-term funding is required to match a capital city's long-term infrastructure investments. Good timing is also needed to coordinate a major public development project with national or international economic cycles.

A question now facing planning historians is whether capital city planning will continue to be a substantial practice in the twenty-first century, or was it mainly a twentieth-century phenomenon prompted by the breakup of empires after the two world wars? Some argue that we have left the *nation-forming* phase and are well into a *post-national* phase where globalization is increasingly important. And global cities like Tokyo and London appear uninterested in planning for their status as national capitals, while aggressively pursuing their position as financial capitals. The impact of globalization on other nation-states is not clear. Will smaller states endeavor to maintain their national identity, using their capital city as an important symbol?

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Brussels – Capital of Belgium and Europe

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European unification has given rise to a new form of capital city. Superposing national, regional and local structures and their built expression, the European Union (EU) and its predecessors, the three European Communities (ECSC, EEC, and Euratom), constitute a new actor in the transposition of political powers into the built environment.

Since the 1950s, the Belgian government, with support from the City of Brussels and in collaboration with corporate business, transformed Brussels from a regional centre into a metropolis and the de facto capital city of the EU. Visions for the development of a European district existed, but the concrete integration of the European organizations after 1958 occurred in a central inner-city location, at the detriment of the traditional city and largely against the interests of the inhabitants. Following on the economic growth period of the early 1960s, Brussels saw the emergence of citizen-initiatives opposing the ongoing radical urban transformation. Regionalization and the establishment of the democratically elected Brussels Region in 1989 introduced a new actor, who speaks for the citizen and at least partially oppose national politics. In the context of the larger questions, What is a capital? and What is its physical expression?, this paper identifies three different periods after 1945 and analyzes the position and concrete influences of different urban actors "national, regional, communitarian and local" in regard to the function and expression of Brussels capital of Europe, investigating political and administrative decisions, Brussels master plans and architectural realizations. The analysis of the inscription of the European function in Brussels will serve as example of global-local interactions that are more and more important in the design and planning of contemporary cities, pitching supranational institutions and multinational corporations whose size and international clout is an important economic factor against urban life quality and local representation.

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New Delhi

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The majestic colonial capital of the last century which catapulted an ancient city onto the international map of modern planning poses today a dilemma of fit into an expanding metropolitan context. Its evolution and changing contexts have been analysed through four distinct time periods.

The formal decision to build a new Imperial capital at Delhi by shifting administration from Calcutta was solemnized at the royal *Durbar* of 1911 after many decades of administrative and political rumblings. The 1857 mutiny and the 1905 Bengal upheaval after its partition had crucial roles in the decision. Delhi won over other contemplated locations for its centrality, linkages and symbolic value as a historic capital.

Juxtaposed, yet segregated from the pre-existing Mughal Delhi, Edwin Lutyen's plan for New Delhi was characteristically a mix of grand Baroque and "Garden City" influences, with the principal imperial edifices sited on a small hill providing sweeping vistas around and visual links with major historical monuments, a network of grand avenues interconnecting major places and buildings, rich landscaping and a sprawling low density residential development. Inaugurated in 1931, the entire project, however, had reeked of controversies on its political conception, location, layout, architecture and financial implications; where Viceroy Hardinge played both defensive and constructive roles in its implementation.

Ironically, this exclusive colonial enclave soon woke up to the realities of post-independence growth pressure in the surrounding metropolis with population influx and expanding economic and capital functions of a large new democracy. The skyline around Connaught Place - centrally located across the growing metropolis -quickly changed from Lutyen's sparse bungalows to commercial hi-rises of a central business district. Much of the rest New Delhi, however, was largely undisturbed for several years with the conservation focus of the early post-independence master plan.

Nevertheless, Delhi and its adjacent towns lying across the bordering states have been growing heedlessly despite policies of decentralization in the city master plan and the National Capital Region plan. New Delhi, with its Garden City character and half the population density of its surrounds, lies in the heart of the vast, sprawling metropolitan mass, raising debates over its future role - transformation through intensive land development to meet a growing demand vis-à-vis conservation of an international heritage of planning and design threatened by the surrounding growth pressure.

From a provincial to a national centre: Helsinki

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Centrally governed Helsinki, a provincial capital since 1812 in the Russian Grand Duchy of Finland was urbanized late. The railway turned Helsinki at the end of 19th century into a main port for export and a real capital with connection to all over the country. The new industrial districts, ports, Paris-style boulevards and large stone house areas wittnessed bourgeois wealth. The change in policy and governance transferred planning gradually from central to local level. The city's new Urban Planning Committee (1908) got the assignment of making new urban plans in the spirit of European metropolitan plans. This change coincided with the introduction of the one-chamber parliament (1906) and with the golden era of national arts and culture.

After the First World War Finland separated from Russia and Helsinki became capital for the independent republic (1917). The master plan proposal *Pro Helsingfors,* ordered by private commercial councelor for a Greater Helsinki, was made by architects Eliel Saarinen and Bertel Jung in 1918. It was marked with a continental planning ideas, modernistic monumentalism and traffic optimism. This plan influenced the development of the capital throughout the 20th century. Among the large problems to be solved was the planning of a new city centre, the Töönlahti bay area. The symbolic value of this area grew with Parliament House (1930). However, the final planning of this "republican core"is still an open issue, with mixed interest by the state and the city.

After 1945 the has migration been steadily. With the 1952 Olympics Helsinki joined the exclusive club of Olympic cities. Land area grew five-fold when the suburban zones were annexed in 1946 by decree of the National Government. Local urban planning could see capital, regional, metropolitan, traffic and suburban planning as a whole. The first master plan was approved in 1972.

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The planning of the new capital of Tanzania: Dodoma, an unfulfilled dream

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The government of Tanzania, like so many other Third World countries took a decision in 1973 to build a new capital city for its country, the main reason being to bring the government closer to the people by choosing a central location. It was argued that then capital, Dar es Salaam was peripherally located and not accessible to the bulk of the people of the country.

In 1976 a master plan was prepared by a Canadian firm of planners (PPAL) and was later revised in 1988 due to the deteriorating economic fortunes of the country.

The planning of the new capital adopted novel, modern and appropriate concepts to shape the city, starting with the garden city form of the 1976 master plan to the 'cities' concept of 1988.

The plan and the concepts proposed drew heavily on overseas models and experiences but there were attempts to integrate Tanzanian political and cultural aspirations into the detailed design of urban areas. The plan adopted an urban concept based on hierarchies of the provision of all types of services; it introduced a man-centred transportation system (linking communities) that is segregated and caters for the use of buses, bicycles and walking as modes of transport; it adopted the concept of mixed densities and social mix in its housing design mirroring Tanzania's socialist philosophy; and a meeting point was reached in incorporating man and nature principles in the planning of the new capital. These are experiences that can be emulated by planners elsewhere.

The Master Plan assumed that resources would be available to build the capital and that the transfer of ministries would take place as expected. However, many of its assumptions were not well founded and up to now implementation has been extremely slow due to budget constraints. To-date the government is still run from both Dar es Salaam and Dodoma,- a very costly exercise indeed.

Given more political will, one day the city will see the light of day, but the bottom line is that more resources and implementation capacity has to be greatly increased.

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Rome Capital City Planning

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During the last 130 years Rome was transformed into the capital of a nation state –Italy- that never existed before as a single country. Its impressive past, as capital of the Roman Empire or as a centre of Christianity constituted both a source of inspiration and a rhetoric obstacle for those who tried to shape it into a modern metropolis. Five urban plans, until today, were designed in the attempt to guide and control its development, but the real forces behind it often worked against the official planning policies. It then happened that some of the most significant urban developments took place outside the spatial boundaries of the planned city, therefore calling for continuing adjustments of the previous programs. The main public buildings occupied initially some of the most relevant church properties, but soon it was clear that more ad hoc seats were needed: this brought changes in the historic fabric while, later, helped to develop peripheral areas. However, no radical renewal, like in the 19th century Paris, took place. Actually, it was during the 20 years of the fascist regime that a clear attempt of shaping a capital city, with all its symbolic apparatus, took place. After the second world war the city was invested by the profound migratory movements that accompanied the rise of modern industrial Italy: housing shortage went along with land speculation and illegal developments. Institutional changes giving more power to the mayors, better planning and favourable economic circumstances helped in the recent years to align the city to European standards. All throughout such time, Rome succeeded in preserving most of its extraordinary built heritage, although it was often in peril due to the obstacle it imposes on the functioning of a modern metropolis: this is possibly what makes it a most peculiar capital city.

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From Kyoto to Tokyo

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Tokyo became the de facto capital of Japan by the move of the Emperor Meiji from Kyoto in 1869. Since then, the city has served as almost the only wide window through which the foreign civilization was imported to Japan for more than a century. The function of the central government continued to attract all kinds of activities in administration, economy and culture, making Tokyo the control tower of the nation.

In the early years, the central government started to remodel the medieval castle town of Edo into the modern city of Tokyo. This construction scheme has become the prototype of the Japanese 'city planning.' The population that was about half a million at the beginning and approached two million figure around the beginning of the 20th century, is now sprawling into the surrounding municipalities and prefectures.

The history of the capital Tokyo is the one of the rapidly growing metropolis, of the disorderly development for urbanization and of the planning's fight against it. The history includes the destruction and reconstruction of 'planning disaster' of Urban Improvement, the Great Kanto Earthquake and the bombed damage during the World War II. The story ends with the recent fuss about the removing the Diet function away from Tokyo.

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Red Moscow: Capital of the Revolution or a Revolution in Capitals?

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The planning of Moscow, the ancient capital of the Russian Empire was a pivotal event in the 20th century planning. Its importance was directly related to the Marxist basis of the Russian Revolution and the city's role as Red Moscow; capital of international communism. Impassioned debates raged about the new proletarian society that was being formed. As a result, modern Moscow became emblematic of the long sought alternative to exploitative capitalist cities and the economic system that nurtured them. Its leaders understood that the city had to be both an evocative and inspiring capital as well as an urban environment offering a superior way of life to its citizens. It was to be nothing less than the new proletarian, socialist, capital; a worker's paradise. This paper looks at the many factors that made the planning and design of Moscow distinctly socialist as well as those that were similar to other cities. It assesses both the role of planners and the role of communist leaders such as Stalin and Kaganovich. It analyses the extent to which the planning of Moscow produced a different urban form and way of life from that of capitalist cities.

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From public to private: spatial structure and built forms in post-socialist Sofia

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For forty-five years, between 1944 and 1989, the socialist state was the chief producer of urban space and built forms in Sofia, the national capital of Bulgaria. Since the collapse of socialism fourteen years ago, it is the private sector that has assumed this role. This historic shift has brought radical transformations to the urban fabric of Sofia, as it has in other post-socialist cities.

This paper examines these characteristics of post-socialist urban spaces and built forms that clearly distinguish them from their socialist predecessors. Using the well-known model of the socialist city as a series of consecutive zones of development, suggested by French and Hamilton (1979), the paper first summarizes the key processes of change that have occurred in the separate zones of the city, or namely: the intense re-urbanization of select central areas, the crisis of the socialist housing estates, and the emergence of a new, low-density development ring on the urban fringe that has obliterated the boundary between the urban and the rural (in other words, post-socialist sprawl). Second, the paper identifies several citywide processes of post-socialist urban transformation: decrease of spatial scale, decrease of building scale, privatization of space, diversification of land uses and individualization of aesthetic styles. Lastly, the paper brings forward some key challenges facing the urban planning profession in post-socialist Sofia: how to ensure architectural contextualism in the historic city center; how to preserve public green spaces in the urban neighborhoods, and how to deal with post-socialist urban sprawl. It concludes that all three challenges are yet to find a successful planning response.

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Caracas, modernity and urban scale: an interdisciplinary approach

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The city of Caracas access modernity during the second third of the 20th Century, through a change of scale made possible by the appearance of the oil industry as the main support of the Venezuelan economy. The new pattern of organization of the city was the product of an interesting interdisciplinary approach involving architecture, engineering and urbanism.

In the period under consideration the extension and occupation of the valley took place according to a linear patch model that ignored the original squared pattern used during the foundation and early growth of the city.

The dimension of the change required new proposals from architects, urbanists and engineers, working as a team, in order to respond to the demands of the new reality. As a result, a large public road system, new urban spaces and ambitious buildings, stamped the urban landscape. The new methodological approach, of an interdisciplinary nature, was geared to the illusion of progress and the image of a new modern society.

The study of the projects and accomplishments of this period, (late 30's up to mid 50's) is essential for the understanding of some aspects of the of the city of Caracas as it stands today and perhaps also a good starting point for a reflection on why the plans and illusion of Caracas, as a model and modern city, are gone with the wind.

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Scales of modernity in an urban structure study: Vale do Anhangabau

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Some theorists share the observation that the main modification in Brazilian life due to coffee was, without a doubt, the displacement of the most important economical centers and demographical axis, which were located in the northeastern and eastern parts of Brazil but were then moved to the Southern part of the country, controlled by São Paulo. However, from an urban planning point of view, and from a more inclusive perspective, São Paulo began a parallel discussion that later, at the beginning of the century, would turn it into a very distinct area inside the Federation.

1- In São Paulo, coffee changed the physical, human, social, cultural, and economical physiognomy of the State, determining the settlement of people, creating its own sceneries through the openings of pioneer zones, developing urban areas, and making possible the existence of a well-defined social-economical unit, like the coffee plantation. This product has also generated a social and human type (the farmer) who was already able to influence the country politics during the Second Reign and especially the First Republic. Besides this, there was also the fact ! that when forming the new inhabitants in the city, it provided an added push to their development. And furthermore, starting with countless related activities in trade and industry, opened up the possibility for industrialization and for every possible material improvement.

2- While in cities like Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte, where the urban debate clearly took on the culture and program of the "Capitals of the Nineteenth Century," in São Paulo the basis for a thought was developed about the valorization of local and national characteristics. This thought rejects the haussmannian Paris as a model to follow, and explicitly inserts itself into a group of countries where echoes of the historical naturalism of John Ruskin and the meditations of Camillo Sitte are found.

Urban models and concepts in Portuguese Tangier (1471 – 1661)

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Portuguese effective presence in Tangier covers a period that goes from 1471 to 1661. These two centuries cannot be seen as a homogeneous and continuous time, between the Muslim abandonment and the dowry to the British crown, but as reflect of different reigns with its culture.

The legendary history of Tangier, mentioned by Plinius or Mela, gave to the city a special aura, fulfilling any king's imaginary as the new Hercules. Afonso V played this role in the last quarter of the 15th century, investing on symbolic features of Tangier: the construction of a new palace, a gothic castle over the former *kasbah*, and a cathedral. On the other hand, Tangier suffered a drastic area shortening which formed the actual perimeter of the *medina*. João II, with a more realistic spirit according to his civil ideals, conducted the policy towards the defence of the port, walls and population.

The second half of the 16th century brought a new interest over North Africa possessions, before the 1578 collapse. A modern citadel gives a new image to the city and affirmed it as stronghold once more. The subsequent dynastic union in the Iberia Peninsula by the Filipes is characterized by a new attention on urban and safety subjects in the city but lead to an increasing degree of negligence and the project of a new short cut in the city.

Therefore, Tangier under the Portuguese domination had diverse planning models that one can still observe in its present urban fabric or stratigraphy. Therefore, cartography, iconography, descriptions and local observation are the tools that allowed an accurate survey of the scarce remaining Islamic and Portuguese evidence, inducing a process of archaeology of urbanism of this city. Summing up, this paper analyses the theories of intervention on the city as mirrors of representative performance and its morphological consequences, from the surface reduction to its modern embellishment.

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Thinking spaces, building tropical identities: reflections on the Cariben memory and architecture

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En el Caribe, los intentos por definir una arquitectura propia —o la constitución de un patrimonio arquitectónico— aún se inspiran en proyectos excluyentes de autoridad y orden. Por ello, muchos de los discursos históricos sobre la arquitectura caribeña no explican las dimensiones de los problemas urbanos; más bien proponen pruebas "objetivas" del desarrollo de una personalidad y un paisaje cultural propio, forjado a la luz de las luchas entre lo "criollo" y lo "extranjero", entre la "memoria" y los caprichos de la moda, o entre los intereses del mercado y la constitución de una identidad marcada por el clima y los entornos "tropicales". Asimismo, los testimonios arquitectónicos que ameritan "historia" toman forma a partir de la premisa de que lo caribeño está más allá del bien y del mal, y por lo mismo, que la arquitectura representativa del Caribe trasciende las contradicciones de las clases sociales, las complicadas redes del poder político y económico o los conflictos generados por las resistencias de los subalternos

Como se sugiere, las historias de la arquitectura pueden ser tan "memorias del poder" como cualquier otro relato histórico que pretenda legitimar un particular régimen político. La diferencia estriba en que en las historias del espacio sancionan determinadas formas de hacer ciudad; y que en el Caribe, esa ciudad imaginada "desde arriba" se subordina a las exigencias de las empresas del turismo, al deseo de los oligarcas de la industria de la construcción o a los proyectos del Estado de identidad y orden. En ese sentido, mi exposición propondría el análisis de los discursos dominantes para destacar lo que en otro contexto Ángel Rama llamó de "la ciudad letrada". Dicho de otro modo, la ponencia entraría en los laberintos de significación constituidos por las memorias en el ánimo de desarmar los paradigmas que convenientemente condicionan lo que se piensa y lo que se preserva de la arquitectura del Caribe.

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Modern Planning Options in Chile 1929-1959: concepts of circulation and transport in debates and strategies of territorial arrangement

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The formation process of modern highway systems and transport concepts in Chile, between 1929 and 1959 are described and interpreted in relation to the new needs of a territorial arrangement derived from the country's industrialization process, after the 1929 world crisis. It includes the conceptual framework of Chilean professionals dedicated to urban planning and territorial arrangement. They were architects with a broad knowledge of European and North American contributions. They were occasionally reflective, creative and also critical whenever that contribution wasn't coherent with the Chilean geographic, social and economic reality, as is the case of Modern Movement in urbanism. It highlights their early understanding of infrastructure as a principle of territorial arrangement, rather than as the effect of the implementation of technological innovations. The conceptual body they supported had a rather cultural focus, in relation to conceptual transference, that they themselves carried out mainly from Germany (W. Hegemann, K. Brüning, S. Prager), from Austria (K. Brunner), in the 1930's, and from France (R. Auzelle y G. Bardet), in the 1950's. Being ahead of their time they understood that the circulation network would have to fulfill a strategic performance in the required new territorial arrangement, where nodes would be considered more important than zones, connections much more important than administrative borders and where time would be considered much more relevant than space.

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Images and entertainment: two topics to tackle the social uses of space at the Zocalo of Mexico City

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At the *Laboratorio Audiovisual de Investigación Social* (Instituto Mora/Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología project, in Mexico City) we are interested in analysing the social uses of the main square of Mexico City, called the *Zocalo.*

We are studying the different actors that we can find since the sixties of XIX Century using this place, and the different tensions and conflicts we have observed between them.

The historical meanings of the transformations of the *Zocalo* of Mexico City and its uses are the most important matter of the present research that we are analysing through documents, press, film and photographic shots, from the 1860s up until the present day.

The changes of political ideologies and urban plans during this period are reflected on the actual scenes and actions we can observe at the *Zocalo*, and above all the people's ways of using this place.

Civic and popular celebrations have become the lei motif of the research, on the one hand because of the closed relation between those and the uses of this public space in Mexico cities; and on the other hand, because of the different regulations that we can find during the period related with the permissions and prohibitions for doing some things or others in the main square of Mexico City.

Images, not only photographs but the most, have been one of the principal sources for the research and have allowed us to see to other things not said, neither written, of this space and period.

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Space performance models to interpret the city's history. The San Cristobal city case, Venezuela

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The historical reconstruction of the cities constitutes an interesting subject for the present societies. To think about their origins and evolution through years, it acquires a special importance. To know the city's evolution is intimating with the society that has formed it, it is attending to different processes that have taken place in its existence. The city is the result of the relationships between several forms adopted in its historical course and social forces that have sculpted it. The urban space is associated to some city models. As long as representations is concerned, these models lead to interpretation of processes, phenomena or characteristic of the city's reality. In our Latin American context, big and medium cities have experienced deep quantitative transformations that it puts them on the same level with cities of other latitudes. Nevertheless, the results in equity and development level's are in a continuous confrontation with those other realities. This situation has led to a particular space performance that combines foreign influences in the technological and cultural aspects with a reality subdued in economic and social terms. The space performance of San Cristobal city is related to two models, the compact traditional one, characterized by its physical unity, complexity and functional heterogeneity which is located until the first half of twenty century. The other model, which shows at the moment, is compared to the detached, zoned, divided in sectors and simplified one. In their explanation they analyze the urban land production, agents that impel it, their participation forms, property, uses, adopted profiles in their growth.

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Late capitalism and the crisis of planning

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This paper aims to explore the links existing between the contemporary economy and the crisis of planning all over the world, focusing on the historic period that goes from the eighties to nowadays.

It comprises the following issues:

- The discussion in Europe: from the "city of discipline" to the "city of developers".
  - Reevaluations in the eighties: the collapse of the Tendenza's "scientific planning" and the emergence of the paradigm of the "city of parts".
  - The "city of parts" as economic strategy to operate in the city: the "city of developers". The case of London Docklands.
- The empire of the deregulation in the USA: the "city without plan".
  - New economy, new technologies and urban deregulation.
  - Case Study: Houston.
  - Economic growth and urban deregulation: problems and benefits.
  - The "shadow planning" as substitute of zoning.
- Europe takes command: "Third Generation Plans".
  - Changing conditions in changing cities: Bernardo Secchi's proposals.
  - Case Study: Milan.
  - The Plan of 1980
  - The reviews of 1983 and 1990.

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The venezuelan city: visions of an immigrant in the middle of the xx century

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Venezuela, with certain delay in front of other countries, receives to the modernity more than to enter in her, facing the contradiction in a new way of life unyieldingly together to the mechanization and to the industrialization, still inhabiting a widespread rural stadium. From final of the XIX century, and with more emphasis in the first half of the XX one, it was expressed the government's purpose of impelling the modernization of the country, fomented by the creation of planning organisms and agents of the urban change. For the writers and intellectuals it supposed an inevitable occasion also for the reflection. Their novels and writings evidence the expectation degree, of resignation or even of frustration with the city of their time. The literature assumes a critical list and of accusation of the inharmonious transformations of the city and the society product of the excessive growth that it is also operated in her.

This work is about the urban imaginary registered in the novel "Venezuela Imán", of José Antonio Rial: Spaniard, political exile. In that he approaches the sum of elements conjugated in the construction of the modern Venezuelan city: shipwrecks' beach -foreign and national immigrants- in which one a "new Babel", haughty and scarce of brain monster, substitutes his little and provincial mother. Absence or forgetfulness of traditions, indolence with the history, eradicate, speculation are some of the topics referred by the author like culpable for that reality. Inside the new city, the "barrio", or marginal quarter -medieval of the heights town- has an essential value that competes in beauty, according to the novelist approach, "with the perfect lines of the urban architecture of below, (that) in the great perspective, they were too much thought to be amusing". Confrontation among formal city and informal city, that in their simultaneity conform a complex and contradictory structure. In the speech of that immigrant it always underlies a constant, that of a tacit opposition with the great city, the metropolises that it perverts the feelings. As counterpart it erects to the nature, the non inhabited space, the forest and the field, as places for the redemption and the liberation of the soul of all those ghosts and miseries propitiated by the great city.

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A historical approach to the study of town and regional plans originated in regional planning in Argentina, 1940-1960

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Este trabajo avanza en el estudio de la producción de planes regionales en Argentina, procurando contribuir a un espacio historiográfico todavía incipiente. En los casos seleccionados, representativos de distintas expresiones del planeamiento regional local comprendidas en el lapso estudiado, se incluyen planes no revisados hasta ahora y otros ya estudiados previamente, con el objetivo de analizarlos colectivamente y de este modo comprender mejor sus transformaciones y su funcionalidad, tanto en la condición de dispositivos técnicos, como en la de vehículos de instrumentación de políticas oficiales.

Como punto de partida se considera la existencia de articulaciones entre planes regionales y políticas de estado, aportando un enfoque hasta ahora soslayado, que permite complementar la explicación unilineal de la difusión de modelos internacionales, a la vez que comprender formas particularizadas de aplicación de dichos modelos, incorporando planes desatendidos por la historiografía. Convergentemente, examinando las relaciones entre paradigmas disciplinares y fundamentos socio-políticos e indagando en las mutuas influencias entre planes y Estado, es posible reconsiderar hipótesis sobre la neutralidad técnica de los planes regionales, y los supuestos sobre las problemáticas que abordan, así como sobre sus argumentaciones teóricas y operativas y sobre las propuestas públicas para el territorio

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Dr. Ishihara Kenji: An Architect, Pioneering Planner and Devout Christian

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Dr. Ishihara Kenji (1895-1984) was a man of varied interests and experiences. From 1922 to 1941, he served as an architectural officer at the Tokyo Municipal Office where he was in charge of the design and construction of Tokyo's municipal buildings. At this time, he spent a lot of money collecting foreign books on housing and urban planning and published several books on urban planning and urban design in the 1920s, some of which heavily relied on foreign urban planning. He was the head of a Christian movement among Tokyo's municipal officers. His deep interest in social service was based on his Christian belief. At the same time, however, he was involved in socialist movements among young architects and architectural students. In 1930 he became one of organizer of the most radical group named *Shinko Kenchikuka Renmei* (Rising League of Architects), which was forced to Collapse in a few months under severe intervention by the police.

In 1941 he got a new scholarly post in the research division of *Juhtaku Eidan* (Japan Housing Authority) and for a very short while from 1944 to 1945 was installed in a professor of architecture in Military College of Technology in Bandung, Indonesia.

After the demobilized caused by World War?, he became a professor at the Architectural Department of Tokyo Metropolitan University in 1949, and one of the pioneering professors of urban planning in Japan until the 1960s. He was a well-known figure in the academic community of urban planning in Japan and held the position of the president of the City Planning Instituted of Japan from 1961 to 1963. His primary scholarly achievements are thought to be studies on farmer's traditional houses. A devout Christian and a pacifist, in his final years he rendered service to the poor. He was thought to be have spent the days of his final years in a northern suburb of Tokyo where he once took his students to conduct a series of field surveys on housing conditions. Dr. Ishihara positively stated the opinion about the planning systems and projects as the president of the City Planning Instituted of Japan. Knowledge regarding his thoughts and actions are important for the future of urban planning in Japan

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The wonderful possibilities of the future: Political and administrative influences on urban planning in Greater Brisbane

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Greater Brisbane was formed from the amalgamation of several smaller local authorities and utilities trusts in 1925. The rationality of the models of the 'city functional' and 'city efficient' approaches to town planning was an influence in the amalgamation. However, unlike the planning commission approach common in the United States at the time (and experimented with in Australia), in Brisbane town planning models and administration were embedded within a new wider new 'greater city' administration. Despite several unsuccessful attempts at developing a city-wide town plan nothing was fully legislated until 1965. The forty-year hiatus illustrates the relationship between State and local government in Queensland, the impact of external influences such as a Great Depression, as well as the impact of changing models of town planning and cultural and political models of city administration. It also shows how pragmatic town planning ideas (such as the coordination of infrastructure and land use planning) can be implemented without their fitting within a grand master plan.

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Shin, Gyo, So: The Traditional Concepts of Spatial Design in Japan

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This paper attempts to show how the concept of traditional Japanese cities related to the concept of *'Shin, Gyo* and *So'*, three levels of formality found in Japanese design. These concepts, along with other traditions, were abandoned in city planning when modern urban planning was introduced in the Meiji Period. *'Shin, Gyo* and *So'* originally evolved in the art of calligraphy or Chinese character writing. *'Shin'* refers to the extreme formality, while *'So'* is the graceful curvy form stylized down from *'Shin'*. *'Gyo'* style belongs in the middle of the above two styles, and can be translated as semi-formal. Since ancient times, this classification has been applied not only to calligraphically but also in the field of spatial design In Japan, such as flower arrangement and gardening.

Record of the urban design in Japan goes back to the cities planned according to the Chinese grid system in the 7th century. It is thought that it the acceptance of the Chinese grid plan was the first among many influences gradually received from foreign countries according to the needs of specific periods. The traditional city space in Japan has represented the needs of various individuals to be in a specific place in the city. However, this system along with the feudal system and the introduction of a subsequent modern urban planning executed by the first Japanese modern regime in the 19th century.

The earliest examples of capital cities following the Chinese grid pattern are the cities of the 7th century and 8th century, such as Fujiwara-kyo, Heijo-kyo and Heian-kyo. These cities have a rectangular perimeters and orthogonal axes, and are regarded as 'Shin' or formal cities. The cities located further inland were developed along the water routes, and respond to the curves found in the rivers and waterways. These cities therefore are planned in 'So' style. The third type of traditional urban settlements in Japan is the castle town. These towns usually have a combination of the former two styles and may be called 'Gyo' cities. The center area in castle towns usually follows the curve of the castle moat, while the perimeter may be more rigid or relaxed.

All of the above styles have been modified over time. Most often, this change is toward a flexible street composition. It is thought that it is these modifications that give particular character to old Japanese towns.

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Postmodern Spatialities of 'Glocalisation': Conceptualising 'Heterotopian' Urbansim

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Global- local (glocal) forces infuse postmodern urban spaces (Dovey, 1999), reflecting the significant role of semiotics (images and signs) as indices of global economic boosterism and local cultural forms. With the proliferation of urban images and signs, postmodern urbanism is characterised by the commodification of place identity and by the fragmentation of spatiality. This gives place experience phantasmagoric character wherein the global and local, the familiar and the strange, the real and the virtual become inextricably intertwined.

As consumption and mobility frame everyday life, under regimes of global capitalism, 'post socialist' urban spaces in Eastern Berlin and Central Moscow are experiencing a 'transnational imaginary' which is shaping local constructions of identity. Confronted with growing abstraction, and with emerging cultural content of flows and information intensity, people are increasingly able to reflect upon post modern conditions within 'post socialist' reality, with such reflexivity becoming aesthetic (Lash and Urry,1994). Inevitably though, 'post socialist' urban spaces in Eastern Berlin and Central Moscow are subjected to branded glocal landscapes with distinct signs and billboards, whilst representing the corporate identity of post modern spatiality, where non-place (Auge, 1995) and space of flow (Castells, 1996) prevail.

Accordingly the current paper explores possibilities for (re)(de)constructing the meaning of 'post socialist' urban experience whilst conceptualising Foucault's heterotopia (places 'outside of all places') as an articulation, both material and psychological, of an 'aesthetic cocoon' (Leach, 2001). The work proposes a spatio-temporal narrative (Soja,1995), of a journey (within /between) Eastern Berlin's public spaces and Moscow's underground metro, whilst offering a representational system for 'heterotopian' urbanism (De Cauter, 2001). The conceptual framework regards postmodern 'heterotopian' urbanism as semiotic representation and spatial metaphor, reflecting space - time compression (Jameson, 1991), whilst engendering frameworks of place and memory within 'post socialist' Berlin and Moscow. In conclusion therefore the proposed (re)(de) constructed 'topographical fragments' are comprised of a 'field of play' within which a series of spatial transformations simultaneously emerge, as a simulation of urban experimentation in_between the local and global (glocal), the imaginary and reality.

The Rise of Modernism and the Decline of Place: The Case of Surrey City Centre, Canada"

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For the past eighty years, the dominant paradigm in North American planning has been based on one or another form of utility maximization. Depending on the aspect of the built environment being planned, it has involved mechanistic thinking (transportation planning), functionalism (in the separation of land uses), formalism (in the arrangement of space and treatment of buildings independent of context) and economism (in the priority often given to economic over other values). It has also been premised on professional elitism and the assumption that residents and users of urban places that have little useful knowledge of what makes them pleasant and fulfilling. Guided by these principles, modernist planning – and its analogues in the other design professions – has tended to view the urban environment as space, divested of qualitative attributes, to be manipulated according to utilitarian objectives.

This paper stresses that, in addition to the instrumentalist outlook undergirding modern planning, there is an expressive outlook which first took form in response to the excesses of the Industrial Revoution, and which helped catalyze the resistance to North American freeway-building and "urban renewal" in the 1960s. This paper explores how a more expressive outlook views the plethora of human needs that the built environment must fill in fulfilling its essential role as human habitat. In this it joins with the pre-modern unitary outlook first articulated by Patrick Geddes and others, based on viewing the whole of the urban region as a variegated habitat serving a host of human needs. This notion of planning as "place-making" has been experiencing a renaissance in the past decade and more, bolstered by new research that demonstrates that "place matters" to our health and well-being as individuals, and to the capacity of our communities for generating social capital and environmental responsibility.

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Charrettes in China: newer urbanism in older cities

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This paper focuses on the history and dynamics of recent planning-related charrettes (i.e., brainstorming workshops) in China. A key example that will be analyzed is a June 2002 design charrette in Guangzhou, but this example suggests the need to understand charrettes in China within a broader temporal and conceptual context. Part of that context concerns an understanding of how dramatically cities in China have been transforming in the past quarter century - spatially, socially and economically. As cataclysmic developments unfold in a rapidly urbanizing China, most Chinese residents have not been empowered to express their opinions formally, to participate openly in decision making processes, or to contribute their ideas about how China's cities should change.

However, one major (albeit sporadic) exception to this rule is the design charrette. In Beijing during the early 1990s (M. Leaf, ed., Inner City Neighborhood Development, 1993), and in Suzhou later in the decade (H. Prentice, ed., Shaping an Ancient City for the New China, 1998), experiments using participatory workshops were tested in urban contexts, with mixed results. More recently, workshops in Hong Kong (1997), Quanzhou, Fujian (D. Abramson, 2002) and Guangzhou, Guangdong have demonstrated an intensifying interest on the part of public policymakers with expanding these experiments.

The paper will identify the origins of the charrette in North America from the original function of charrettes in architectural design studios in the Beaux Arts Tradition to the American Institute of Architects' use of charrettes in their participatory Regional Urban Assistance Design Teams (R/UDAT) as a vital community design forum (AIA 1976). The paper will trace the roots of the R/UDAT to the highly structured workshops and charretts that have become a significant tool of the New Urbanists (CNU 2003). The paper will therefore place the particular case of a Guangzhou charrette within the historical planning context of this trend in China and its roots in North America. In so doing, the charrette will be shown as an adaptive mechanism as it increasingly migrates into contemporary Chinese planning and design practice.

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Environments Under Strong Development Threats - on Bang Khun Tien and Possibility of Sustainable Future

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Bang Khun Tien is one of fifty districts of the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA). It well illustrates the conflicts between natural environment and traditional, local cultures on one side and various planning doctrines, models and patterns of development on the other. It can be used as an unfortunate example of a political and planning system insufficiently prepared to deal with severe environmental problems.

This paper sketches out the complexity of environmental and cultural issues that should be inform the development of Bang Khun Tien. It focuses at the likely and the possible futures of the area and, in particular, at the question of compatibility of ecological, economic and social imperatives - which today so dramatically collide. Its open-ended conclusions are aimed to generate discussion and possibly help development of sustainable solutions for the problem and area that demand urgent solutions.

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University Planning and Design under Confucianism, Colonialism, Communism and Capitalism: the Vietnamese Experience

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The university in Vietnam represents a thread of continuity that has managed to survive the political, economic and social turmoil faced so frequently by the Vietnamese people. This paper traces the evolution of the Vietnamese university in terms of its site planning and building design from the Hanoi Van Mieu, a Confucian 'temple of literature' which, built in 1070AD, is regarded as the country's first university, to today's system of general and specialised universities and polytechnic institutions. In the late 1990s another step in the process of evolution began with the rationalization and amalgamation of the tertiary system to form two large, multi-campus and multi-disciplinary universities – the Hanoi National University and the Ho Chi Minh National University.

The paper outlines the major stages in this evolution over nearly a thousand years, dividing the discussion into pre-colonial (feudal), colonial (capitalist) and post-colonial (communist followed by post-*doi moi* market-socialist). It should be noted that Vietnamese scholars place less emphasis on colonialism as a key turning point in their history than this division implies, and, in particular, they often prefer to call the post-colonial period simply the 'modernist period'. Nevertheless, whatever the terminology used, it is clear that successive regimes in Vietnam all sought to put their stamp on the character of Vietnamese education and consequently on the planning of university campuses and the design of university buildings.

The paper also seeks to show, however, that the relationship between political culture and environmental impact in Vietnam's case is complicated by the interplay of national and international influences on cultural development. After identifying some of the main international and national influences on a selection of key Vietnamese universities, the paper addresses the question whether Vietnam's unique history has produced a unique type and set of Vietnamese universities.

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Planning for Intangibles: innovation and the postmodern scene

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Innovation is a widely used term that is employed in a number of different ways. It is part of the policy lexicon for governments of all levels, global corporations and an army of academics, artists and consultants. Innovation, thus, is an intangible force, a construct of overlapping forces and ideas. It is a postmodern entity.

The planning profession, unlike other professions and sectors of society, has been slower to adopt the term and its associated meanings. It has been more hesitant still, to create its own set of meanings for the term. In contrast to this, the present paper argues that both in the planning process itself and within the larger social context, planners must embrace innovation theory. Planners must be innovators.

This paper attempts to identify a potential route of import for planners who want to employ the notion of innovation in their work — but it does so with a twist. The author suggests that, while there are many reasons for planners to employ the notion of innovation in their work, they should not do so uncritically. Innovation is a "loaded" term and therefore must be subject to a review that explores the many nuances with which it is used. With this in mind, the author treats innovation as a *theoretical construct* rather than, as is often done, a material entity. Looking at innovation in this fashion enables the identification of a number of possible ways that planning could cautiously adopt the language and praxis of the concept.

The paper briefly explores the history of the concept, looks at its past and often paradoxical usages and examines its contemporary coinage. It then explores the interrelated notion of allowing for innovation in the planning profession and developing a profession that is able to better foster innovation in the broader social context.

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Planning Houston: A City Without a Planning Culture

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Houston, America's fourth largest city, with two million inhabitants, has the nation's largest planning department with 350 employees. Yet the city has no plan and no zoning, and never has. What do all these planners do? That is, what kind of planning is done in a city without a plan, without zoning? Furthermore, Houston has a strong private property ethic, a legendary zeal for entrepreneurship, and a history of decisions on large projects, which have been made by a select handful of the political and economic elite. What place does professional urban planning have in this setting? The author finds that a homegrown threefold approach to planning has evolved over the last two decades. Born out of several anti-zoning battles in which planning and zoning proponents squared off against private property advocates, the new non-regulatory style of planning evolved slowly around three interconnected urban realities. The first is infrastructure led development. This involved large-scale transportation projects designed to make the city the pre-eminent trade center in the region. The second was large development projects, including civic and sports facilities, mainly in downtown. The third was neighborhood planning, derived from grassroots initiatives aimed at protecting community character in the face of large and incompatible development proposals. Taken together, these three foci of public sector planning now define Houston's new course into the future.

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Urban diversity and common ground: The effects of culture-led regeneration on inter-group relation – The case of Hackney, London

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Managing diversity, namely issues regarding integration, social cohesion and social exclusion, has been gaining popularity both in UK and in EU context, both in theoretical debates and in possible ways of practice. The collage of urban diversity consist of several groups trying to secure an identity, forming relations to other(s) as well as encountering existing political cultures, all in a shared territory. Urban regeneration, especially culture-led one, is a strong advocate of living together, of multiculturalism and of the benefits of introducing culture into development. However, although advocating multiculturalism, issues regarding the formation and development of inter-group relations are usually treated under the all-inclusive and superficial diversity imaging. This paper explores the development of inter-group relations, the elements that influence and define them and their connection to urban regeneration initiatives. It goes through current culture-led regeneration policies in England and focuses on the case of Hackney, an inner London borough with high level of diversity. Through the case of Hackney, it reflects on the effects of culture-led regeneration and on space and society, especially on the more influential themes for inter-group relations. Furthermore, this paper expresses and questions possible ways of positive forms of integration, as they have expressed though projects, community needs and relations. At the end, it wishes to highlight potential spheres where of developing common ground between differences as a negotiatory way of living together.

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The pendular swing and the wheel: spinning the planning paradigms

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The end of 20th century knew an important unfolding of theoretical and practical proposals about planning to advance the epistemological bases of urbanism. Nevertheless, the majority of planning tools have based their corpuses on methodologies devised years ago: postmoderm architectural planning versus strategic planning. Thus,culturalism and progresivism as planning trends have proved very valid nowadays.

There is a third trend, known as eco-urbanism, which implies a new sensitivity in planning. Yet,it is not a third paradigm itself since sustainability is a human,social and economical need applied to planning. The complexity of modern cities favours the integration of two traditional styles, the architectural beuty and the functional effectiveness, thanks to the existence of common elements: sustainability ,advocacy and deontology.

This paper analyzes the main principles underlying contemporary planning in terms of theory and technique and puts forward another concept in the debate :the urbanism of synthesis. An extense bibliographical review and the reading of new charters, urban laws and planning experiences lead to the conclusion of the existence of epistemological eclecticism which acts as the Hegelian synthesis or overcoming ("aufhebung") in order to solve this dychotomy.

That's why planning nowadays is called eclectic. The present culture of cities is defined by the ideological exchanges among the differents ways of thinking the planning culture.

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The Architectural Dimension of British Planning: Amenity

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There is no doubt about the success of Urban Design in the identification and search for urban quality thanks to the use of specific means and practice. However, its acceptance as an independent part of Planning has meant that it has had to abandon those formal aspects which have been an integral part of it since the beginning of English urban legislation: the "Housing and Town Planning Act", 1909.

This paper shows how the objectives that Physical Planning proposes for the whole city are the same as those aims that Urban Design suggests in its urban activity. Thus urban quality is identified in the concept of "amenity" which was introduced as the basis of Town Planning in the 1909 law. But the very search for this quality of Planning means coming into contact, and even conflict, with architecture. So, going back over the history of British Urbanism, we discover those difficulties that must be resolved for the co-existence of Planning and Architecture.

On this point authors such as Abercrombie put their trust in Civic Design, which, as part of Town Planning, must attend to the relationship between buildings, and of these with their location. In this way, those qualities of architectonic values which are the key to the search for urban quality are guaranteed; but at the same time Architecture reserves for itself that task which belongs only to Architecture, that is, the designing of each of the buildings.

However, that urban practice which developed up to the 60s does not explain what the role of Civic Design in Town Planning should be. So, it is not surprising that due to the breakdown in continuity caused by the "Town and Country Planning Act" in 1968, Urban Design has inherited the aims of Civic Design, but has relinquished its integration in Planning.

This fact shows us the challenge Town Planning has to face: it must return to the search for amenity as the prime objective of the planning of the city as an entity, without restricting it to a certain scale.

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The inventiveness of memory: teaching history and conservation in planning

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This paper explores the connection between creation, repetition, precedent, memory, and the teaching of history and preservation in architecture and urbanism. The didactic of history and preservation is examined from different contexts and times, looking for possible relations between creative acts and the freedom of creation, on the one hand, and history and the conservation of memory, on the other.

The first part of the article discusses the supposed connection between the solidity of repetition vis-à-vis the lightness of the creative instant, as well the possible role as an intermediary of memory and history. The second part analyzes the theme of the teaching of history in the professional training in architecture and urban planning, taking into account recent approaches and the evolution of academic programs, internationally as well as locally. Finally, the paper looks at the function of heritage conservation in academics, particularly from the viewpoint of its relationship with planning and urban design.

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Imaginaries of political identity in latin American historiography of architecture (1980-2000): the anti-non lieux

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A partir de los años noventa el término de "los no lugares" (*non-lieux*) tomado del antropólogo Marc Augé (2002) y en oposición al concepto sociológico de "lugar", asociado con el de cultura localizada en el tiempo y en el espacio (Mauss, 1967), ha definido en el ámbito urbano y arquitectónico a una forma y a una representación de la globalización. El "no lugar" es un espacio anónimo, neutral, autónomo de las inmediaciones contextuales e históricas que no puede ser definido bajo los atributos, dinámicas sociales e imaginarios del "lugar", "lugar antropológico"- a la manera de Michel de Certeau (1996), ni de los lugares antiguos sujetos a mitos y símbolos, los "lugares de la memoria" (Nora, 1996). Son espacios, como define Augé, de "un mundo prometido a la individualidad solitaria, a lo provisional, al pasaje y a lo efímero" (2002: 84). Son las instalaciones para la circulación acelerada de personas y de bienes (terminales de transportes, autopistas), los medios de transporte mismo o los espacios urbano arquitectónicos que están homogeneizando a nivel mundial bajo la misma neutralidad a un aeropuerto, a un hotel, a un centro comercial y en últimas fechas, lo que resulta interesante y paradójico como forma identitaria, a edificaciones de la cultura y edificaciones del poder (el Estado, empresa, Iglesia, etcétera). Son las arquitecturas como el *light construction*, *arquitectura minimalista* y *arquitectura monolítica* ii que han desarrollado intervenciones urbanas de gran escala como en Tokio, en Berlín durante la Internationale Bauausstellung (IBA) de los ochentas o en La Haya con trabajos de Alvaro Siza, Ricardo Bofil, Richard Meier, Rob Krier, Michael Graves, César Pelli y Henri Ciriani. "Ciudades museo", como se le ha denominado en los últimos diez años al coleccionismo urbano de "marcas" arquitectónicas, en donde algunos ejemplos de la neutralidad deconstructivista y del "no lugar" han vejado sustancialmente el compromiso de carácter historiográfico y simbólico de la arquitectura posmoderna como forma de representación identitaria.

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Planning models for suburbs in cities of Rio de Janeiro: the garden city versus the modern tradition

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This paper will analyze two different models of urban design and planning put forward in the 1970s for two areas of suburban expansion in the neighboring cities of Rio de Janeiro and Niterói: the Lucio Costa Plan for Baixada de Jacarepaguá and the Harry Cole plan for Itaipu.i I will analyze the influence of two different planning traditions on the architects responsible for these two distinct plans: the garden city tradition and the modernistic tradition. The paper will focus on the design references and models and the specific cultural context of these cities that influenced the adoption of these models. The paper briefly describes the planning traditions of these two cities since the 1920s, their main projects and the main characters that played an important role in these projects.

In 1969, the architect Lucio Costa was asked to propose an urban plan for an expansion area in the city of Rio, Baixada de Jacarepagua. Costa plan for this area incorporated the main concepts of modernistic design put forward by the CIAM. Similarly, in 1976 architect Harry Cole was hired to produce an urban plan for a suburban area in the city of Niteroi, on the other side of the Guanabara Bay. It was intended both as a residential and tourist area, based on the garden city tradition. He intended to promote an urban development based on the examples of the American middle class suburb such as Sausalito, California, or even with European tourist resorts such as Puerto Banuz, Spain and Port Grimaud in Côte d'Azur, France.

The basic assumption is that cities develop a planning culture that reflects their historical development and the aspirations of their inhabitants and public authorities. Niterói developed since the 20s a culture based on traditional familial values and on the single-family residential unit. The garden city model suited these aspirations. Rio´s planning culture, on its turn, evolved during the 20th century in such way to fulfill the ideals of a national capital. The modern plan of Lucio Costa provided a suitable contemporary approach.

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Consolidation and convergence of two urban traditions

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The relationship between Architecture and Urbanism, or the identification of the roles played by both in the construction of cities, is a constant underlying theme in the history of Urbanism. From this perspective two different processes of formation within the discipline can be cited: Planning, on the one hand; and Urbanism on the other. The origin of the former lies in the Anglo-Saxon world; the development of the latter was mainly on Continental Europe, with Italy as one of the principal contributors.

Each represents a formative tradition which is characterised by precise methodological ideas. From the beginning, the tradition of Planning has stated the pluri-formative character of Urbanism, although it reserves a specific and relevant role for Architecture. On the continent, the focus of Modern Architecture deals directly with the building of a city; thus, the difference between Urbanism and Architecture is really only a question of scale.

The history of Planning shows the need to define the relationship between Planning and Architecture; with this in mind we introduce the definition of the different levels of procedure. Urban Design implies marking out a definite field for a skill with a clear architectonic basis.

In the continental practice of urbanism the equivalence of Architecture and Urbanism soon began to show its limits. The Plan-Project debate that developed in Italy in the 70s means the acceptance of a disciplinary crisis that has been laboriously tempered over the years. The formulation of the Urban Project as verification of this planning, instead of solving the problem, signals the area where this is greater.

So the conclusion is that, while the unison of Architecture and Urbanism cannot be affirmed, it would be artificial to separate them. The definition of a precise field for either or both, with the limits of an intermediate scale, does not appear to be a real solution, but rather a means of avoiding solving the problem.

The history of the two urban traditions – Planning and Urbanism – shows that, instead of placing our trust on a scale or area, we must identify the architectonic and urban dimensions of the construction of cities. The practical challenge of Urbanism should therefore concentrate on the architectonic dimension which is present at every level of action; and also, on the recognition that the opposing and analogue task corresponds to Architecture which must identify the urban dimension of all architecture.

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The Uses of History in Twentieth Century City Planning

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Throughout the twentieth century, city planners studied history. History and historicism have always played a central role in the ideology of the planning movement.

Many of the founders at the start of the century were art historians (Brinckmann, Gurlitt). Every one of the pioneering textbooks of modern planning technique proceeded from analysis of the historical form and precedents (Sitte, Burnham, Hegemann, Unwin). The city planning movement stimulated and celebrated local historiography (Geddes, Poete).

This intimate nexus between historical sensibility and city planning would be re-established in the later 20C by the neorationalists (Rossi), the neotraditionalists (Duany), morphologists (Vernez Moudon) and critical reconstructionists (Kleihues).

Yet a different mode of historical exposition continued throughout the mid 20C climax of modernist city planning. How might we connect Lewis Mumford's monumental urban history *The Culture of Cities* (1938) to his more anti-urban activity in the Regional Planning Association in the 1930s? How do we reconcile E A Gutkind's advocacy of urban destruction in *The Twilight of Cities* (1962) with his painstaking celebration of the urban past in the 4,000 page *International History of City Development* (1964-72)? How do we understand the reading of Pierre Lavedan's *Histoire de l'urbanisme* (1926-52) for the postwar generation of urbanists who planned the *grands ensembles* ? Of what use were the historical narratives of Sigfried Giedion, Ernst Egli, Paul Zucker or Gordon Cherry in their time?

Planning historians do not seem to have addressed the curious dialectic between urbanism and the history of urban design. We suppose that the use of historical experiences is shaped not so much by the knowledge about history (which has always been strong during the century, especially in the modernist epoch) but more by the underlying ideology about history (which differed strongly between concepts of continuity, evolution and break). Our paper, as a preliminary essay, seeks to sketch a general history of the uses of history by twentieth century town planners. And it finally brings up the question what use of history might be considered appropriate in our times – not a peripheral task for a planning history society...

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The power of sensuous ideologies in framing the city

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By focusing on two neighbourhoods: Castlefield in Manchester and el Raval in Barcelona I consider in this paper how the production of urban forms has historically been shaped by sensory regimes. I suggest that these reveal the roots of contemporary sensuous paradigms in regenerated public places in form of ideologies that aim to control disorder, impurity and exposure. Because I am interested in the everyday sensuous experience of public spaces I will not offer an 'ordinary' historical account but bring out the sensuous history of Castlefield's and el Raval's public places in the first part of this paper. I will then provide an overview and analysis of the urban regeneration policies that have led to the spatial transformation of these areas. Both places have re-designed and re-invented their existing public spaces. Both used the construction of major flagship projects: the Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona in el Raval, and the Museum of Science and Industry in Castlefield, to promote new public environments: the Cultural Quarter in el Raval and the Urban Heritage Park in Castlefield. In both cities these new public places paradoxically resembled each other and their policies are based on similar sensory paradigms despite different histories of vernacular public life. Following my hypothesis that urban regeneration has changed the spatial and material structure of these neighbourhoods and thereby has transformed the sensescapes of public spaces, I highlight the power of sensuous ideologies in framing cities.

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Building metaphors: innovation and diffusion of shop buildings

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In September 2003 the Lijnbaan, a shopping mall in Rotterdam, held a small party to celebrate its 50th anniversary. Fifty years ago it was a large modern building, typical of 'the American way of life'. Today it can hardly compete with new outlets, formulas and concepts. This new supply side can be characterized by hybridisation, theming and spectacular spatial design and events. Shopping, in the fifties a new activity of social consumption, is nowadays no more than part of the 'experience economy'.

New patterns of consumption and the example of the Lijnbaan have raised questions about the innovation and diffusion of retail concepts. How are they designed and developed? What, and which architects and real estate developers, inspire them? What are their main references? Which are the leading countries? Fifty years ago innovation and diffusion were matters of politics, culture and economics. Today the design and development process is really market oriented, with cities and their projects regarded as 'products'.

The paper deals with the problem of innovation and diffusion. Buildings are not simply functional piles of bricks and mortar, but have everything to do with social significance and importance. The things that matter to their users – shoppers and experience-buyers – also matter to the designers and developers. All of them use language to make themselves understood and to generate action. Metaphors, special linguistic constructions, are often used in the innovation and the diffusion of models for planning things like shopping centres and shopping malls. The paper discusses the life-cycle of different shop buildings, their physical dimensions and their social significance.

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Transfer and shaping of urban and planning history in mid Twentieth Century Latin America

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The study of the transfer of urban planning into Latin America has been mainly focused on the research about the foreign visitors' works and urban design proposals from the beginning of the twentieth century. As a way of exploring other variables of this process of transference, the paper aims at searching antecedents and works that help to explain how the fields of urban and planning history emerged and were consolidated in Latin America's academic milieux between the 1930s and 1980s, approximately.

For that purpose, the paper starts by reviewing the possible influence of the 1930s' famous visitors, who were linked to the professional practice, as well as the theoretical influence of general and comparative books – not case studies - events and authors related to the emerging fields of urban and planning history. The comprehension of the process of transfer and shaping makes necessary to understand how the local milieux conceived the emerging agenda of town planning in general, since both historiographic and professional processes seem to have been parallel. The paper will also try to pinpoint how, from the 1960s, the Latin American scholars' exchange with other nuclei in Europe and North America would lead to the constitution of the field. Besides the contribution of pioneers such as the Argentine Jorge E. Hardoy, the epistemological consolidation will be explored through events focusing on Latin America's urban historiography, especially within the symposia of the Congresses of Americanists, as well as through the ensuing publications. Other approaches by social sciences, such as the School of Dependency, will also be considered. Although the fields of urban and planning history were closely linked by the mid-twentieth century, it will be pursued a different development of planning history in terms of the same variables.

This paper is drawn from my current postdoctoral research about Latin America's urban historiography, Centro de Estudios Posdoctorales (CIPOST), Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas.

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Spatial Forms and Economic Processes: Querétaro 1765 - 1810

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The exposition analyzes the relation that is established between the economy and the Santiago de Queretaro's hierarchy inside the regional system. The analysis is developed in two levels, the first one, is about the use of the city as a regional economic center. The second one sees the city as a space of individual and collective local use.

The theoretical background in which the exposition is sustained is in the theory of the central places. The empiric part is nurtured by primary archive sources and by texts of local historiography.

Over these two levels lies the process of local urban identity of the final part of the 18th century. In this identity are present in relevant ways the geographic location of Santiago de Queretaro, the internal economic activities, foreign productive demands, and the population. During this process social-spatial fragmentation took place in the city, marked by the intensive use of the former by different ethnical groups, the peninsulars and creoles occupied the intermediate parts of the city, while the group of mestizos and natives, settled in the outskirts.

This pattern of behavior is not exclusive of the city of Queretaro, in contrast, it remained in force in intermediate and large cities of Nueva España, however in Queretaro it had certain particularities. The document explains the regional use of the city, with eminently economical purposes in the same way the urban spaces set themselves apart according to the different social groups.

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Rio-H: the city history revealed through a web-based system

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Historians have relied mostly in descriptive narratives to convey the outcome of their research. This paper aims to overview the debate between historians who are narratives champions and those who support the analysis of historical structure, which evidences some shortages in both currents and the need for exploring new forms of historical representation. The historian Peter Burke, for example, defends a search for a third option based on contemporary literary experiments, which would synthesize both currents in a new narrative form. Although Burke does not mention electronic publications, this paper relates his hypotheses to those new forms of representation provided by computers.

Digital tools have been increasingly used, in the last decades, for the study and representation of the city history. As the available instruments develop and the researchers become more familiar with them, their use turns out to be more effective and provides richer results. This paper aims to explore the use of information technology, particularly 3D models and databases, for the city history research. Rio-H is presented as a digital alternative for the representation of the city history. The tool developed as a prototype is grounded on 3D digital models representing the urban configuration of Rio de Janeiro in different periods of its evolution linked to a database of a great diversity of historical documents. Thus, the city history is accessed through 3D models' images of the historical sites. The users relate the city they know to the site which was the stage of historical events, relating the information from the past to the space they have experienced in the city. The prototype development is based on the assumptions that this process of retrieving historical information connected to the city spaces facilitates the understanding of the past culture.

The ambiguites of urban practices in historic sites: the world heritage city of Olinda in Northeast of Brazil

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The recent urban practice relative to the historical sites has been exalted as a new and efficient way to think the cities. However, voices have echoed in the sense of putting in doubt such practice, enunciating that they are nothing but "cultural market" or "city's scene painting management". Criticisms to both the "new urbanism" and the "third urbanism generation", vernacular expressions derived from both North American and European sources, are based on the emptiness of ideas that such practice contains. Their re-qualification implies the reduction of the State's involvement in the management of the public space, adopting an enterprise strategy according to market flows and "cultural marketing" politics.

However, citing and authenticating such criticism is not sufficient, but also emphasising that the "enterprise's management strategic" practice or "cultural marketing strategy" seem to have as estimated the dilution of both the culture and the memory of the place. If, nowadays, these urban practices provoke the forgetfulness of the past as their interventions brings a uniform aspect to the places; the historical reconstitution can bring other elements to reflections on city planners' acts. Therefore, it is important to consider the following question: What kind of city planners' practices lead either to the forgetfulness or to the memory of the history of the place?

The passage to be followed in order to reflect on this investigation is circumscribed by the ambiguous relation between memory and forgetfulness. The understanding of memory according to Le Goff (1996) is to command vestiges, to recollect and to conserve something conscientious or latent, while the forgetfulness, for this historian, is loss, is amnesia. However, Benjamim (1985) associates aging to forgetfulness, but, when establishing the intersection with reminiscence, states the constitution of "a world in similarity state", that contains rejuvenescent or revitalising strength. In this sense, when trying to conserve a historical site the city planners would not be carrying through a forgetfulness action, but establishing similarities between ways to live in the city of the past, the present and future.

To start reflecting on this, previous facts will be told that seem to denote destruction, loss, forgetfulness, like the example of the fire of Olinda, provoked by the Dutches, in 1631. Could this fire be interpreted as a forgetfulness action? Would it be possible to establish a parallel between such action, in a remote past, and the current accomplished acts of revitalising in historical sites? In elapsing of this writing, one will search to relate the questions above to stories and texts of historians who inform on the formation of what was called the Captainship of Pernambuco village.

Planning of supraurban systems in Venezuela (1977-2002): a lost period?

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In a relatively short period, Venezuela experienced profound changes in the pattern of the location of its population, passing from a predominantly rural country to having one of the highest rates of urbanization in Latin America.

This urbanization process is accompanied by another one, which is the passing from the traditional city to new forms, such as the metropolitan areas and more recently urban regions that include more than one metropolitan area and that comprise urban and rural territories (city-countryside) which operate as a functional spatial unit. It is because of the purposes of this paper that the urban regions mentioned above have been called supraurban systems.

The planning of these supraurban systems required that it be approached from a level of government that would have the necessary legal authority to undertake the coordination of the entities involved not only during the planning process but also for the execution of the defined works and actions.

In the first half of the decade of the seventies, the MOP made an attempt in the direction indicated, that was interrupted and lost starting from the approval of the Organic Law of Central Administration (LOAC) at the end of 1976, which defined for the Ministry of Urban Development (Mindur) responsibilities in the area of urban planning, but relegated it to a context of local action coinciding with the municipal level. The Organic Law of Urban Regulations of 1987 ratifies this situation, as a consequence, the actions of Mindur during its entire existence were centered fundamentally on the preparation of urban plans with a local scope.

he recent creation of the Ministry of Infrastructure (Minfra), to which urban planning was assigned among other responsibilities, has not meant changes in the national level acting in urban planning matter, the urban plans prepared for the Minfra continued been fundamentally local plans; meanwhile, metropolitan areas and urban regions have formed without having guidelines to orient their growth starting from the consideration that they are superurban systems.

It is proposed to take advantage of the opportunity that the formulation of new legislation in the urban area offers to reorient the procedures of the national government in regard to those supraurban systems in need thereof.

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Transformation of non-urban models in the "city of sprawl"

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The paper will develop the analysis of a case study centred in the Oporto Metropolitan Área (AMP), a wide territory of continuous urbanization, diverselly consolidated in time, diverse in the built/occupation/use forms, diverse in the evolution processes.

The study will concentrate in the non-stabilized territory that surrounds the main cities that constitute the AMP, traditionally a non-urban territory, which has been reacting to transformation due to (unplanned) urban growth.

The city concept will therefore follow the "city of sprawl", "diffuse city" or "hipercity". The aim is to understand parts of that territory, the image of *chaos* that characterizes it and the inherent rules and logics that seem inexistent. Only by reacting to the negative (so frequently used) classification and through comprehension will it be possible to decide and act over them.

The object of study is the territory that is developed supporting in the infrastructure road network recognized as a structure element, namely:

- parts of what used to be the "national road network of prime importance", that connected the major urban centres (these have nowadays functionally been partly replaced by the highways); and
- the built environment that has developed along its margins.

The analisys will seek to:

- grasp the original settlement fabric (typological and functional) by confronting it with the transformation processes resulting from the urban expansion;
- identify the empiric models that characterize those systems as well as the subsequent changes in the new "urban" context due to their relocation; and
- understand the adaptability mechanisms of that territory to the new challenges as well as its qualification potencially concerning the public space and the surrounding built environment.

The investigation will read through the 20th century and will inevitably cross culural, historical and political aspects and options that will be checked against new and old urban theories.

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For a culture of metropolitan integration of the city of Mexico: Theory of nodes and urban corridors 2000-2030

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The urban development of the Mexico City is capable of be orientating under an urban development culture of " metropolitan integration ": orientated to the growth of the urban peripheries. Every year, these peripheries grow approximately in half a million inhabitants, which are annexed to the current agglomeration of twenty million inhabitants; the majority of these peripheries represent about fifty per cent of the irregular growth. Inside this context, we construct concepts that support a theory of metropolitan integration, which underlines the perspective of a Net of Nodes and Metropolitan Corridors; capable of containing a Transport Urbano Evolutivo, who faces to the extraordinary daily mobility of twenty-five million daily displacements. This, it is before the intensive urban expansion that believes " metropolitan breaks ": expressed in the vialidad and the collective transport. With it, we observed the existence of axes of daily mobility, which express the intense urban force of centralidad exercised by the Metropolitan Center, and its contradiction with the peripheries. . And it is like that, that from a new conception of urban structure of the Mexico City, we propose a hierarchial structuring of Urban Centers, which denote the potential of possible " Metropolitan Nodes "; and that for consequence, emerges the conception of " Metropolitan Corridors "; offering the perspective of the city policentrlizada as opposition to the current monocentralized city.

Genesis of the new central spaces of the ZoMeCS The center of the Spanish future great metropolises of XXI century

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ZoMeCS (Metropolitan Area of the Costa del Sol), it is today a territory conurbado from Marbella until Corner of the Victoria, with an official population of but of a million inhabitants (and real of almost two if they are assisted to the parameters of garbages, consumption, mobility, or the difficulties in the attention of certain services like Mail). The official proyecciónes locate for final of the decade this population in three million inhabitants.

For their characteristics it is one of the most interesting territories in Europe, not alone for their enormous urban growth, but for the social characteristic of their new inhabitants, coming from all the places of Europe, of the Magreb and of the Sub-Saharan Africa. An international society and multilingue whose birth is to look for it in the opportunity of tourist infrastructure that was designed in the years 50 and 60 of the XX century, and that it is shown today like the prototype of what you/they will be the new European metropolises of the south in the future.

The interest of this communication resides then in the first singularity of metropolises, but also, and not in smaller measure, for the novelty of some processes of occupation of the floor beyond the historical center that they will become the natural continuation of the new central spaces of the ZoMeCS. On these places, built on an unlikely inverse strategy to the traditional one of inside toward it was, with a collaboration infrastructure- economic housing from behind, - shortly explained in this communication -, Málaga has to be reinvented the new urban, institutional, cultural spaces, of leisure, etc. . . that it will demand him a potent and touching territory.

Historical origins and the demolition of the last city walls in Palma de Mallorca

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The city of Palma, at latitude 39,58° north and longitude 2,65° east, the capital of the Balearic Islands, Spain, was walled in from the Roman times to the beginning of the 20th century. The building of the last walled enclosure began during the renaissance and it was demolished in the earlier 20th century. Till the middle of the 19th century the existence of the city wall was not questioned, but in the last quarter of that century there was a call for its demolition on the grounds of hygiene, population and industrial growth. Those were the main arguments used by the local authorities against the military power, which considered the city as a fortress and was responsible for the control of its walls and the polemic zones. The civil power mobilized the population and used their political influences in the national government to seize the military power in charge of the custody of the town and thus, manage to knock down the city walls. In 1895 the king Alfonso XIII of Spain promulgated the Order in Council of cession and demolition of the city walls and as a consequence the Ministry of War made over the lands to the city council. The suppression of the walled enclosure was associated with the creation of a suburban development. The process of knocking down the city walls and carrying out that development was not easy. It was also very expensive and lasted too long. The bourgeoisie was not committed in the building of the new city model and continued living in the old part for many years but they did speculate in urban land. The project of urban development did not take into account a possible reform of the old part of the city. The demolition of the city walls and the suburban development were not going to modernize the city. Despite their demolition, the hygienic problems continued and the growth of the population strongly decreased.
From the point of view of the 21st century it was unnecessary to eliminate the city walls and perhaps the suburban development was neither adequate for its time, nor for our present day situation in the city.

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Urban planning and spatial transformations in Madrid in the last two decades of XXth century. Structuration and reconstruction of an unfinished capital-city.

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During the last two decades of the XXth century Madrid has suffered an intense transformation that has completely changed the shape of the city, specially in it´s extensive peripheries. From a random collection of housing developments, roads, isolated equipments and empty pieces of land, that periphery has become a continuous, structured and diverse urban landscape.

Spite the extended criticism towards urban planning, has been quite conventional planning tools—specially the master plan of 1982/85 for the whole municipality and its detailed developments—the main force guiding and ordering such a huge transformation. In the 1985 document should be emphasized the inclusion of design guidelines for every future piece, splitting so from the tradition common in former plans of just establishing plain qualifications of the land to be developed (main use and density, usually).

The recovery of municipal democracy in 1979, few years after the political transition from the former authoritarian regime to a regular democracy, has been vital in that process of urban reconstruction and betterment of the city standards.

The paper and it´s graphic documents try to show the close relationships between planning tools –master and detailed plans—and the real developments of the city. Focusing in several sectorial aspects (roads and main streets, public transports, parks, housing, economic activities) as well as in it´s integration in the final pattern of the districts which integrates the city of Madrid. Five great analysis areas are detected(the centre and four peripheral sectors) of which one is analysed in detail, the South-East.

This periphery , an space where 450 thousands people live, has been completely transformed during the study-period to became an standard part of the capital.

The paper also addresses some design aspects, as the generalised use of grids and city-blocks in most part of new housing developments, as reaction against the lack of significance of many of the extensive public spaces created under the assumptions of Modern Movement in former decades.

The compact space that has been completed by the end of the century inside the second ring (M-40), is now an extraordinary diverse and complex example of a high density well equipped Mediterranean city. And planning has been—and still is—it´s main guiding principle.

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The "Ensanche" of San Sebastián: The City in the 19th Century

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Thanks to the sound guidelines developed in nineteenth-century urban planning, it was to prove of critical influence on the subsequent evolution of cities and metropolises. The beginnings of San Sebastián's "ensanche" (1864), or urban expansion, are a particularly clear example of the qualitative leap that was occurring at that time in the urban development of cities, and which gave place there to one of the most noteworthy urban environments in nineteenth-century Spain.

The resulting design for the alternative urban form was not based on criteria from the past but instead addressed new issues (equal accessibility, rendering of space,...). Despite the homogenising tone of the urban layout, it received general acceptance from the urban bourgeoisie who determined the city's fate. Though the drawings of the plan's architect, Cortázar, bespoke the influence of Cerdá, the manner in which his repetitive network of streets and houses came into being was very expressive, as it was limited by barriers and irregularities at the edges of the "ensanche" that hinder further connections.

The urban dwelling, too, was the object of a highly important conceptual reconsideration. The rental building underwent important changes and the urban bourgeois house began to be built as a prototype. It was sited at street corners and witnessed the gradual division of domestic functions and the exploitation of broad façades on wide streets to illuminate interiors—thus expressing the personality of a new image of the city.

The urbanisation of land had to learn to develop along new lines, as well. The expansion did not entail the mere making up of streets, but rather the construction of a network of streets, which was perfected from the beginning with networks of urban services.

Furthermore, as the expansion was being built, it became clear that the "ensanche" would not just entail direct benefits, but also further, indirect ones, which would be no less important. The disposal of building sites in the first part of the "ensanche", built on public land, caused a boom in the real estate market that generated substantial capital in a very short time. The expectant society of that age, as it staked out its future with all manner of difficulties and caution, believed fully in the city's certain success, whatever the future had to bring. The creation of the city thus acted as an engine, rather than a consequence, of progress.

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The Postwar Globalization of New Deal Public Works Programs: Planning, the Pan-American Highway, and Economic Development

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The postwar legacies of the New Deal's public works programs are complex and far-reaching. Public works projects such as dams, airports, and especially highways, became central aims of the American state. This paper explores the postwar legacies of the New Deal by examining two key areas of public policy and debate: the relationship between the New Deal state and planning, and the role that New Deal public works played internationally. The paper focuses on the construction of the Pan-American Highway, exploring how it drew on New Deal precedents in linking urban areas and expanding markets in Central and South America.

During the postwar period, a time marked by a growing Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States, the federal government justified increased spending on domestic public works projects in the name of national security. As the infrastructure of what Dwight Eisenhower would later term the military-industrial complex grew, the Southern and Western regions of the United States became home to military bases, a comprehensive highway network, and new and improved airports. These projects did not stop at the United States's borders, however. Abroad, projects such as the Pan-American Highway carried the New Dealers's vision of economic development overseas, fostering the idea that economic growth could follow from improvements in infrastructure.

Both politicians and policy makers drew upon this intellectual tradition of planning. For example, Lyndon Johnson's vision of exporting Keynesian-style economic development to Southeast Asia (replicating the Tennessee Valley Authority on the Mekong Delta) reflected the powerful legacy of New Deal public works construction. American planners have continued to rely on the New Deal's legacy of promoting economic development through public works construction, influencing both foreign and domestic policy.

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Building New Deal Communities in the Shadow of the Nation's Capitol: Reconsidering the European Origins of American Public Housing

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Interwar housing programs in Holland, Germany and Vienna captured the imagination of a generation of social reformers at the early part of the 20th century. Many housers made their pilgrimages to Europe and returned to the United States determined to build mass housing that would emulate solutions offered in Berlin, Rotterdam, Frankfurt, and Vienna. America's Great Depression and Roosevelt's New Deal offered the chance for housing advocates, architects and planners to realize their vision. This paper considers the architectural forms and community designs of two New Deal housing programs built in close proximity to the capital city, Washington, D.C.: Langston Terrace Dwellings, built 20 blocks from the Capitol, and Greenbelt, built ten miles away.

This paper examines European precedents and assesses the ways in which American architects and planners transformed modernism through the building campaign of early public housing in the United States. Pioneering residents, design professionals, and social reformers looked to Langston and Greenbelt as utopian solutions for the failure of market-rate housing. Given their proximity to the federal city, both sites became frequent destination points for skeptical politicians, curious designers, and other social reformers. In addition to officiating at ribbon-cutting ceremonies, federal bureaucrats wheeled to Northeast Washington and her wooded suburbs for tours and field trips. Langston and Greenbelt became local case studies for national housing programs. Since Langston also enjoys the special distinction of being designed *by* a Black design team *for* Black residents, this paper also examines what Langston came to mean for Black Americans. For readers of Black periodicals like the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the National Urban League's *Opportunity,* Langston exemplified modern architecture as it embodied their hopes for government housing.

Part of my larger dissertation project, I have marshaled evidence from a wide range of sources: sources are drawn from periodicals published by and for Black communities, national daily newspapers, and local community newspapers and newsletters; period photographs; and the personal papers of architects and planners associated with the sites. Additionally, I conducted fieldwork in European housing sites during summer 2002.

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Atlantic Crossings Gone Awry: How American Planners Misread European Social Housing Policy

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In his path-breaking book *Atlantic Crossings* (2001), Daniel Rogers described the important connections between American and European progressives in the first half of the 20th century. In frequent tours, Americans soaked up European social policy, especially in housing. British precedents strongly influenced American public housing legislation, though Rogers notes that the American legislative process undermined reformers ideals.

This paper will extend Rogers' analysis and argue that while American housing progressives tried to faithfully develop a European-style, state-subsidized housing program, on crucial points they misread, misapplied, or overextended European models to the American context. For example, European housing subsidies were premised on the widespread failure of the private market due to war, limited capital for housing, and rent control. American progressives also sought to prove widespread market failure in the U.S. housing market. But in their zeal to win a state-led housing program, they extrapolated from limited data and painted U.S. market failure in the worst possible light. Moreover, federal legislation creating the program relied on definitions of market failure to determine eligibility. Once the private market performed far better than anticipated (in part because of other federal programs), the limited extent of market failure meant public housing became narrowly targeted in America only to the very poor.

In another example, European social housing found ready political support from the working- and middle-class that faced a significant housing shortage through the interwar and early post-war years. But in the U.S. by the 1950s, the working-class – the target audience for public housing that progressives had hoped for – was no longer eligible; the market served them surprising well. These differences in political and market conditions between Europe and America are crucial for understanding the divergent paths of state-sponsored housing.

In short, this paper will argue that the historical paths of social housing in Europe and America cannot be separated from overall housing market conditions.

While this paper is a cautionary story, it is not intended to condemn state action in housing and laud the "free market." Instead, this history points up the dangers of exaggerating its weaknesses in attempts to justify – and implement – supportive state welfare policies.

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Limits to cities: the theory and practice of the international use of green belts and urban growth boundaries

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The level and rate of outer urban expansion is unprecedented. The scale and type of this expansion has become a global issue with significant social, environmental and economic implications for the achievement of environmental sustainability. This outward expansion is being driven by factors which vary between countries, including migration to cities, international migration, population increase, declining household size, and the flight from city centres by more affluent communities.

This paper examines the history of green belts and the use of limits to urban expansion and related theoretical work. It will concentrate on the use of green belts and urban growth boundaries in the United Kingdom, Europe, the United States of America and Australia. The history of green belts in the United Kingdom and Australian cities will be used as a major study, with particular emphasis on planning in Melbourne over a seventy year period. The Victorian government recently introduced a legislated urban growth boundary for Melbourne and strict controls in the use of rural land in a wide green belt. This is attracting wide international interest.

The strong mandatory approach used in Melbourne will be compared to techniques adopted in other cities, such as policies and plans, market based measures, purchase of development rights, incentives, and land management tools. Comparative approaches will be included with some cities in the United States and Asia which allow relatively unregulated outer urban growth.

The paper demonstrates the connections between urban growth boundaries and successful urban consolidation, arguing that geographical limits to cities and green belts are essential for redirecting investment into established metropolitan areas. It examines a model of urbanism based on strong connections between cities and their hinterlands, in comparison to the model of global cities. A strong theoretical underpinning will be provided for the study of green belts, particularly from European, American and British theorists such as Conzen, Mumford, Geddes, Hall, Howard, and Daniels.

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Planning spatial and visual integration of natural and urban environments in coastal areas

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Planning guidelines were proposed for a fishing village in Southern Brazil using ecological and cultural variables as the basis for an environmental re-qualification. Typo-morphological and configurational analyses of urban space indicated a possibility to manipulate the spatial attractiveness of urban areas. Alterations in the spatial integration of the urban grid together with carefully chosen areas of expansion were determined to be important elements in directing the tendency of urban densification and expansion processes. These changes were proposed to adjust conflicts between urban and natural environments. Thus, it was possible to maintain continuity in the natural ecosystems without breaking the interconnectivity of urban areas. The interconnections of natural ecosystems were kept intact by the reduced width of the urban environment, by eco-paths formed by urban vegetation and by a change in urban growth directions induced by an increase in the attractiveness of more central areas.

The landscape aesthetics were defined by a visual integration between the urban and natural environments. Panoramic views were analysed for their textures, element scales, plan overlapping and the relations among visual elements. A chromatic analysis determined colour palettes for the natural environment and also for the cultural preferences expressed in the urban environment by the architectural heritage, personal artefacts and the fishing boats. Additional studies were carried out to define the supporting chromatic characteristics of the natural environment. As a result, chromatic guidelines were created to visually integrate common buildings with the surrounding landscape and to define the visual emphasis for important landmarks.

The use of multiple methods in urban planning allows for a better spatial and visual connection between the natural and urban environments. The respect for the physical and visual support capacities of natural resources, together with the preservation of local cultural identity seem to improve results in environmental quality and sustainability.

Environmental Impacts on Lagoon Tijuca and Lagoon Camorim: Barra da Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro City, Brazil

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The theme of this paper is the study of the environmental impacts on Lagoons Tijuca and Camorim, in the region of Barra da Tijuca, in Rio de Janeiro City. Taking into account that the environmental degradation of these two lagoons is the most serious in the region, as a result of an inadequate environmental policy, it is vital to examine the attitude of the public administration towards these environmental impacts in the last thirty years.

Since the 1970's, Barra da Tijuca has turned into an object of huge investments from both the public and the private sectors, achieving significant economic development. However, its fast urbanization caused the appearance of not only indiscriminate earth embankment but also legal and illegal occupation of canals, rivers and lagoons edges. This contradictory dynamics has been occurring regardless the lack of a region sanitary sewer system, thus, contributing enormously to the pollution of bodies of water due to the discharges of effluent from industrial and, mainly, domestic source. As a result, the region lagoons are seriously polluted, in particular, Lagoon Tijuca and Lagoon Camorim, which receive 60% of the volume of effluents discharges of the region (COPPETEC, 2001).

Nevertheless, despite the efforts of the community and the public administration in minimizing this serious environmental situation, there is a huge gap between the investments in sewerage services in relation to other public services, such as water supply, lightning, transportation, etc. The inefficiency in sanitary facilities in the region leads to the pollution of water bodies of rivers and canals, which cross huge areas of high population density with no sewage and, therefore, brings domestic effluents to the lagoons. In fact, the problem of water pollution in the lagoons of Barra da Tijuca is not only related to low-income class communities, in slums, but also to high-income class population, in apartment buildings, as well as industrial and commercial establishments.

Thus, the purpose of this study is; first, to analyze the urban development of Barra da Tijuca, in order to understand the criteria used for land occupation. The second point is to evaluate environmental impacts of the urban expansion on Lagoons Tijuca and Camorim. The last goal is to examine the limits and the perspectives of the public administration in minimizing these impacts.

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The territorial model evolution of the Coast of Granada

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An extraordinary spatial acceleration has marked the territorial dynamic of the Coast of Granada, beggining with the seventies. It is well appreciable considering the new landscape and economic features, as follows: intensive agriculture, tourism development and infrastructure construction. This transformation contrasts with the slow growth dynamic of the years before 1970. Thus, we are describing one of the last territories in the Occidental Mediterranean Coast that is relatively empty and however, full of development prospects. In view of the new territorial structure (configuration) that is appearing, we may reflect on the main features and factors of the urban and territorial model in the last 150 years, considering mainly:

- The principal urban and economic development episodes in the area.
- The landscape and land use evolution that characterises the territorial model.
- The infrastructure incidence in the territorial development.
- The tourism urban development

Finally, between the conclusions presented in this research, we can not forget that the territorial dynamic of the Coast of Granada has been specially limited by a secular lack of public and private investment. In this way, we could emphasize the lack of transport infrastructures, beginning with the non-existence of railways and finishing with the disappearance of every motorway when it reaches the Coast of Granada. In addition to this, there is an important miss of a regional plan for the whole territory, that could establish a complete urban and territorial structure. This new model will have to be a correct tool to promote, for one side, the tourism, agriculture and transformation activities and to reduce, for the other side, the excessive predation of natural resources and the resulting environmental risks.

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Sociourban enviroment and the protagonism of the City of Mexico historical center

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The present work has the intention to analyze and to explain the existing protagónico character and the urban social enviroment in the Historical Center of the City of Mexico, acquired as a result of the problems of the Mexican society and the exhaustion of the model of development in the last decades within the framework of the process of the neoliberal globalization.

Also, it tries it describe the nature that assumed east cultural space before the different expressions from the great conflicts and events of the nation. It is tried to also include/understand, the meaning of the urban image that was from the urban-architectonic conjunction with the problems of the diverse social sectors that go there and they are pronounced, originating as much of the metropolis as of the rest of the country.

The sprouting of a concept is formulated and proposed, that it tries more to be finished of the Historical Center, when putting itself of relief not only the form as the patrimonial space testifies what happens in the nation and the same city, but because in that place, the character of the Historical Center with the same history is also reaffirmed that the society writes there.

The social expressions that give identity to the zone in the cultural scope of the great problems of the economy, policy and aspects and the establishment of the nationality, construct the history of the city.

Although the Mexican State time and time again legitimizes with deprived acts witnessed by notary public and in the closed places, the civil society does in the opened spaces, even patrimony of the inhabitants of the city.

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Growth of the city of Mexico: a model of Metropolitan planning?

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The promises of an arisen and suggested urban planning for our Latin American countries, are in prohibition in front of new forms to produce and to take control of the physical space of the cities. The construction of the city, the arrangement of the territory and the advantage of the uses of the ground of the great cities, face serious problems of: readjustment, investments, sobreoperation of the few resources whereupon count and the neoliberal privatizadora trajectory next to the globalización process, languishes the future of the coming generations.

In the Thirties, Mexico, initiated the first attempts of planning, demanding harmony between society and territory; one thought to fight the inequalities and to construct a promissory future for the Mexican town, however, became paradoxical front to the perplexity. The circumstances, again, have made back down those hopeful utópicas ideas of century principle. As much, the recent reality in the cities, enters a irreconciliable phase with capitalist the social relations of production; it is not possible to be considered an infinite place of elements and facts or; the space where the resources have to be consumed and to be rejected like value of change. On the contrary, at the moment it is urgent to revert the tendencies that drown the fragile part of the human nature and the resources of subsistence.

The context of the territorial transformations, the structural modifications and the paradoxical actions of the official policies, nowadays, enters a scene of phase angles as opposed to the contradictory reality that bursts in the globalización process. Nevertheless, the scene of the last decades on the metropolitan territory, before the new economic agents who are inserted in the economic activities demanded by the external market, the planning loses sense to be the instrument that orders the territory; also, the urban space is experiencing a change of sense and expression to degree so that, the public loses legitimacy the private control in front of.

to follow with the depredadora tendency, to consume the resources as value of change on those of necessary use for the reproduction of the society, hecatombe and the urban chaos will prevail for those who find to the nature a resource that sinks the social by the private profit and perverse benefit.

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Insertion of ecological concepts in Río de Janeiro town planning

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Rio de Janeiro is not just important for the characteristics of its ecosystem, as well as for the fact of having being the capital of the country for almost two centuries, what favored a pioneering performance in the environmental area.

In the century XIX is had to point out the creation of the Botanical Garden, in 1808, pioneer in South America. As capital, Rio received illustrious visitors as Darwin, Hans Staden, Maria Graham, Rugendas, who described its natural beauty and it was also a starting point for scientific expeditions. Another unpublished fact was the reforestation of Tijuca area, starting from 1861, devastated by the successive plantations of tea, cane of sugar and coffee, constituting the only national park now in the heart of a Brazilian metropolis.

With the growth of the environmental problems and the conscience that the natural resources are finite, a world movement is observed in defense of the environment, especially of the urban environment, and this movements is also present in the carioca space.

The term, poly semantic, refers to the beginning of conscience of the physical space in the social and political terms of the city. The denomination of differents urban landscapes, the representation systematized in Atlas or documents iconographicals can illustrate the concepts elaborated along the research in process, and its applicability in Rio de Janeiro, putting in debate a current theme in the perspective of a terminology in construction.

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Water and Urban Sustainability in the Metropolitan Area of the Valley of Mexico

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This work takes a brief historical overview of human settlements in Mexico's central valley in order to highlight the relationship between the environment and the societies that evolved in this area. The emphasis herein is on the particular cultural forms that this relationship brought forward. Being a lake basin, the interaction between society and the water resource takes precedent in this analysis, as does the control, management, and use of water resources in this region over time, going from the great Tenochtitlan to contemporary Mexico City and its metropolitan area. In this context, special focus is on the main environmental problems linked to potable water supplies and waste water disposal in the metropolitan area. The study demonstrates that the water system and its utilization in Mexico City is not sustainable and that there is a distinct possibility of a considerable social, economic, and political crisis erupting in the near term due to the water problem.

The two faces of the regional landscape: Patrick Abercrombie and the Legacy of Geddesian survey

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The name of Patrick Abercrombie appears in the history books of town planning first and foremost as the author of the *County of London Plan* and the *Greater London Plan*. Before the London plans, Abercrombie had been involved in the preparation of an impressive series of regional planning reports. Next to an obvious attention to a regional outlook, Abercrombie's interwar regional planning practice reflects a sustained interest in civic and regional survey as a vehicle geared towards the conceptual and methodological development of the town planning discipline. With this combined attention both to the region as well as to survey, Abercrombie explicitly situated himself in the footsteps of Patrick Geddes. Abercrombie's well-published interwar planning practice was instrumental in shaping an operational understanding of Geddes' survey legacy, while largely reducing the nature and scope of the latter's propositions.

Abercrombie's work, as this article explains, sustained a predominantly geographical understanding of Geddes' survey vision. Focusing on two of Abercrombie's respected friends in the field of geography, L.D. Stamp and V. Cornish, who both stand out as two important references in the 'scientific' grounding of Abercrombie's approach towards survey, this article demonstrates the close affinity between Abercrombie's survey method and contemporary concerns within the field of geography. Cornish's and Stamp's very different personalities help to articulate and understand two divergent lines of development in Geddes' survey philosophy which in Abercrombie's work strive for autonomy and push the Geddesian survey formula to the brink of collapse.

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The parks system proposed by Joseph Antoine Bouvard in the Town Planning for San Paolo City and Buenos Aires

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In the first decade of the century XX, the french architect Joseph Antoine Bouvard was prestigiously working as Director of Office of Architecture, Walks, Transit and Planning for Paris City, previously occupied by Adolphe Alphand (1853-1870).

Due to the importance of his position, since 1907 he was working in an ambitious town planning for the city of Buenos Aires and for the same reason, in 1911, he was asked to opine about the proposals, discussed for transformation and decongestion of San Paolo City central area. Instead of a simple report, Bouvard elaborated a town planning including a system of parks and walks.

If in Buenos Aires Bouvard received severe critics to the suggested town planning, in San Paolo he found a favourable environment to its proposals, allowing the creation of the first public parks in the city.

The aim of the essay is to present the differences between the two town planning with focus on green areas and to discuss the limitations of the parks implanted in San Paolo respect to the importation of models unrelated to the local peculiarity.

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A Study of the Evolution of Open Space System, "Kashi" in the Downtown Riverside Area of Tokyo after the Meiji Era

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The purpose of this study is to analyze the historical evolution of the riverside common space, kashi. Over 140 kashi existed in the downtown riverside area of Tokyo during the Meiji Era. Two scales are used for analyzing them. The kashi in Tokyo after the Meiji era are analyzed along a macro scale and each kashichi, in Ura-kashi in the Nihonbashi area is analyzed along a micro scale. Kashi are also analyzed from two points of view. One is from the point of view of land use and the other from land ownership. It is necessary to look at the evolution of the kashi system from these two points of view, because there is a difference between the disappearance of kashi from a land use and land ownership perspective. Official documents of kashichi licenses in 1882 and 1889, and kashichi maps in 1882 are used for analyzing the original characteristics of Ura-kashi before modernization. The history of kashi is divided into four periods: pre-Shikukaisei (1879–1889), post-Shikukaisei (1889-1923), post-Great Kanto Earthquake (1923-1945) and post-WWII (1945-present). These four periods or phases started with kashi being established in the center of the city by the government in the Edo Era. It was initially decided by law that kashi should remain as open space areas. Though, gradually temporary stockrooms or warehouses were allowed to be built on these kashi. Open spaces, known as "monoageba" remained as open spaces. These kashi took an important role in connecting activities along the river to the rest of the city. Each kashi had quite different characteristics.?Secondly, kashi moved eastward as the city developed in that direction. Thirdly, after the Great Kanto Earthquake the original open space system of kashi rapidly disappeared. Fourthly, in spite of these different situations, the land ownership of kashichi remained in the public sector until 1978. This is confirmed mainly from the public documents of land registers of kashichi, statistical tables (1879 to 2000). This data proves kashi were regarded as important common spaces, and the users could lease them temporarily from the public. This system continued for over 350 years. It was only 30 years ago that this unique system collapsed.

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Circulation not stagnation. Water and sewer system modernization in Barcelona, 1902-1917

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This communication is a view over the new order that settles down at the level of the physical and social organization of the city as result of the new models that structure and organize the flow of the undesirable matters.

Specifically it deals with the modernization of the cleaning system of the Barcelona city that happens indeed in 1902 with the implementation of Engineer Gustá Bondia's project, a reformulated version of the Engineer Garcia Faria's project elaborated in 1891. In this scene we verified the initial operation of the network and the crisis that, in particular, is the key of the model: the use of the water like fundamental element for the human remainders' evacuation.

The necessity of an alternative technical resources to improve the original project, will demonstrate the existence of conflicts between the public/private and the crisis at the origin of the model. Respect the first the option for the old model characterize one option for the individual and partial integration to the network.

The irrational use of water is also necessary to understand the relation of the city with the agricultural or natural immediate zones, in particular about the regenerative function of these areas.

Both points - public/private and urban/rural - suppose the existence of complex interchanges of matters, information and nets. The study of these flows is fundamental for the arrangement of the territory.

The exigencies of metropolitan water and sewerage provision since modernism: environmental crises, fiscal ideology and the Sidney Water Board

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The paper examines the recent provision of water and sewerage infrastructure by the Sydney water board. It commences by summarising the provision of such infrastructure in the modernist era to the third quarter of the last century, when provision was guided by least cost provision using state loan funds, causing the city to expand at low density to the flat areas in the west which generated long term environmental problems. Water pollution crises along Sydney's waterways and beaches generated major environmental programs in response, notably deep water ocean outfalls for sewage disposal. The advent of a state neo-liberal ideology in 1988 produced a new set of forces on infrastructure provision. A program to produce cleaner waterways and beaches was funded by a special levy, but the outcomes were ineffective and serious water pollution remained. Urban expansion into new inland sectors was delayed as studies showed that the catchments lacked the environmental capacity for further urban development, influencing the government to intensify, successfully, policies to increase urban consolidation, which also eliminated the high costs of servicing urban expansion. The neo-liberal ideology also brought higher developer and user charges and private sector funding of infrastructure. Nevertheless the failure to solve water pollution problems caused the state government to increase its control over the board through pricing, public health and environmental agencies, while at the same time requiring the board to operate as a business corporation under ordinary company legislation. The infection of the city's dinking water arising from catchment pollution, despite a new private sector filtration plant, produced further restructuring, with the establishment of a catchment authority. It also caused the state government to increase powers for ministerial and health department intervention in its affairs. Sydney's case illustrates how government intervention can be needed to resolve public goods shortcomings of neo-liberal policies in water and sewerage provision.

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The centenary's waters: Infrastructure and urban development in Santiago of Chile at the beginnings of the 20th century

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For the first Independence Centennial of Chile, the city of Santiago clearly shows two dimensions scarcely related to each other: one symbolic-commemorative based on singular monument buildings and another with a strict technical scope from the new city's infrastructure services. In fact, Pedro de Gamboa's orthogonal grid traced city's footprint defined in 1541, was to be consolidated only 365 years later through an assemblage of early century magnificent constructions and parks. Yet most intriguingly, also will be strengthened with the promulgation of laws for sewage and water supply to be executed in 1906.

The significance of infrastructures has been unobserved in the historical reading of the city in the Centennial configuration. Santiago begins a series of important urban modifications since 1872 with the Plan of transformation realized by Vicuna Mackenna and engineer Ernest Ansart. The Plan gives a new insight to the city's layout as an innovative infrastructural-technical instrument to be accomplished by introducing transportation and sanitation initiatives by beginnings of 1900's. Through the transformation process, Architect Ricardo Larraín Bravo is to become a remarkable representative of a new theoretical dimension of infrastructures role in the city. Even the colonial grid stabilized as an order, is to be exposed to new changes after the centennial and resisting due to the consolidation produced by the sewage and water system designed by Larraín Bravo.

The research intends to acknowledge of these urban compromises with the city's destiny. The purpose is to comprehend outstanding buildings registry and infrastructure system as a complex operation of urban fitting in one of the first crucial chapters of a Latin American city's modern evolution.

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Infrastructures and politics in Portugal in the first half of the 20th century: innovation in lighting and water supply

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The building of water supply and lighting infrastructures - a fundamental factor in the urban modernisation process - was a common subject in Portuguese political rhetoric in the first half of the 20th century.

Given that during that time Portugal went form a liberal regime (the First Republic) to authoritarian rule (the New State), the aims of this paper are to:

— review the arguments, which were used by both regimes to appropriate the discourse on infrastructures;

— identify the technical and technological options and the business models employed to build and manage the networks;

— establish the rate at which they were implemented.

The paper also attempts to fit the Portuguese case into the models and innovation processes followed in other countries.

The sea-side villages of the Atlantic coast, 1940-1955: an experimental field for modern planning culture in Argentina

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Towards the end of the 19th century, the Argentinean high society, apart from enjoying lake and rivers resorts, started to enjoy the sea-side coast. Afterwards, during the 30's periodic and seasonal rest at sea-side gradually became more popular among the mid-high social classes, and after 1945 it spread widely due to social tourism. The sea-side villages, which emerged as a consequence of modern tourism, completed the general overview of the suburban life, being distinguished from the 19th century resorts because of their different programs as well as their formal and spatial organization.

All these coastal foundations, the speculative residential development as well as some projects for new sea-side villages occurred during a time called, according to the bibliography, the "industrial city" period. These settlements should be studied taking into account the processes of urbanization and modernization which gave birth to the suburbanization of the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires, in the lapse the neoconservative state was followed by an interventionist state which, in spite of being the benefactor of the Peronista era, was not able to control the speculative effects of the urbanization of the Atlantic coast.

The aim of this work is to find an explanation for the origin and for the urban configuration of the new sea-side villages of the Atlantic Coast during the period of 1940-1955. In doing so, we should work on the assumption that the new settlements -as new places essentially different from any every day life city with its own problems- became a fertile field for new planning experiences derived from the garden city legacy that superseded the local traditional planning culture of the squared city. Three paradigmatic examples related to the general processes of urbanization and modernization of the country will be compared by means of placing and interpreting them temporarily through the intertwining of two lines: a synchronic line related to social fields (social-political-cultural) and a diachronic line associated with previous disciplinary practices.

These experiences have not been included in the classical studies that deal with the historical development of the Argentinean city. However, due to their review, they have become valuable since some of their characteristics are present in the fragmentary urbanization of the leading exponents of today's suburbanization: private neighbourhoods and country clubs.

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Waterfront revitalisation projects in Latin America: cultural rescue or global planning model?

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This paper presents a comparative study of contemporary waterfront revitalisation projects in Latin America, particularly in Argentina ("Puerto Madero" in Buenos Aires) and Brazil ("Docks Station" in Belém do Pará, known as the Amazonian main entrance; " Guggenheim Museum/Seafront project" in Rio de Janeiro and "Niemeyer way" in Niterói).

Symbols and promises of broad transformation, they are thought as "strategic projects" in the sense of the promotion of spatial and economic restructuring processes, together with strong policies of image making through emblematic cultural equipment and new land use, that would, in theory, rebuild the relationship between the cities and their waters.

The four cases studied will be as well observed in comparison to some international projects with strong influence in the Americas, as cultural references in the field of urban planning, specially the projects of Barcelona in the nineties. The main questions that orient the comparative analysis are thefollowing:

- What are the contributions of these experiences of waterfront revitalisation in the culture of the cities?
- Is there a conceptual and operational matrix that allows joining these waterfront projects as demonstrative examples of a new global planning model, named "urban planning by strategic projects"?

The discussion of the cultural bases and meanings of these projects within the urban policies re-qualifying brings some light towards their future evaluation methodologies "ex ante" and "ex post". Complementary, this study refocuses the discourse of competitiveness and rebirth of the cities.

This work is organised in four parts. In the first part the theoretical perspective assumed by the authors to discuss this kind of projects is briefly presented; the second part focuses the first experiences in North America and Europe (...). The third part develops properly the comparative study of the four latin cases and finally, in the fourth part, some considerations are presented rescuing the questions initially proposed and inserting these projects as historical forms of socio-spatial update promoted by capitalism circuits strongly linked with global urban society.

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Ports of the coast of Chile, how to overcome an imposed urban model

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This presentation seeks to enhance the existence of the unique characteristic of the coastal cities of Chile.

These ports were developed mainly during the Republican Period and are relevant because of this unique urban condition, which distinguishes them from the layout of the inland urban settlements of the country. This feature consists in an urban structural system traced around not on one main square but two. The first and earlier with a docking and commercial character, which is located close to the first anchoring areas and which later, consolidates with the growth and development of the city. A second square, appears later, in the form of the traditional Main Square or "Plaza de Armas", with a civic and religious character representing the authority and religion, appearing somehow imposed, once the initial layout of the cities, which were not officially founded by the Spanish Crown, is regularized according to the Spanish prevailing model.

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The notion of "Urban Project" from a historical and cultural dimension. Proposals for the Costanera of Buenos Aires. 1887-1997

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A lo largo de un siglo, una amplia gama de proyectos –que fueron desde iniciales propuestas de nuevos barrios hasta la faustica intervención del *water front* de Puerto Madero, pasando por el *amenagement* de parques y paseos- fueron propuestos para la Costaneras del Río de La Plata. El borde de un río que por geografía y naturaleza crea nuevos territorios, fue un laboratorio de experimentación proyectual para la ciudad, un espacio de oportunidad. Este *paper* analiza –muy sintéticamente- esos proyectos, sus actores, las concepciones urbanísticas y las políticas públicas que los presiden situándolos en cada uno de los escenarios históricos de referencia. Por un lado, y más especificamente, se propone un análisis de los proyectos para la costa de Buenos Aires en tanto "espejo" y en tanto "memoria". Como "espejo", pues cada uno de ellos ilumina las modalidades según las cuales se piensa y actúa sobre la ciudad en un momento dado. Como "memoria" porque cada uno de ellos conlleva en su formulación los residuos de proyectos anteriores, de reflexiones sobre el territorio, de las potencialidades del sitio y sus posibles articulaciones con el resto de la ciudad. Es desde la memoria más que desde la historia desde donde continúan actuando en los tiempos largos de la ciudad. Por otro lado, la secuencia de propuestas permite una reflexión sobre la reciente idea de "proyecto urbano", que se presentó como una mediación entre los planes tradicionales y los proyectos de arquitectura, resituando sus alcances y sus dilemas constitutivos. Finalmente los proyectos impresos en una memoria colectiva, aunque se reformule su sentido, en sus transformaciones van incorporando las experiencias anteriores.

Este estudio se inscribe así en el contexto de un problemática de investigación de historia urbana desde una perspectiva cultural, centrada en el complejo proceso de formación –saberes y prácticas- que se dirimen en torno del urbanismo en Buenos Aires.

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The Seaport of Athens: Planning and Urban Space

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The focus point of this paper is the examination of the role that the planning procedure - including all the relevant parameters- on the culture of the modern seaport of Athens -Piraeus- as it reflects on the urban space mainly during its great development in the 19th and early 20th centuries, with emphasis on the relation between the port and the city.

Modern Piraeus first plan -elaborated in 1834 by the achitects Kleanthis and Schaubert, both Schinkel's students- is based on the neoclassical principles and the hippodamian street layout model in the sense of a maritime-commercial urban shell. The land policy failure and the unstable finance situation were the main reasons of many revisions during the first plan implementation, with significant transformations of the land uses lay-out, the building plot sizes and the building heights/street widths proportions.

The city became a remarquable regional centre until 1900; its functions were determined by the explosion of the secondary sector and the maritime/transport infrastructure; its space aesthetic was moulded by a multifaceted architectural identity, in association with the parameter of the geomorphology; the organised open spaces and the archaeological finds completed the overall picture.

After 1920, the socio-economic changes, the historical junctures and the lack of planning policy were among the decisive factors with an important impact on the uncontrolled expansion of the urban tissue, the built environment/public space shape and the relation between the seafront and the city centre.

Nowadays, although the disaster of the historic signs was continuous -especially after 1970-, a great part of the cultural heritage is preserved.

In the perspective of the 2004 Olympic Games, Piraeus is in the dynamic of a new transformation procedure: the construction of high speed ring roads and the tram and suburb railway lines, the upgrade of the harbour infrastructure -including the new Olympic Hospitality facilities-, and the enhancement of the local identity to some extent are in progress.

Will the traditional urban tissue absorb the surcharges? Will the projection of the urban culture possible?

We will be able to give documented answers "the day after".

Apart from that, the same questions draw some interesting parallels between the past and the present, concerning the questionable degree of the city culture dependence on the planning model or on the urban planning management and the preservation policy.

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Up from the Sea: Shanghai's Port Development in Historical Perspective

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Shanghai's rise as China's premier domestic, then international trading port from the eleventh to the twenty-first centuries, when reduced to basics, was dependent upon 'a stretch of the muddy and erratic Huangpu river'. Twelve miles up from the confluence of the Yangzi river and the sea, Shanghai's trade was reliant on a harbour, that functioned for much of the twentieth century as China's greatest source of revenue. But the natural vagaries of the river were only slightly more troublesome than the eccentricities of governments charged with its mastery. This paper will examine the history of the planning and re-planning of the port, the debates surrounding Shanghai's role in the economic development of China and the future of Shanghai's port in the twenty-first century.

In the process, Shanghai's identity and role in national reconsrtuction was debated.

Life and death of Lisbon waterfront

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In 1994 the Port of Lisbon Authority (PLA) submitted a plan that would change the industrial port of Lisbon. The implementation of this plan has failed in the central part of the city, in an area that extends approximately for 3 km. Since than this terrain is increasingly disconnected from the city behind it. Some former warehouses have been rented and are now occupied by restaurants and dancing clubs which are surrounded by parking lots.

Due to the failure of the plan in that area, the Port Authority intend to obtain some profit from the land renting some of the space under their jurisdiction. The PLA maintains two container terminals in operation that are 'trapped' because the city in their back is congested what slows down dramatically the indispensable hinterland connections.

In this paper I will try to analyze the causes that made the city of Lisbon to refuse the POZOR plan for the waterfront renovation next to the historical hub. These causes are examined under three complementary aspects:

- the historical and geographical conditions that surrounded the creation of the industrial port, and why it was built in that way;
- the evolution of the port activity, the difficulty in operating the container terminal in the present situation, and which are the alternatives;
- the urban 'will' to claim back the waterfront and to create a qualified generous public space with equipments of public interest placed between the historic city and the river.

To help the reflection about the future of the port area a parallel is drawn between similar situations in other waterfronts. Since the port area is a space of modernity, and attached along the city's historic center, any future project will deal with a strong symbolic presence. Such as industrial memories, ecological balance and the citizens image of the city. New links and urban continuities are another important aspect that will offer more possibilities to reinvent the city's relationship with the water.

The making of a Turkish metropolis: urban demolitions of Istanbul in the 1950s

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Following the general and municipal elections in 1950, against the characterisation of Istanbul as *decadent* and *Byzantine* in the early republican years, the DP shifted the discourse on Istanbul into the "jewel of Turkey" in the 1950s and "the re-conquest of the city." Following a six year revision of Henri Prost's Master Plan of 1937 for Istanbul, in 1956, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes took over personal responsibility for the reconstruction and there followed in the next four years, until his fall from power, a period of intensive road building, street widening, demolition of old buildings and construction of new ones.

Regarding works carried out during Menderes's premiership, there has been controversy as to whether these were part of a policy of creating a distinctively Turkish idiom of modernity, that included the weakening of the power of ethnic minorities, who until this time constituted the majority of Istanbul's population. The argument is based on personal recollections rather than any factual data or evidence. The questions of whether the urban clearance programme was part of a systematic ethnic purification remains un-answered.

Focusing on the immigration and emigration issues in the city of Istanbul, my study introduces the origins of the concept of *Turkification* in economic policy, and asks to what extent it can be used to interpret cultural activity in general – and urbanism, in particular. Being based on an investigation of a cadastral archival research at Aksaray-Istanbul, the study describes the radical transformation of Istanbul's population by the migration in and out of the city turning the capital from a cosmopolitan centre into a more *Turkish* one.

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A Challenge to Urban Planning In Turkey: a Self-Created Urban Planning Model In Turkish Cities

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The paper reviews the manner in which urban planning in Turkey has changed in response to decentralization of decision making and a rising philosophy of entrepreneurialism within the local and central authority. With the 1984 local elections, preparation and follow-up of master and implementation plans were given to local authorities in Turkey. Decentralization of decision making, in a context of entrepreneurial urban development challenged fundamentally the practice of urban planning. The transfer of planning powers to local authorities, without ensuring the legality and public interest, has resulted in the creation of a new urban planning model, which is in reality a negation of urban planning institution. The deficiency of the conventional approaches to urban planning in developing countries has widely been recognized (Rakodi, 2001). In fact, in Turkey also, almost the half of the urban space has developed out of control and this situation continue to be one of the most important dilemma for urban authorities. The empowerment of local governments without any institutional reform or improvement of urban planning thus contained an enormous risk of decentralizing these shortcomings and weaknesses as well.

The 20 years of decentralization practice has shown that such concerns were not unfounded. Actually, the decentralization of decision making had a double outcome for urban planning: On one hand, the fully empowered planning authorities i.e., municipalities have tended to see urban planning as a simple mechanism of regulating the existing structure and allocating the very limited resources, without any concern for strategic planning or for a holistic approach to urban development. On the other hand, rather than producing national rules and guidelines and developing regional policies, central government has re-introduced itself to the scene through some sporadic interferences and undermined the planning powers of local authorities thank to its exceptional means of intervention. Decentralization of decision making tended to produce a new model of urban planning, what we called a self-promoted model, in which the destiny of each land parcel is decided or even negotiated separately. A significant shift in the philosophy of planning, which legitimates to ask: What future for Turkish cities in the 21st century?

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Re-thinking the urban characteristics of Istanbul

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Evaluation of the urban environment is possibly one (and only) area on which most groups agree in Turkey: Istanbul is destroyed (in all of the meanings of the term) by extensive urbanization; there is very little design nor planning involved in the urban environment; if there is planning it is not implemented and finally there is no sign of 'hope' for the future. The general public as well as intellectual and academic circles will agree (quite righteously at times) that something needs to be done in order to stop and then reverse this process of destruction of the urban environment. In other words, there are considerable tensions between the 'urban planning cultures' and planning models.

This paper focuses on the analysis of the character of Istanbul and proposes a new design perspective, which utilizes these characteristics as a potential. There is an urgent need for new perspectives on Istanbul as well as design approaches originating from these perspectives. This need arises from stereotypical methods to the understanding and design of the city. Stereotypes on any city/place can become disturbing for the inhabitants of this city/place as clichés separated from their context. This paper defines the characteristics of Istanbul beyond those stereotypes. The definitive characteristics of Istanbul are defined as continuous change, contradictions, incompleteness, ambiguity, heterogeneity and being unpossessed. Design approaches appropriate for stabile, consistent, closed, definite, homogenous and possessed cities are not appropriate for this city. Besides this, the designer must also face the weight of the history that instinctively tries to conserve in opposition with the drive to create a new layer within this multi-layered city. When working for this city, the designer must be aware of the characteristics of Istanbul, allow for plurality, provide flexibility and open-endedness, even randomness if necessary. A new architecture, which can relate to its location and is unique, can be likely through this approach.

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The Lost World of British Reconstruction Planning: from the Second World War until the 1960s

Mark Clapson (Chair)

A compendium of un-built or partially realised town planning schemes would comprise many volumes. But a more compelling and synthetic approach should focus upon the key themes within which certain visions of the unfolding postwar world were lost. It should also compare the high-hopes and the forward-looking debates during wartime with the subsequent outcomes by the early 1960s. As will become clear in this session, many of the anticipated or hoped-for outcomes failed to materialise, or came to only a partial realisation. This can be seen in a number of key areas, for example:

The interrelationship between social science research and town planning
Problems with the neighbourhood unit.
The planners' perception of 'the people'
Failures of modern architecture within large-scale planned comprehensive redevelopment.

In this session:

Mark Clapson will look at three inter-connected themes: the much-hoped relationship between social science research and town planning and urban and social polices; the disappointments of the neighbourhood unit because of their disconnection from the emergent suburban culture of the postwar working classes; and the over-estimation of popular participation in planning. The contrast between the frenetic activities and huge optimism of the war, and the disappointments felt by the 1960s, will become apparent. This paper also gives some credence to criticisms of planning by the sociologist Ruth Glass. In this, it shares some significant ground with the paper by Motouchi and Tiratsoo.

Naoki Motouchi and Nick Tiratsoo will discuss Max Lock, (whose archive is now held at the University of Westminster.) They will emphasise the undeserved neglect of his insights into how people used cities, and how cities functioned. Lock's work, it will be shown, was partly informed by the perspicacious Ruth Glass, who worked with him, and others on the Middlesbrough Plan. Her criticisms of the neighbourhood unit, for example, were strikingly different from the top-down view that many planners possessed. Moreover, his insistence on consultation for a 'people's plan' was too radical for some planners.

Tatsuya Tsubaki will assess the aspirations for modern architecture and the role it would play in postwar town-planning schemes, notably in London. His focus on the Barbican, and some other schemes, will illuminate both the obstacles and the advantages facing large-scale replanning and architectural designs between 1945 and the 1960s. He draws wider lessons for the problems of large-scale redevelopment within the environment and culture of postwar British cities.

Finally, our papers owe much to the work of Ruth Glass and Max Lock. Both were idealists and passionate about their professional work, as sociologist and town planner respectively. But both understood the need for social science research to inform town planning, and both understood the implications of the failure of any such systematic research after 1945.

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Max Lock, Middlesbrough, and a forgotten tradition in British post-war planning

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In the spring of 1944, the young architect and planner Max Lock accepted a commission from the local council to re-plan Middlesbrough, an iron and steel town of 130,000 people in the North East of England. His intention, he explained, was to work in a new way, planning *with* the inhabitants rather than *for* them, thus transforming what had previously been a largely technical discipline into 'a democratic process'. This paper examines how Lock functioned in Middlesbrough, and comments on various aspects of his final recommendations, before turning to discuss what impact he had on the subsequent development of British planning. Our conclusion is that though Lock's insights and achievements were substantial, they were then for the most part 'forgotten' during the 1950s and 1960s, and in a brief coda, we speculate as to why this was so.

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'Model For A Short-lived Future': The genesis of the Barbican estate in the City of London, 1950-1975

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The Barbican estate is a vast complex of residential flats in the heart of the financial and business district of London called the City. Originally conceived in the 1950s, it was built by the Corporation of London on a site largely obliterated by enemy bombing in the Second World War. The construction took the best part of next two decades and it eventually became the biggest single inner-city redevelopment projects undertaken by a public authority in post-war Britain. In its final form, the Barbican estate incorporated on its 35-acre site 2,113 flats for 6,500 people – mainly middle-income families – in a combination of high towers and slab blocks, a school, a music college and various community facilities including a full-fledged arts centre (which was only completed in 1982). The principle of multi-level planning provided for the residential buildings to rise above a podium level thus segregating vehicular traffic to create a pedestrian precinct with ample open space. It was an ambitious attempt to apply modernist town planning to a central redevelopment project and has since attracted worldwide attention.

The paper briefly explores the genesis of the Barbican estate. In the process it hopes to raise some issues surrounding the achievements and limitations of British reconstruction planning [in relation to large-scale comprehensive redevelopment].

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Planning the Historic City: Evolving Ideas in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain

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It is generally considered that ideas in Britain about historic cities, and their appropriate management, changed radically between the period of the Second World War and its aftermath and the end of the 1960s, in reaction to comprehensive redevelopment and with the rise of the conservation movement. Plans produced in the early part of this period, 'reconstruction plans', have been characterised as representing 'clean-sweep' planning, though recent research has shown a rather more complex relationship between these plans and the historic environment, with these plans representing a significant body of documents that sort to reconcile the historic qualities of place with functional modernity (Larkham, 2003; Pendlebury, 2004a). By the end of the 1960s, it is held, very different ideas prevailed. One of the key articulations of this cited is the four studies for the historic cities of Bath, Chester, Chichester and York, jointly commissioned by the national government and the relevant local authority to consider conservation issues both in those cities, and in terms of the wider lessons that could be learnt.

This paper analyses the approaches used in conceptualising and planning for two of these four historic cities, Bath and York, with reference to both the 1960s studies and their 1940s precursors. After briefly describing each of the plans it considers how approaches had evolved and changed, or not, as the case maybe. It concludes that on the whole the 1960s plans for Bath represents a continuation of approach from the 1940s rather than a radical sea-change, with the emphasis still firmly on conceptualising the historic city highly selectively and in proposing high degrees of intervention. Changes are more evident in the plan for York which heralds a more inclusive and embracing conservation of place.

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What can be learnt from the reconstruction of the German city

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The destruction of the German cities due to the Allied bombings during the last years of the war, includes an element of great importance: the opportunity to remodel the historic city and overcome its failures. The war produced a new task: the rebuilding of the destroyed city. This rebuilding had three characteristics, the extent debates, the lack of economic resources and the indefinite administrative framework. Mayors, town councils, architects, urban planners, who knew the great development of city planning and architectural theories in the Germany of the 19th and the first part of the 20th centuries, had to apply the old theories in a new context. Besides the tragedy of the war and its consequences, in the different cities there were different groups fighting for different solutions. Each city took its own way and applied the theoretical bases according to their own conditions.

The example of West Berlin brought many innovations that can be seen today, especially in housing. A singular case is the broken corner in the traditional plot. The new buildings on the corner refuse to form a traditional shape with a tower and open up a space to enter the courtyard.

The city of Kassel or Frankfurt, whose historic centres were badly bombed and burned were rebuilt in an "idyllic" way, because these cities had never existed as such in this way. They produced a new city planning with some medieval references. It was a modern city planning with a model and a justification in a destroyed medieval city.

In many German cities there were problems of urban structure. The city took advantage of the destruction by the bombers to correct the mistakes in the traditional city. The example of Hamburg with the East-West Street shows the importance of an opportunity, when the city had been thinking of this project since the beginning of the century.

The German cities of today have spectacularly overcome the destruction of the war. The cities have been rewritten, in some places changing the calligraphy. The massive destruction and the consequent opportunity for reconstruction, as well as the course chosen by each area, the arguments, the debates and the results achieved are the basis of this work. Meanwhile, because of the destruction, there is an idea of the "lost city".

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A British Planning Model: Provincial Civic Design in the Late-Victorian and Edwardian Period

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The late-Victorian and Edwardian period represents a significant era in the urban development of British settlements, particularly with regards to their form and appearance. Many major design and planning schemes were undertaken not only in London but elsewhere, which helped infuse order into somewhat disarranged urban environments and emphasised the role of beauty and the further need to apply art into the cityscape. This paper thus provides a detailed outline of more than one hundred public architectural schemes undertaken within the largest sized provincial places in England, Scotland and Wales from the end of the nineteenth century to 1914, places of differing natures and histories aside from their varying demographic sized. The paper will present a comparative examination of examples of British civic design, in so doing identifying the design features and planning principles that appeared to govern civic design's form by analysing the structural design components, internal arrangements and the surroundings of public buildings erected at that time. More successful examples will be noted and discussed, as will the professionals undertaking it, so as to not only provide a comprehension of what British civic design was understood to mean but to also show who was practising it at a time when formative British Town Planning emerged. In addition, this work aims to provide an opportunity for the consideration of the influences upon the built environment during a time when a greater control of the urban environment was exercised by public authority, legislation relating to slum clearances was passed, municipal governments continued to develop, modern design cultures such as the Baroque revival emerged, and imperial sentiments filtered into national and local affairs.

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Innovations in planning technique during the 1940s: the case of Britain

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The paper examines the introduced innovations in planning technique in the case of Britain during the 1940s. Especially, it focuses on the ideas of Thomas Sharp, William Holford, and other architects and town planners, referring with the control of urban land users, of building bulk and of building daylighting, especially in the case of central urban areas of Britain. The paper is based on archive research (PRO), and on the various bibliographical sources.

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Regulating the impact of proposals for new tall buildings on the built heritage

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In the past few years there has been increasing concern amongst built environment professionals in England about development proposals for tall buildings, fuelled by talk of an 'urban renaissance'. Responses to the impact of tall buildings include height control, architecture panels, digital modelling, transferable development rights and characterisation studies. In many instances the regulation and assessment of the merits of such development is highly politicised and contentious.

This paper is based upon a preliminary literature review for an English Heritage sponsored PhD at the University of Manchester. It will set the scene for the primary research in the coming 3 years. Firstly, a definition of what is meant by 'tall buildings' is discussed thus providing an understanding of why the topic is of relevance in contemporary urban studies. Secondly, an analysis of the context for the regulation of tall buildings will be attempted looking at what regulation is, why the built environment is regulated and by whom. Thirdly, an analysis of how tall building regulation operates within England will be attempted, followed by the use of two proposals for tall buildings in London as case studies to illustrate how the conflicts inherent in regulating the built environment. Finally, in the conclusions, it will summarise the main issues in tall building regulation, thus setting a context for the primary PhD research.

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Transformations of Urban Structure in Lithuanian Cities

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The present report overviews problems related to urban space in the centers of Lithuanian cities and towns.

At the end of the 20th century, urban expansion became a global problem. Towns and cities started developing into the outer space (outwardly) instead of using potential of internal territorial reserves. Meanwhile, the present-day economic priorities of Lithuania promote effective and intensive exploitation of internal urban spaces. This process began after the restoration of Lithuania's independence together with the privatization, which changed the general character of housing, land restitution, and growing land prices – all those factors created a new character of the development of Lithuania's cities and towns and correspondingly altered regulation of their centers.

The main reasons, which caused transformations of urban space in certain parts of cities and towns or their fragments, are related to ideological, political and economic factors characteristic of the twentieth century. In practical life we often face a requirement to preserve and foster the environment and to respect the historic built-up. However, from the theoretical point of view, the built-up of the environment is not always perceived as reciprocity of all spatial and non-spatial factors.

The aim of this report is to portray, using quantitative parameters, a historical (traditional) built-up of a territory as a stable basis of an urban environment and to identify actual problems related to urban structure. Those spatial parameters of the city's central district under analysis are interconnected and form a system with several levels. These are blocks and buildings forming them.

In line with the above mentioned objectives and taking account of the periods of gradual urban development, the analysis covers plans of 2 periods: the present day and the city's last supporting plan covering the period of up to 1950. The subjects of the analysis are block parameters (size – [m^2]) and their built-up indicators (total area [m^2], density [%], intensity, average height), which have a generalizing effect and are adequate to morphological characteristics of built-up. Block parameters are studied taking into account their arrangement in territories with different types of built-up density and functional organization. The study touches upon the interplay of spatial parameters in the centers of Lithuanian district towns. Additionally, a retrospective plan of the development of urban structures is composed to help identify the main problems related to urban structure.

The iterconnection between the spatial parameters of the development was analyzed applying spatial-statistical and semi-graphical methods enabling the autor to single out key trends of the development of the relation between the form and the block's functional and density characteristics. The research was made using GIS.

The mechanism of interaction between the components of the system of spatial parameters in urban blocks having a variety of shapes may become a regulator for existing and formative process of the morpholical structure.

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Public space in post-Soviet cities

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There are many cities in northern Siberia (formally part of the Soviet Union), which were founded between 1955 and 1975 during the industrial boom. They are located near to new transport lines and development axes, which lead from important cities along the Tran Siberian railway northwards. Because of the vast political upheaval in the last fifteen years, these cities have undergone change at many levels, according to their social, economical and spatial structure.

Seen in the light of the need to improve new cities and urban developments in Eastern Europe the new industrial cities of Siberia provide a good example of restricted planning under a planned economy, highlighting the problems wrought by social change under today's new conditions.

The challenge in the 21st. Century for the Siberian communities consists in converting monostructural urban developments into lively cities which respond to the vast changes since Perestroika. In this process the public space as "backbone of the city" has a special importance, in this new, individual orientated society. The following report, with a case study in Siberia, describes the typology of public space in post-Soviet cities. The situation of the public space with its category not only of problems but also of chances should not just be seen from the contemporary situation and point of view, but also from that of the planners in the Soviet era. The report explains the goals and ideas of planning public space in the UdSSR, its political and social function and the strong hierarchy in shape and figure of streets, squares and green areas. The proposal goes on to describe the process of transformation of the post-Soviet cities and the problems of public space. It looks at the deeper causes and roots of the problems in the pre-revolutionary era.

The report is based on different scientific methods. On the one hand there are empirical case studies, done within the last 5 years, the evaluation of expert literature (contemporarily and historical, in German, English and Russian language) and many interviews with planning experts, politicians and citizens of the New cities. The aim of the report is not to verify one thesis, but to help to get a deeper understanding of public spaces in their spatial arrangement, historical development and societal meaning.

In conclusion this report discusses the demands and requirements for the revitalizing of public spaces: How should public spaces be adapted in order to endorse the lasting development of former socialist cities whilst keeping the balance between Soviet heritage and contemporarily renewal?

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Cultural heritage and the model Soviet city: Vladivostok, 1960–1991

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Beginning in 1960, the Soviet Pacific Ocean seaport of Vladivostok initiated an ambitious project for the wholesale redesign and rebuilding of the city. The city's new master plan incorporated projects that had begun in the 1930s, and was inspired by ideas that had been introduced at the beginning of the 20th century, in Tsarist times. While much of the project was directed toward new growth in suburban areas, one major component of the effort was the redesign of the historic city center, located alongside the city's famous bay, the Golden Horn.

Vladivostok had been founded only in 1860, and most of the city's historic buildings dated only from the 1890s. The city's basic plan remained the one established by its earliest residents, and despite the destruction associated with the Stalinist era, many structures and sites of historic significance remained in the city. The planners for what was to be a model Soviet city of the late 20th century recognized from the beginning that while they wished to create a new urban center, they also felt a responsibility to protect architectural, historical, and natural heritage sites.

This paper examines the master plan for the new city, considers what was built, what was destroyed, and what was re-created as part of the overall effort to make Vladivostok a better place to live for its inhabitants. The paper considers issues of historic preservation, environmental heritage and design, and problems resulting from the conflict of Soviet ideology with the desire for protection of historic sites.

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Mental image of the city and methodical preconditions for its investigation

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Capturing the understanding of the city by its residents gives city planners and managers a chance to plan and administer the city in ways that better correspond with the needs of the city population. Research of the image of the city also allows comparing qualities and characteristics of different cities and applying existing practices of other cities in new locations.

This paper presents an ongoing research of the image of the city, where two aspects of the image are considered as the most important: a) mental perception of the city that every single individual creates for oneself when directly or indirectly colliding with the city and its environment (influence of the media is evaluated); b) countless existing images of the city that were created while often or constantly contacting with the environment of the city.

Every individual composes a complex interpretation of the city according to the repetitive information that she/he receives. This way a mental image is created that unites images of the place into single synthesized virtual **mental image** of the city.

Then one "public" **collective image** of the city can be excluded that contains common indicators repetitive in the mental images of many individuals.

Principles, methodology and expediency of such research are overviewed and results of the trial survey on the image of 8 European cities (carried out during September 2002 in two groups of respondents: 1) from Southern Europe (Italy, Germany, Romania, Slovenia) and 2) from Northern Europe (Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Finland)) are presented in graphical models of the collective images of the cities.

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Bluespace: colonial ports of Brazil, Australia and New Zealand

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This paper looks at the space of the colonial harbour and defines a transitional zone of 'bluespace' where the urban public realm bridges land and sea. Urban space conditions that occur at this edge are discussed with reference to colonial ports in Brazil (Salvador de Bahia and Rio de Janeiro), Australia (Sydney) and New Zealand (Auckland and Wellington) between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries. The discussion of blue space is based on a detailed reading of the graphic representation of seaports over five centuries. Marine charts, town surveys, sketches and paintings all depict the fluctuating fortunes of this space type over time and its evolution as an element of the city. The patterns that emerge are commented on in terms of urban design theory.

In a spatial continuum that runs from sea to land or ship to block, four maritime urban space types are established. *Fleets at anchor* looks at early images of Sydney cove and identifies how the fleet anchored in the harbour was in size and imagination the dominant 'urban settlement'. *Piers and jetties* discusses the different configurations these elements took in early New Zealand cites, and how they functioned as meeting places in the nascent communities. *Waterfront squares* looks to Hispanic South America and Brazil for the classical form of public space in the coastal city and discusses how this differs fundamentally from later waterfront public space in the South Pacific. *Beached vessels* finally looks at the block type established behind the anchorage, and how this zone of storage replicated some of the character of a sea going vessel, giving the public street space of the colonial maritime city a particular character.

The paper serves to highlight how harbour space is an integral part of the urban public space of the seaport. In spite of being historically overlooked bluespace has been part of harbour side cities for some time, particularly in the settlements of maritime colonisers such as the British and Portuguese. Urban ceremonial spaces in Brazil, and working wharves in Australasia have embraced this realm in different ways and engaged it with the colonial city.

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Continuity on the vision of town planning represented in the Spanish colonial laws

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In the 16th and 17th centuries, the colonial period of Spain, a great number of the town planning laws were issued parallel to the establishment of the colonial towns. These laws by the Spanish Royal represent its town planning vision. One of the critical colonial codes, the *Ordinances of Philip II* in 1573, draws a schematic model of town planning and its ideas of the regulations have decisive effect on the elaboration of the ultimate compilation of the colonial code, the *Laws of Charles II* in 1680. For its high quality as a code from the aspect of lawmaking, these codes are the representative codes related to the town planning in the 16th and 17th centuries respectively. Nevertheless little has been discussed about the detailed relation between the town planning laws of both codes.

Focusing attention on this point, the argument here aims to study and clarify the town planning vision established by the Spanish Royal and described in the *Laws of Charles II* in 1680, then to provide a comparative study of both codes by examining the included articles relevant to the town planning, to clarify the progression of the town planning vision as the Spanish colonial regime through the 16th and 17th centuries.

From the regulations in the *Laws of Charles II* it is observed a planning method of leading the spatial structure of the whole town by fixing on the layout of the town center, the principal plaza, as the most critical item of the town planning and some specific extending streets from there. These ideas have a strong commonality with those in the *Ordinances of Philip II*.

In consequence, it is figured out by comparison that the majority of the constitutive town planning regulations in the *Laws of Charles II* is elaborated on the basis of those stated in the *Ordinances of Philip II*. This means that the town planning vision described in the *Ordinances of Philip II* is very faithfully remained in the *Laws of Charles II* and reflects a strong continuity on the town planning vision by the Spanish Royal through the 16th and 17th centuries.

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Islamic tradition planning model in Portuguese Cities, VIIII – XIII centuries

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Several investigators have researched an archetype for the Islamic city; some dedicated their study to the Middle East, others analysed cities in the North of Africa and a few looked at the situation in Europe. In this process, there were factors that were not taken into consideration. In the case of the investigators of the Eastern cities, the pre-existent was neglected. They inferred a regular model of orthogonal basis for those cities, forgetting the Roman city that had its foundations on the same structure.

As for the ones interested in the Islamic cities in Africa, their analysis are a great contribution and we noticed very similar situations in the Peninsula, in spite of the fact that in the North of Africa, the "warlike" character of the Portuguese cities is not so clearly expressed.

The Islamic city is planned, has proper rule. We give the example with analyses of some Portuguese's cities where this structure of planned city is well defined.

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The irrigation variable in the model of villages of Mexican Bajio during the colonial period

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G. Kubler put into light rapid process of foundations in Nueva España and he considered this urbanization, taken by the Catholic Church, followed a uniform program, with the adoption of the reticular system, there was created a nucleus under a plaza or convent and the tendency to separate the Spanish and the Indian population.

The areas of the Mexican Bajio, followed the application of these criteria, but also assumed other key factors: the incorporation of water conduction as a necessary element for home supply for agricultural development and in other applications.

The disposition of the new Bajio urban centres, in relation of the new water introduction, followed two ways: 1) the formation of canal network, to take water into homes and farms. 2) The formation of exclusive areas for farming outside urban environment and the derivation of conduction to take water into one or more public fountains of domestic supply.

The examination of the Querétaro, Acámbaro, Apaseo, San Miguel, Celaya and Salamanca cases, show both modalities with mixed situations, and place into light that the adopted variable of water irrigation conduction, must be consider as an important factor to explain the historical way of urbanization, infrastructure and the organization of the formation and maintenance of these associated systems to the urban centres.

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Informal urban growth and official city planning. The outskirts of Madrid 1860-1936

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In 1860, Madrid's Town Council adopted the first comprehensive urban plan for the city, the Castro extension (*ensanche*) plan. This project designed a new city around the old one and assigned new limits to this city. These new limits actually laid within the administrative frontier of Madrid's municipal district and thus divided its territory into three distinct spaces : the old town (Interior), the extension zone (*ensanche*) and a third space, whose ground was officially designated as rural (*extrarradio*). However, this plan launched an important speculation wave in the ensanche area. The year following the adoption of the plan, the parcelling out of land started in the *extrarradio*, where anarchic nuclei of population quickly appeared. This spontaneous response to the demand of lower-class housing, its location and production modalities were an unsought after, but direct consequence of the plan.

From the end of the 19th century onwards, Madrid's *extrarradio* became a major urban concern and the symbol of poor urbanisation, the *anti-ensanche*. In the first half of the 20th century, urban planners therefore undertook the designing of regulation plans for the *extrarradio*.

In this paper, I want to temper the assertion concerning the unplanned features of this peripheral urbanisation and try to bring into light how the responsibility for *extrarradio* urbanisation and the construction of a lower-class suburban city might have been tacitly and informally transferred from the public authorities to certain individuals, who were professionals and members of the urban elite.

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Black-and-Red suburbs in inter-war Barcelona, 1918-1936

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Working-class suburbs in South European cities as Barcelona showed a set of of specific features. Unlike North European cities they were not quantitatively so relevant; unskilled workers dominated; planning was piecemal and innefective and housing precarious. The absence of skilled and white collar workers –so favoured social *strata* in planned socialdemocrat suburbs of the North or in French *lotissements* of owner-workers- led to particular conditions in collective action. With union and sociability centres out of the neighborhoods, with defficient mobility patterns, workers attached to their "resident condition". They oriented their demands towards consumption (rents, transport, commodities) and highly radical political claims (and not strictly union claims). Anarchism orientation, and revolutionary claims were one of the most specific results of this kind of urbanism.

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Old Slums and New Neighbourhoods – Post World War II Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal in Great Britain and Germany. Case Studies in London and Hamburg

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Slum clearance as a planning model was established in the 19th century with many variations following in the 20th century. It was based on a vision and a planning culture of demolishing old houses and replacing them by better, more modern (and more expensive) buildings. Although there is a great variety of urban situations, different morphologies and urban fabrics some principles were basic for a long period. Planning ideals of this period were based on similar visions world wide and the war offered a unique chance to put them into practice. In Britain as early as 1941 the Cabinet accepted the principle that the physical destruction of cities, due to enemy bombing and economic decline in the regions, would require strong central and local government intervention in terms of both economic and physical planning for the 'City of tomorrow'. Although there had been different political systems and a diversity of urban situations, the planning models seemed to be similar in this period. There was a almost universal agreement that reconstruction combined with slum clearances would be necessary and need to be planned rather than left to the free play of the market. The key to post-war rebuilding was seen as planning – for slum clearance, for land use and for housing production.

In Britain large housing programs for the post-war period were accepted as policy in the middle of the war. Similar problems with a housing crisis as made after World War I should be avoided. Housing and slum clearance were important to tackle post-war unemployment through expansion of the building industry labour force. In Germany the Nazis made plans made for a massive public housing program after the war based on the winning of the war and the exploitation of foreign workers. This program, housing standards and financing were implemented by the democratic German governments in the 1950s and 1960s.

This paper is focussing on the period from the beginning of the war to the end of the sixties, a period of about 30 years, two cities: London and Hamburg, although planning and rebuilding of Coventry was probably the prototype and the test-bed of the fifties. So far most of the research has been done on new housing, New Towns, modern architecture and mass housing production but not on continuity and interplay of slum clearance and urban renewal with new housing.

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Containment or construction: the contradictions of urban planning policy in the suburbs of Paris during the Fourth Republic (1947-1958)

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During the 1950s, the suburbs of Paris were in a transitional period, between the uncontrolled wave of construction of single-family houses that took place between the world wars and the innovative decision to build new towns made in 1965 under the guidance of Paul Delouvrier. Those responsible for the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing had to face two contradictory obligations: on one hand, to provide the lodging urgently needed by the hundreds of thousands of people with inadequate housing resulting from the rapid demographic growth of the region, which remained at this time the first region for industrial jobs in the country; the building of large housing projects ("les grands ensembles") answered this first obligation. On the other hand, to contain the population growth in the suburbs of Paris and relocate Parisian industries, in the perspective opened by Jean-François Gravier's book *Paris and the French Desert (Paris et le désert français)*, published in 1947 and repeatedly cited in the successive urban planning projects, the PARP and the PADOG. This desire for *containment* led to the building of large housing projects merely according to the opportunities and disposable terrain in the region. To try to overcome these difficulties, the Commissariat for Construction and Urban Planning of the Paris region was created in 1955; it tried to use the construction of the *grands ensembles* as a chance to "regenerate the suburbs," considered since the interwar period to be an urban planning disaster. Therefore, by studying the actions of the Commissariat for Construction and Urban Planning, it is possible to measure the role assigned to the suburbs of Paris at the moment the French economy resumed growth, as well as the contradictions between the short-term urgency of political decision-making and the planning conceptions thought out over a longer period of time.

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From Shacktown to Suburb. The Incorporation of Owner-Building

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Until the 1940s, owner-building was common in urban fringe areas in North America but dismissed as undesirable. Areas developed in this manner had a distinct morphology and were often labeled shacktowns. For a decade after 1945 owner-building underwent a resurgence: in 1949 it accounted for thirty percent of dwelling starts across the United States. During this decade, owner-builders were brought into the economic mainstream. The introduction and enforcement of suburban building regulations constrained how amateurs could build. Lenders and lumber dealers helped them conform, offering construction loans, plans, advice, materials, and even kits. As a result, the homes and landscapes of owner-builders became similar to those produced by smaller professional builders. As amateurs were incorporated into the commercial mainstream, their achievements were no longer described as shacktowns but as suburbs.

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New suburbs and UK post-war reconstruction: the fate of Charles Reilly's "greens"

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During and immediately following the Second World War there was a great boom in replanning in the UK. This was not limited to the few badly-damaged towns: many undamaged towns jumped on to this bandwagon. The government, and indeed many of these plans themselves, strongly urged that housing should be the highest priority. Bomb damage, six years of no maintenance, and the continuing need for slum clearance had led to a significant housing shortage. To overcome this, the consultant planners and professional officers writing these reconstruction plans proposed solutions ranging from the safe "garden city" style to the radical. One of the most interesting radical idea was proposed by Professor Sir Charles Reilly, for Birkenhead (NW England): he proposed houses arranged around mini-"village greens", with many communal facilities, to foster a new community spirit. The rejection of this plan in Birkenhead caused a national political and press upheaval. This paper explores the nature of this radical suburban layout, its failure in the Midlands towns of Bilston and Dudley, and its subsequent disappearance from post-war suburban design.

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Park Forest, Illinois, and Levittown, Pennsylvania: Reconsidering Suburbanization in the 1950s

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This paper analyzes two of fue archetypal suburban developments of the postwar period, rack Forest, Illinois the suburban community William H. Whyte described so vividly in *The Organization Man,* and the second Levittown, a comprehensively designed community in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. A reconsideration of these two communities fifty years after they welcomed their first residents leads to two important conclusions. First, it challenges the stereotypical characterizations of suburban life in the 1950s: the transformation of houses into homes and the remarkable ethnic diversity of these two communities suggest that the cultural critics' emphasis on conformity was significantly flawed. The evidence instead points to a persistent pattem of individualism within a landscape that bofe the outward signs of sameness. Second, analysis of these communities demonstrates that cace was a majar though largely unstated and unstudied component of the nation's suburban dream during the 1950s. Restrictive covenants may have be en declared unenforceable in *Shelley* v. *Kraemer,* but the federal govemment did little if anything to force developers who were benefiting from generous govemmental subsidies to make housing available to African Americans. The people of the United States are still living with the consequences of that policy.

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New Urbanism and Planning History: Back to the Future

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At the annual conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning held in Atlanta in November 2000, the session which drew by far the largest attendance was architect Andreas Duany's presentation on New Urbanism. Those in attendance were treated to an animated and at times vitriolic attack on planners, not unlike the vinegary verbal assaults Jane Jacobs dished out in the early 1960s in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and in her many reviews, essays and public presentations on planning. Both Duany and Jacobs decried the lack of consideration of human scale in the products of modernists, and challenged planners to revise the rules of development to safeguard vibrant urban places. What was distinctive about Duany's critique was that he celebrated a variety of community designers and builders while bashing the ordinary planners as regulators. He contended in his Atlanta presentation, like he has in other writings, that the period prior to World War II (especially during the 1920s) was a golden era in community design and development. Planning was less institutionalized, subdivision regulations were based upon tradition rather than formulas, and community design schemes were the visionary products of landscape architects, architects and planning consultants given broad latitude by their private developer clients. New uniform community design standards perpetuated by the Federal Housing Administration beginning in the 1940s, coupled with the impact of the federal highway program on residential dispersal, created an automobile-dependent residential fabric devoid of interconnectedness and lacking civic virtue. Duany urged the Atlanta audience to look backward for best practices and to revise the development rules for the future, to recapture lost elements from past planning as an antidote to sprawl.

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Crossing the Tracks: A Dialogue About the Social and Historical Relationships Between White and Black Suburbs in Early 20th Century U.S. Cities

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Scholars have not yet generated an understanding of the relationships between different kinds of suburbs in historical U.S. cities. We contend that doing so is indispensable to understanding the process of suburbanization as well as the stratification of metropolitan space along race and class lines. In this dialogic presentation, the authors elucidate several sets of relationships between white and black U.S. suburbs between 1900 and 1950, using connections between white planned, exclusive suburbs and black domestic service enclaves as a starting point.

First, we delineate how and why certain white and black suburbs compare and contrast in their built environments and lifeways and how the patterns of similarity and difference connect to larger issues of race and class. Second, we examine social relations of suburban exclusion, discrimination, and segregation and how these practices influenced white and black suburban planning and building. Third, we investigate whether there were substantially different white and black suburban ideals and whether residents negotiated those meanings in relationship to one another.

Placing race and class at the center, we will model a mode of inquiry that is collaborative but does not eschew conflict. Our separate case study research has led us to different conclusions, but our best understandings of the relationships between white and black suburbs have come from exploring our agreements and, especially, our disagreements.

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Towards the City Walled.
Architectural and Urban Communication Changes

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In Maracaibo, as in other cities of the country (Venezuela), a remarkable phenomenon has been occurring approximately since the 1980's. This phenomenon, nominated as "Social Insecurity," has been transforming the city's architecture and the usual style of urban expansion This problem has notoriously influenced and changed the city's configuration. The new urbanizations are been projected into themselves, toward their interior areas, facing back their urban context. The existing ones are enclosing and blocking their inner roads into closed circuits, and later, consolidating from the rest of the urbanization as isolated and private "Ghettos." This new city has been named as the "Neomedieval". This situation is modifying not only the whole structure of the city, its shape and the architectural volume, but is also affecting the communication (emitter-receptor) between the architecture of the city and its common user; consequently, modifying the sense of identity shared by this two elements.

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Modelling the dynamics of Latin American Cities: from polarisation to fragmentation

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The structure of Latin American cities has been seriously affected by spatial and social fragmentation processes taking place chiefly in the last two decades. Application of neoliberal economic policies and the absence of state intervention in urban planning processes led to the development of private and at the same time, excluding urban forms: The proliferation of suburban gated communities and subsequent appearance of shopping-centres, hypermarkets or urban entertainment centres in their vicinity. As a result, a new, car-based lifestyle flourished, involving a greater degree of fragmentation and spatial segregation observable in Latin American city regions.

From a theoretical point of view, this phenomenon is a new mode of spatial production which breaks with the polarized city expansion described in the traditional models of Latin American cities. This paper aims at covering three basic aspects, namely: First of all developing an analysis of recent theoretical and empirical discussion about Latin American city models in urban geography. Criticism leads to the development of a new model which will be introduced on a second place. Within a chronological frame from the 16th century up to now, four different stages ranging from the compact colonial city to the actual fragmented city-region are described in the model. Finally its applicability is shown via the empirical analysis of the central transformation processes in Buenos Aires; The massive sprawl of gated communities and subsequent transformation of lifestyles are evaluated through the case of Nordelta, the biggest current real estate development in Latin America: a private and enclosed city for 80.000 inhabitants.

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Juxtaposition between walls and urbanism in Globalized Cities. Challenges of the Mexican Border City Model

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Different urban models converge in the Mexico-United States Border cities. The initial hypothesis is that these cities are marked by the juxtaposition Border effect, based on which we examine the features from which a special model emerges, where physical barriers proliferate. By juxtaposition, we refer to the urban form that establishes bonds of selective integration with the immediate surroundings, that closes its perimeter by adding other control mechanisms with the aim to ensure the exclusion of those who do not belong to the neighborhood, and the symbolic differentiation with the rest. The urban project in the Mexican side promotes defensive urbanism which we embrace from tree perspectives: postmodern architecture and urbanism, the built environment as an identity resource and the physical space consumption.

The postmodern attitude expresses itself in the recurrent simulation of the city; emphasising the ludic aspect of the countless material segments that integrate it, each one emerging as an attractive autonomous consumer good, to create an hypnotic imaginary based on complacent chaos. The resulting scenario tends to constitute itself with consumer goods, where real estate promoters offer housing (the ultimate consumable space) aided by marketing techniques designed to shift the identity values of the consumer to match those built into the created habitat.

The space will be consumed after it is qualified materially, the symbolic treatment and the boundary landmark derived from income and life style expectancies. We have studied three cities in Mexican side, which are meaningful (Tijuana, Juarez City and Nogales), concentrating on the gated communities built in last two decades. It is interesting to learn about this phenomena that perhaps foreshadows similar events deeper within the inner country following recent ambitious interventions of urban megaprojects.

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Conflicting urban models and practices: recent housing movements in the revitalization of downtown São Paulo

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This paper focuses on the conflict between urban models of redevelopment and the practice of housing movements in downtown São Paulo since the 1980s. This period represents the intensification in the practice of socio-spatial segregation, in which new political agents and movements have redefined the struggle over the access to spaces in the metropolis, in particular collective spaces and social housing in the historic center of the city.

Our argumentation is based on two simultaneous approaches. On the one hand, the relationship between city and citizenship has to be reviewed according to the transformation in the traditional role of nation-states and cities in the definition of rights of belonging. On the other hand, the exercise of politics of difference must foster the revision of democratic participation, through the dialogic practice of dissent, which opens up a possibility to further problematize difference in the production of urban spaces.

Urban spaces are intimately related to the exercise of democracy, the claim for the political recognition of otherness, and to the redefinition of the role of citizenship in contemporary western societies. Cities, therefore, become the place-bound ground for the exercise of citizenship as opposed to the political and more abstract sphere of the nation state. They represent the place of social practices and the condensation of human and social diversity. This diversity implies the constant dispute over varying forms of social representation by those who struggle for their recognition and visibility in political and urban arenas.

The case of some recent housing projects in São Paulo illustrates how such processes take place through the mobilization of politics that incorporate social groups who have traditionally been silenced and concealed, kept by law mechanisms under the dubious definition of minority or, in some cases, as illegal residents or semi-citizens.

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Urban Planning Instruments and patterns in low income housing in Bogota

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The qualitative deterioration of the architectural and urban space of the low income dwelling in Bogota, obliges to explore the patterns that configure it. For that, start out with a compared approximation among the urban growth forms, according to the planned and not planned urban processes, that have consolidated peripheral physical patterns during the last twenty years. In this way, diverse categories of analysis are examined such as the connections, the roads, the land property division, the urban characteristics, the build types and the architectural characteristics, as well as their relation with the regulation and the dispositions of planning.

Transition and Evaluation of Locational Conditions of Public Rental Apartment Housing Complexes

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The Japanese situation on building construction market has changed in attitude from encouragement of 'scrap-and-build' to emphasis of 'stock'. This trend forces various public sectors such as Osaka Prefectural Housing Corporation to take into consideration renovation of its old apartment housing complexes in the Osaka prefecture. However, there is not a superior reference to promote a better solution about the situation. The author's aim is to evaluate the locational environments and conditions of the old rental apartment housing complexes constructed by Osaka Prefectural Housing Corporation, for the purpose of improving the residential environmental level and quality as 'stocks'.

The apartment housing complexes were investigated at various points of view such as transition of locational environment which covers access to downtown, facilities improvement, inner environment of the complexes, condition of each unit, housing rent, vacancy rate which means the ratio of the number of vacancies to that of all the occupied dwelling units. As a result, those housing complexes were classified into several groups by locational conditions and each vacancy rate. The theory of quantification 1 was also used for analyzing the relationship between vacancy rates of the complexes and their locational environment. Based on the research, it has been submitted that some factors are available to evaluate rental apartment housing complexes such as house rent, time to the nearest station, location area of Osaka Prefecture and living environment. This model also shows a good probability that improving locational conditions would decrease the ratio of vacancies.

In this research, a questionnaire to the residents was also conducted to analyze the relation between the actual evaluation conditions of the environment around the housing complexes by residents and their location characteristic; such as, time distance, the number of parking lots, the surrounding environment, and the park. It was found that the relationship between the physical values of those four indexes and the residents' evaluations of these indexes shows the evaluations by residents to be accurate. Some of the housing complexes are located in the large new town which is highly respected by the residents regarding its environment while other complexes located in downtown were given a lower evaluation. This will determine and differentiate the location of the housing complexes and when they are going to be renovated. Finally, author will discuss renovation strategies for the complexes, particularly concerning viewpoints on the locational conditions.

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Questioning the decrease of spatial disparities due to gradually use of the Internet

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The advent of computer and information technologies during the past decades, and their widespread use, is radically transforming the dynamics of communication and our understanding of spatial relationships, although many authors argued that electronic communications reinforce existing patterns of physical communication rather than create new patterns. This supposition is usually a theoretical discussion, that needs to be rigorously tested with empirical analysis and comparative perspectives. The main objective of this paper is precisely to present a detailed study of the portuguese urban system, with the purpose of questioning the decrease of spatial disparities due to the potential influence of communication technologies.

This research is mostly based on new spatial statistics, collected, mapped and analysed in order to understand the diffusion process of the most sophisticated, diverse and capable telecommunication infrastructures, and consequently verify the plasticity of space throughout Portugal, and the ways it has been stretched or compressed.

This empirical analysis intends to be a discussion about how this kind of technological changes affect urban planning theories, specifically if they have enough potential to generate substantial adjustments on traditional Portuguese urban hierarchy, or instead, if it is an unexpected contribute to reinforce territorial disintegration tendencies. By the use of some geographic measurements of internet activity, especially the .pt domains and the presence of each Portuguese city in the most used web search engines, we conclude that in Portugal the gradually use of Internet rather than causing a radical decentralization of population and economic activity, it reinforces the importance of the biggest cities in the Portuguese urban system, especially the metropolitan central cores. This findings contradict many assumptions regarding the spatial effects of information and communication technologies as equilibrium forces in face of traditional agglomeration tendencies.

Despite this general trend, the methodological approach used in this study in order to determine the relative position of each city within the space of flows, have shown that the magnitude of the existing links, between the Portuguese physical space and the global cyberspace, point out an urban hierarchy more balanced and with less cleavages between their urban nodes. Moreover there are some important cities as centres of population that are much less important than some small Portuguese cities (like Aveiro and Leiria) in what concerns to their potential to participate in the organization of the global networks of information flows.

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Reshaping São Paulo under Global Modernization

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This paper addresses the conflicting relationship between global modernization and models and strategies of urbanization in São Paulo, the largest metropolis in Brazil.

São Paulo is the living testimony of the struggle between local, national, and globalizing models of urbanization. The city has undergone significant transformations as part of its adjustment to the transnational economic restructuring in the last couple of decades and aspires to a prominent position among emerging global cities. As a marginal global city, São Paulo is becoming part of the spatial dispersal of activities around the planet and requires new forms of local concentration of top-level management, businesses, services and cultural capital.

Three different contemporary models coexist in the competition between three different areas of economic centrality: the European historic center, the North American Central Business District and the North American Edge City. At the same time, the city at large faces the outcome of local historic processes of uneven forms of social, cultural and urban development.

Methodologically, the procedure based on public and private partnerships and on legal instruments to promote real estate development has rapidly changed the models through which the production of urban space takes place. The demise of modernist master plans, which predominated from the 1950s to the 1980s in Brazil, has yielded to practices of urbanization controlled by the game of global symbolic and financial transactions.

These practices have produced images of the city that are both spectacular and catastrophic. They confirm the fact that global modernization primarily allows for closer connection among elites around the world, but also that these forms urbanization weaken the effectiveness of democratic urban plans and policies and that they simultaneously accentuate global and local disjunctions.

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Spanish cities: From uniformity to ethnic multiplicity

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Over the last few years, Spanish cities have undergone a profound demographic transformation as a result of the arrival of considerable contingents of foreign immigrants. In contrast to the relative uniformity presented by the population up to now, this process is now responsible for bringing considerable social variety into the cities, where it is possible to encounter people of many different races, nationalities, cultures, languages and religions.

We selected the provincial capitals to study the migration phenomenon in the principal cities of the Spanish urban system. The distribution of foreigners registered in Spain shows a concentration in the coastal cities of the Mediterranean, Ebro Valley, Madrid and the Islands. These cities are the ones that have experienced the greatest increases between 1996 and 2002. As a result, they have the highest proportion of immigrants in relation to the total urban population. We have explained these urban settlement factors by calculating the different urban concentration levels.

An imaginary line drawn between Oviedo and Murcia and passing through Madrid typifies the phenomenon. Those provinces located to the east of this line have a strong immigrant presence and a high immigrant urban concentration level. Those provinces located to the west have lower urban concentration levels of immigrants. In the eastern area, there is a higher concentration of immigrants in the capital cities than natives and in the area to the west of the line, there is also a stronger presence of immigrants in rural areas than the native population.

At the same time, the use of an index to calculate the degree of diversity has served to analyse the geographical origins of the immigrants, grouped into large world regions. This reflects the varied ethnic panorama of the Spanish capital cities.

The presence of this new population is a source of many urban changes: the concentration of groups of immigrants in specific zones or areas of the city such as the city's old part and other districts; the over-crowded housing; the proliferation of infra-housing (shanty towns) in the peri-urban areas; the creation of specialist commerce ("ethnic commerce"); the demand for all types of services (educational, health, religious, cultural); delinquency and other problems relating to co-existence, etc. Through their politicians and planners, the cities should respond to these new immigration-related realities, and there is little doubt that this will become the greatest challenge over the next few years.

Building partnership through participation in the improvement of the public spaces quality

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In a democratic society, it should be a privilege of every citizen, indistinctly of its economic and social condition, to have access to adequate environments and physical spaces for the development of his/her public activities. These activities should be carried out in proper conditions of security, health and hygiene, as well as with proper accessibility, esthetics and liberty of initiative (Espacio Civil, 2003). As a contribution to the development of citizenship, the public space should be understood as the home of what it is shared, as a source of presence and social and human interaction, as climate and landscape, mobility, accessibility and service goods Therefore, it is an essential component that has to stop been, by rule, inhospitable, residual, the required minimum and become a fundamental and better served good for the citizens.

Nowadays, in Venezuela, local governments show more interest on rehabilitating the infrastructure of urban parks and plazas for the enjoyment and the contemplation, with the mission of returning these spaces to all citizens. In spite of this objective of local management, there is a marked disinterest on the part of the local governments (alcaldías, ayuntamientos) to incorporate the participation of the civil society in the planning processes of these spaces. The necessity to obtain alternative financial resources for their maintenance and for new projects demands the promotion of private capital investments, which in many cases is done without considering the opinion of users, and evaluating the possible environmental impact of such investments. When a situation like this becomes evident, civil society tends to react, expressing its point of view which may suggest the collective perception of a problem.

In this sense, this paper is the initial stage of a research that studies three Venezuelan urban parks and the interaction among, public entities, civil associations (NGO), and the private sector, in order to construct the city from the perspective of the quality of the public space claiming its notion and reason as something vital for all cities and citizens. The methodology of analysis includes a comparison among the achievements and difficulties of the processes of rehabilitation and transformation of the parks, with more emphasis on Maracaibo´s Vereda del Lago, city where the research is based.

Based on conditions and criteria exposed, the perspectives of the different stakeholders is discussed to understand the significance of participation and the citizen's right to access and sharing of theses spaces.

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Incorporating and structuring precarious urban settlements: Intervention strategies for its rehabilitation

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Traditionally, intervention has become a regular practice in the phenomenon of slums, based on the concept of *consolidation*; this concept has been managed by either the slum's inhabitants, generating informal processes of informal ownership of the land, or by the State, which in its permissive position – denying the common eradication procedure – ends up making investments higher than what it is required prior to the irregular occupation of the land.

In the Venezuelan case, scattered or specific practices are carried out, which are not considered in policies and objectives pursuing integral solutions; observing that only some of the actors involved participate in this required task. However, experiences carried out recently in the different levels of intervention, as well as the development of Plans and Programs, raise the *"habilitation"* of these slums as a national premise; this premise shows ways for their adequate introduction to the constructed environment and for the improvement of their deficient condition, taking as a starting point the opportunities and resources available in these huge areas.

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Informal settlements: connectors and directionals elements of the Palmira – San Josecito urban axis

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Informal settlements have established in the Palmira-San Josecito axis, located within the metropolitan area of San Cristobal, state of Tachira, Venezuela. Since their beginnings these settlements have actively participated in the axis's urban dynamics. The main purpose of this research paper is to determine the role that informal settlements have played in the formation of this axis. The work was approached by using several sources that could explain the problem with an inside angle of the situation. The study of the settlements's land occupation issue was considered essential since they occupy 904,.3 hectares, 17,6% of the axis's urban land. The analysis of several cartographic sources played a key role in this investigation. The results obtained show that informal settlements besides hosting 31.650 families –158.252 people– have assumed other roles: they have served as connection points and directional elements in the growth of the Palmira–San Josecito axis. These roles's performance is due basically to the space they occupy. They have established primarily in the urban axis's towns and villages outskirts as well as along its main road. They have functioned as joints and also as directional elements of the urban growth. Even the nonplanned layouts and despite their shortcomings, the informal settlements have been part of the transforming forces of the Palmira-San Josecito axis's urban dynamics.

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The popular housing processes under Neo-Liberalism

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Popular urbanization, the urbanization process lead mainly by the poor, was one among the many questions that Latin American researchers of poor housing tried to respond to before Neo-Liberalism acted upon most of the developing countries. These settlers start the adventure of carving a material future by inserting themselves into the economic, social and political networks that already exist in marginal zones. Occasionally, they create their own ways to mingle with the community. In such situations, at the beginning of the process, and almost always irregularly, they occupy the land, build their own houses and obtain public services infrastructure.

This work will take ideas expressed in the current literature. It will identify the fundamental concepts and their relations of what we know as the limited resources housing consolidation system. This system served as a guide for the elaboration of our field work (carried out in popular boroughs in the metropolitan area of Monterrey). Under the rules and principles of the social research qualitative method, we created a model of category relations that will reflect the nature of the limited resources housing consolidation process in a neo-liberal environment.

The conclusions of the study reveal a rich set of elements and cultural processes (objects, costumes, collective habits, beliefs, values) that develops inside the proposed limited resources housing consolidation system that we believe it must be taken into consideration when we try to understand the interaction between urban models and urban culture.

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Planning the Unplanned: Modelling Informal Settlements by Means of Geographic Information Systems and Cellular automata

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Urban planners in Less Developed Countries (LDCs), who inherit and strictly implement planning instruments from developing countries, have struggled to apply these tools to their informal settlement (IS) contexts. One consequence is that IS now dominates the urban landscape in LDCS and measures to mitigate their rapid extension have been largely ineffective. Recent progress in computing technologies provides new approaches to equip urban planners and decision-makers with additional tools to tackle the future expansion of IS. This paper reviews the IS growth phenomena via the literature, the measures and policies that have so far been undertaken to address the uncontrolled growth of IS, the reasons for their failures to assist in the management of unplanned settlements, and concludes that current urban planning models in LDCs are largely inefficient. In doing so, the paper suggests that a proactive approach through simulation and modelling can help address current gaps IS planning and policies. The paper also presents how Geographic Information Systems and cellular automata technologies can be successfully integrated to develop an Informal Settlement Growth Model (ISGM) that can predict the growth of IS. Parameters used by the proposed ISGM include cultural and ethnic composition, topography, road network, market and worship places, and existing IS patterns. The proposed model framework is discussed, and the results of its application on Yaoundé, Cameroon, are presented. The results of the application of ISGM on Yaoundé, provide useful indications on how IS emerge and expand. The outcome of the research contributes to the body of knowledge and theories of IS, and also demonstrates the importance of prediction and animation in unplanned settlements management. Urban planners and governments can now use the ISGM as new tool to improve the management and planning of informal settlements. This application indicates that the proposed ISGM has the potential to improve the strategic urban planning and decision-making process in LDCs.

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New villages in traditional Spain: a struggle for modernization in Franco´s dictatorship

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This paper aims to study urban models in the Spanish colonization of rural enviroment between the 1940s and the 1970s and some of its most significant examples. By doing so, I will discuss urban form and its difficult relationship with ideology in a Fascist country struggling to become modern.

Franco´s government was engaged in a huge transformation of dry farming into irrigated land. Together with hidraulic infrastructures, a complete net of settlements was designed to host newcomers. This net provided the National Institute in charge with a powerful tool that soon became a qualified laboratory of urban form.

The models identified vary considerably and cover a wide range of urban culture. Franco´s original goal to promote tradition as a means to express the true spirit of the Spanish nation proved less determinant than the political opening of the country to the USA, the demands of economic rationality and the personal research of some of the architects involved in this process. Thus, form followed new criteria for traffic regulation, minimum dwelling or more flexible urban lots, which in other less isolated countries had already been developed in neighborhood units and were then under revision.

While European democracies of the '50s replaced the illusion of modernity with the forgotten values of tradition and everyday man, Spanish impoverished dictatorship started a quick race to catch up with the dream of the deluded in what then seemed an unreachable modernization. In this difficult scenario, a group of Spanish urbanists proposed the alternative of a new –and better- life that only now is beginning to be revisited as part of our heritage.

New settlements, domination and cultural heritage

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This proposal speaks about urban and landscape planning in Italy and in its Mediterranean colonies in the period between the two world wars.

The core of the fascist rule integrated territorial domination. The subjugation of new lands was a part of the "new roman empire" myth. At the same time the government had to find new agricultural areas. New "fascist" territories were "created" recovering reclaimed lands in Italy and colonies.

In spite of the historical urban oriented country, the fascism considered the agrarian development as a priority. The territorial expansion interest and the poorness of some rural areas pushed to the improvement of productive land surface. The answer to those questions was the drainage of extended areas and the foundation of several settlements: new villages and new towns all over the future empire.

Italy, the last and the smallest colonial state, employed the same planning schemes and myths in the mainland and in the Mediterranean colonies. The fascist urban planning and architecture in the 30s were mature and able to propose a new language to realize the new settlements. We can find the same planning and building paradigms all over the fascist controlled areas. Due to this, we can observe and estimate the planning similarity or dissimilarity between Italy and its colonies.

The myth of the conquest created singular architectural and urban artefacts. That innovation produced territorial models that, in spite of their similarity, were immediately included by different states. The Italian defeat in the iiww spread these settlements into different countries (Italy, Greece, Libya, Albania and Yugoslavia/Croatia), producing a plurality of nowadays cultural heritage status.

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Industrial colonies, urban settlements for production. A comparative study

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The Industrial Colonies (Company Towns) were urban settlements, cities of capitalism of production, created by the own company's initiative, in contiguous spaces to those of the production in factory buildings. They were located in areas where there was the hydraulic energy source to move the machinery, places with available and docile workers coming from the agricultural sector.

As urban model the Company Towns were synthesis of, in one hand, utopian ideas on the social and urban form and, on the other hand, of pragmatic interest on profitability of production resources and exploitation of labour forcer.

The paper focuses on the physical aspects, of the Industrial Colony or Company Town model, and the territorial, urban and architectural forms through which it comes true. The purpose is to establish the basic concepts of this urban model, as its can be found in common characteristics of several built experiences, from the 19th century English mill villages, German "arbeiterkolonien", American company towns and the Catalan industrial colonies.

The industrial colonies system could be seen as and idea of territorial balance of industrial population, between the rural life and the crowded industrial towns. It represents the possibility to settle chains of satellite towns alongside river valleys, communicated by roads and railroads, and forming groups of small towns, as alternative to big cities.

From among the physical aspects, we can put a greater emphasis on elucidating the role of the Company Towns within the international movement for the mass housing reform in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, as an alternative urban model to industrial city slum.

In an industrial colony the building order and its architecture stress the idea of collectivity dedicated entirely to production, but with a search for better environment in housing, as well as in cultural improvement for the workers, attracting sufficiently to appear as an optional model to live in.

In general, the village plan is formed by the water channel, the industrial buildings, the residential ones with the workers housing and the owner and director residence, as well as, the church, and the buildings dedicated to education, amusement and cultural purposes. All these buildings are located in few streets and squares. The village is completed with a park and vegetable-gardens for the workers.

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From an unstructured urban fragment to an Attractors System: a proposal for Maracaibo's periphery

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Nowadays, in Venezuela, urban interventions have been developed considering the methodology known as Squatters Physical Rehabilitation (Rehabilitación Física de Barrios). This paper will present the methodology, for a urban sector identify as Maracaibo's North Physical Planning Unit (Unidad de Planificación Física Maracaibo Norte (UPF-2), with an area of 4000 has and a population of de 234.000 inhabitants

Since more than a decade, the relation among planning and urban design has been discerned. The intervention in this sector has permitted not only to create a synergy between both concepts, but also with two more elements: urban management and environment. Concerning planning, estimations deficits and/or superavit required for the urban equipment and services were calculated as part of the diagnosis, considering the primary and intermediary division of the studied sector. Also, the priorities for physical elements established by its inhabitants, were identified.

Concerning management, the diagnosis and proposal phases were presented and agreed with the national, state and local governmental offices that intervened in the execution of the plan. Besides, the environmental aspect covered: noise, contaminants, sewage water treatment dotation and quality of drinking water, solid waste recollection, among others.

The analysis and evaluation of the concerned variables defined the studied sector as a disarticulated urban fragment. Then, taking into consideration the results of the diagnosis and the local norms, geographical position of the studied area that also belongs to the periphery of Maracaibo and is also localized among the 20% of the green protector zone of the city, a design proposal for the area was conceptualized as an Attractors System.

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Building Better Communities: Gender Roles, Resources and Gendered Processes of Urban Regeneration in Cayo Hueso, Havana, Cuba

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It has long been recognized that in many Latin American countries women and men play varied and different roles in urban-based community work. However, mainstream literature on urban regeneration initiatives rarely incorporate such gender analysis. The case of Cayo Hueso and its local planning body the *Taller de Transformación* is illustrative of the ways in which women (and men) mobilize resources and fellow residents to address the serious resource scarcities. The objectives of my research were to review the structure and operations of the *Taller de Transformación* and to study the role of women in the community and within the *Taller*. I sought to examine the local and national conditions that influence past and current urban development and regeneration initiatives in Cuba in general and in Cayo Hueso in particular. I also examined the key planning tools, processes and outcomes of urban regeneration initiatives used by the *Taller* in Cayo Hueso. I analysed the gender dimension of urban regeneration initiatives, particularly how gender roles, identities and social networks have shaped the processes and outcomes of urban regeneration in fast changing communities like Cayo Hueso

To conduct this investigation I used a combination of secondary and primary data gathering methods, including a review of the literature on urban regeneration and on women's mobilization. I reviewed secondary documents on urban and participatory policies and processes in Cuban history and Cayo Hueso. A quantitative analysis of a survey conducted in Cayo Hueso in 1999 was also utilized. Primary qualitative information was gathered through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

This case study supports the assertion that women play a crucial role in social reproduction and change. I found that gender roles, identities and social networks of women do shape the principles, mechanisms, strategies and processes of urban regeneration. The fact that women identified themselves as the "mothers" of the community means that the strategies and mechanisms adopted by them in regeneration initiatives reflect this role. These traditional roles and identities do not impair the regeneration process; they actually help to bring about desired and beneficial outcomes for the local community. Therefore, a serious consideration of gender roles, gendered use of resources and social networks make it possible to improve the design and implementation of sustainable plans and models for regeneration.

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Models of Urban Governance and Planning in Latin America and the United States: Associationism, Regime Theory, and Communicative Action

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In many American and Latin American cities alike, urban governance and planning are either in urgent need of reform or are currently undergoing haphazard reform. In many cases, innovative attempts to implement reforms have failed because the inability of cities to develop their 'civic capacity'—the capacity to build and maintain broad social and political multisectoral coalitions in pursuit of common goals. As the experiences of cultural and political dilemmas, traditions, and contests vary from place to place and from time to time, it is only logical that analysts of urban governance processes in Latin America and the United States have come up with different models that attempt to both interpret and provide normative guidance for such complex processes within their particular geopolitical and socio-cultural specificities. This article discusses two main urban governance models developed in Latin America and the United States—associationism and regime theory—and considers the implications of those models in planning theory. Rather than portraying a compilation of different ideas, the attempt is to highlight the notion that, despite the fact that these theoretical and analytical urban governance models from Latin America and the United States have been inspired on the empirical study of different urban, regional, and national contexts, it is possible to identify some equivalences between them.

This article argues that these significant points of convergence are productive building blocks for the construction of more generalizable models of urban governance and planning in democratic cities in the Americas and beyond. It situates coalition and network politics at the center of urban planning and governance reform, suggesting that associationism and regime theory can be instrumental at analyzing the status of civic capacity of urban communities. Furthermore, the article claims that the points of convergence between these models of governance may achieve a more powerful synergy and productive status as tools for both analysis and action through their synthesis in, and reinforcement of, the notion of communicative action in urban planning theory and practice. Communicative action can be synergistically strengthened by the contributions of regime theory and associationism to further develop theories, tools, and processes to design, guide, and evaluate more democratic, equitable, and efficient urban governance and planning experiences.

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Normative Planning and Urban Restructuring in South Africa: The Case of Cape Town

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The paper reviews in the last seven decades of spatial planning in South Africa. It explains how the evolution of settlements over the six decades preceding 1994 has been dominated by two ideologies: the planning, ideology of modernism and the political ideology of apartheid or separate development. These ideologies, which are discussed, in combination resulted in spatial patterns which, above all others, were dominated by patterns of sprawl, fragmentation and separation and these patterns, in turn, underpinned a wide variety of serious social, economic and environmental problems. In 1995, following the collapse of apartheid and the introduction of the Government of National Unity, new legislation was introduced which placed a set of normative values central to the planning system. The paper discusses the main spatial principles (which include the need for greater urban compaction, integration, equity and sustainability - in short, almost precisely the opposite of those spatial tenets which underpinned the urban model of modernism). It then reviews the impacts of this change 10 years on, and examines some of the reasons for its limited impact. Finally, it uses a case study, the Municipal Spatial Development Framework for the City of Cape Town (2000), to show how the normative planning system can be used to promote radical urban restructuring over long periods of time.

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Planning, imaging and their hidden agenda. A case study

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Kfar-Saba – a town 20 km' north-east of Tel-Aviv, Israel – was transformed in the 1980's into the ultimate point of reference of real estate concerns, with the slogan "5 minutes away from Kfar-Saba". Furthermore: "from practically 'nowhere' [it was transformed] into a source of inspiration as powerful as the Crusaders town of Acco" (Koren, 1997:143). The successful metamorphosis of the town image was largely attributed to the (re)planning by the town-architect Yossef Kolodny, later awarded the prestigious Rechter Prize-1984 by the Israeli Association of Engineers and Architects. Interestingly, however, the winning "Kolodny" or "revision" plan has never acquired the status of an official outline plan. Rather, it was a virtual image, implemented through hundreds of minute detailed plans, carefully controlled by the town architect.

How and why did this unprecedented procedure work for Kfar-Saba? How did it contribute to the marked change in the town image? Which overt agenda did it serve? Which hidden agenda? These and related questions were addressed by the present research, revealing a unique case of planning as generator of urban re-imaging.

The architecture of contested space: Exploring the Discursive Meaning of the "Mixed" City of Lod - Israel

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The term "mixed cities" is widely used in Israel, describing an urban situation in which Jewish and Arab communities occupy the same urban jurisdiction. However, a critical examination questions this terminology that brings to mind integration and mutual membership of society, while reality is controversial. Similar to other cases of ethnic nationalism, a clear spatial and mental division exists between Arabs and Jews in Israel, and hence the occurrence of "mixed" spaces is both exceptional and involuntary. Rather, it has resulted from a historical process during which the Israeli territory, including previously Arab cities, has been profoundly Judaized. In this process, the Palestinian community remaining in Israel following the 1948 war, has become a marginalized and dispossessed minority. Beyond the significant effect of the social and political processes, the ex-Palestinian urban fabric has been dramatically transformed.

This paper will analyze critically the dynamics in which the urban landscape in the "mixed city" of Lod is produced, transformed, and reproduced. The analysis will focus on the actual changes of the built environment and on the contents and meanings embodied within the planning discourse as expressed by planners, architects and policy-makers. Exposing the discursive meaning of the professional sphere is a key to understanding the spatial dynamics of a city as well as its ideological agenda, which are often neglected in the literature of ethnic urban relations. Also, this paper suggests that similar to other studies of colonial urbanism, the production of physical and social division in the city of Lod has re-ordered perceptions of reality. This is expressed in an epistemological antinomy of "here" and "there"; "we" and "they"; "enlightened new" and "backward old" respectively.

This attitude was accentuated when the Israeli State was established, employing a dual mechanism that expressed both a tangible project of colonization of a settler society, and a symbolic construction of a collective national consciousness based on ethnic belonging. I would propose to define the physical act of this process as urban iconoclasm, which was rhetorically presented under a scientific planning approach, rationally and objectively concerned with the "public interest". Very often this approach demanded massive destruction of the existing Palestinian built environment, an act that was justified as being a hygienic necessity as well as a functional progress towards modernity.

However, a total replacement of the Arab urban landscape was impossible. This was a result of both political and demographic circumstances to be discussed in this paper, as well as from the development of a controversial approach towards the indigenous built environment. This will be presented using the orientalist discourse, which opened a new perspective for understanding culture as a product of social dominance. It shows how the Jewish settler society had constructed its imagined sense of place while deforming the content and meaning of the local vernacular and transferring it into a subject of "local" and "authentic" but "non-Arab" belonging.

A New Relationship between Planning and Democracy? Urban Activism in Melbourne 1965 -1975

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This paper is a reflective overview of urban social protest in the years 1965-1975 and its influence on post-war planning, especially on models of public participation in planning, and conceptions of effective local democracy. Drawing extensively on a major study of urban activism in Melbourne, Australia, the paper discusses the political and organisational strategies used by activists in Melbourne's inner city areas to resist the large-scale planning/urban renewal projects especially of the Victorian state government. The paper focuses on Melbourne's inner city Residents' Action Groups and examines their motivations, strategies and rationales, placing them within an international context of urban protest movements demanding local democracy and consultation. The paper concludes that the Melbourne urban protest movements of the late 60s and early 70s deserve recognition for their contribution to inclusive, consultative processes in planning decision-making. This is done within a context of questioning contemporary academic discussion around the interpretative concept of gentrification, widely and indiscriminately applied to this and later periods of urban change.

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Conflict in urban development and the globalization policy in developing countries

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Global Economic Policy has reduced the virtual dimension of the globe. An automobile designed in Japan, material procured in Brazil, manufactured in India and marked the automobile in Europe is quite a feasible preposition in modern day society. The territorial trade demarcation is considerably reduced through global trade under the *Global Economic Policy* philosophy. The major impact of the globalization in the developing countries remains to a large extends among urban populations. Due to the global economic policy, the consumerism has influenced the life style of global population considerably.

However, the effect of globalization policy in developing countries needs careful review. It has generated unusual situation for the town planner and the city administrator. The tremendous growth rate of consumer products is certainly helping the nation's economic developments. On the other hand, the urban development authority is not able to upgrade the facilities at the same rhythm. Most of the city developments in developing countries continue to grow slowly with marginal cosmetic changes. Reconstruction of the roads, fly-over, supply of electricity, healthcare facilities, law and order, etc. show little improvement. The streets are chocking with new vehicles (two-wheeler and four-wheeler) and the overflow of consumer products is flooding the cities. Many cities in developing countries continue to experience a mix habitat of rural and urban population. Such population is producing confusion, chaos, indiscipline, contradicting value system and unmanageable population growth in urban areas.

Except very handful cities in India, most of the city habitats are predominantly an upgraded rural environment and habits. Conflicting habits and value system of migrated rural population in the urban habitat is creating larger complex environment for the city administration. Along with the population-influx in urban areas, a developing country like India is facing enormous challenge to fulfill the aspirations of the traditional values that contradicts the very fundamental of globalization policy. The urban planning and policy-makers are constantly struggling to maintain the harmony between the two unavoidable forces.

Due to such confused and unmanageable conditions, city health and performance of consumer products are both affected amounting to destroy the environment. On the other hand, the growing population in urban areas is creating huge market demand for the consumer products. The effect of globalization in urban areas at micro level is showing very disturbing environmental condition. The urban planners are constantly trying to match the demand and the environmental requirement- pollution free air and soil, clean water, less noise, larger physical space, etc. but it remains a distant goal. The struggle between the flow of consumer goods and their functioning in optimal condition and maintaining healthy urban environment has become a challenge for the city planners. The author proposes to illustrate the above issues in a typical Indian city with the help of case study.

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Immigrants and the Spatial Transformation of the American Metropolis: Notes from Chicago

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Over the past thirty years or so, large numbers of new immigrants have entered the United States. Latest estimates put the numbers at something over 30 million people, many of whom came during the 1990s. The greatest impact of this new generation of immigrants has been on the major metropolitan areas where they have settled. This paper will use the case of Chicago to illustrate some of the important changes, and to raise questions about the appropriate role of planners under these conditions. [Both demographic and photographic materials will be furnished to illuminate some of these changes].

Immigrants have begun to dramatically reshape the Chicago metropolitan area. There are now about 1.5 million foreign-born residents in the greater Chicago area, roughly about 15 to 20 per cent of the total population. The immigrants come from all over the world – China, Korea, Poland, and Thailand, but the large majority comes from Mexico and Latin America. Today there are at least 800,000 residents of Chicago who have come from Mexico.

Their sheer numbers have changed the city, but, more than that, the new settlements they have created in different parts of the city have dramatically reconfigured the urban space. Many Mexican residents have settled in the downtown area, creating substantial new enclaves, such as Pilsen, now the heart of the Mexican community in Chicago. They have also settled on the outskirts of Chicago, creating enclaves in such varied sites as Aurora, Waukegan and Highwood, Illinois. Despite many problems that have attended the rise of the enclaves, including high rates of unemployment and poverty, the enclaves themselves have created dramatic material and cultural changes, ranging from the widespread use of Spanish both inside and outside the enclaves, as well as new art forms, in the manner of wall murals, as well as a variety of new Spanish language radio stations, two of which now rival English language stations in their popularity.

The growth of these new enclaves poses many issues for the future. One of them concerns the extent to which the enclaves will remain as viable communities. They represent the best of grass-roots social and political change today in Chicago, but they also pose obvious threats both to local government and to the efforts of government to control urban space. These new enclaves also pose issues for the planning community: How much should urban planners work to assist the grass-roots movements that are refashioning the urban space of Chicago? To what degree can these enclaves provide models for encouraging the growth of other communities? This paper hopes to raise such issues to greater prominence, and to pose them as questions that confront planners – most especially those who serve on behalf of the local governments.

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Land Regularization in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City: Some Situational Approaches front the Worldwide Metropolization

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This paper offers several theoretical frameworks for the analysis of contemporary non-formal land uses and attempts at corrective usage. It begins with a provisional definition of the regularization of urban territory in the context of worldwide metropolization. Moreover, it examines how this process manifests itself, by way of an analysis of the principal instruments, techniques, procedures, and policies of regularizing irregular settlements (application conditions, content, development, and results) in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City (MAMC). The work thus revolves around three basic questions: (1) what are the economic, political, and social costs, advantages and limits of regularization programs? (2)What complementary actions ought to be employed in regularization programs? (3) What alternatives exist to normal regularization programs? Finally, by way of a diagnosis of the current situation and future prospective, the paper offers several approximate proposals on how to face new conditions.

To dream to El Valle. The utopia of the suburb

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At the end of the XIX century and principles of the XX century Caracas began a process of growth toward its outlying areas, which went being integrated to the city in directly proportional form to its conditions of accessibility, topography and resources scenic.

Solved these limitations, and according to the rulers way of think, the periphery began to be urbanized from the fantasy, the bucolic thing, the joint field-city and the technological innovations. For it its development, based originally on traditional residential areas and extensive cultivation areas, began to be expressed through the construction of railroads and the emergence of constructions or buildings dedicated to harbor uses, eminently for relax and rest.

An example of it happens to the Southwest of Caracas, where in spite of the geographical obstacles began to change their colonial physiognomy the old establishment denominated El Valle, with the construction of spas, cinemas, squares of bulls and theaters, these last ones presenting authors' works like Echegaray. For a brief period, El Valle constituted a town where the urban thing and the rural thing were still a warp, and where the society and its fantasies tried to conform a town of dreams, to usage of those of Europe when people likes to go to rest on vacation time.

The later growth annulled the fantasy and the romantic airs, especially during of Marcos Pérez Jiménez dictatorship, when factors like petroleum and modernization were conjugated to change the face of the bucolic town in its imminent incorporation to the motley plot of Caracas.

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Government Urban Management in San Agustin, Caracas: ¿A Never Ending Symbiotic Process?

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The deterioration of public spaces –buildings or open spaces-, affects citizens' life quality. In consequence, involved actors - planners, institutions and communities - must assume reflexive positions. Local government, acting in a planning capacity or as an active builder, generates an important impact on formal and spontaneous settlements in the city, which must be analyzed critically, due the effect those actions have on community life forms. The issue raises several aspects of deep concern for planning theory and praxis. Urban management is important for planning, because of its dynamic influence on urban quality, in its spatial, temporal economical and cultural dimensions. In this paper, the models of interventions of the public agency Simón Bolívar Centre, in the popular district of San Agustín del Sur in Caracas between 1960 and 1980 are examined. This analysis is relevant not only for academic purposes but also for guiding future interventions. The urban renovation process and its environmental repercussions are studied in order to delineate a more appropriate approach considered within a real context, and as a totality. In this way the goal is to achieve quality action, conceived as an interactive process, where the actors participate with roles clearly defined through time.

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The "Jardines del Valle": complex of paradigms

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Up to late XIXth century, Caracas confined its development to the foundation grid, almost exclusively with large attached houses and central *patio*. This grid breaks up toward 1896 with "*El Paraiso*", private urban development to the south that propitiates the dettached houses with gardens. Later, in XXth century, this expansion is directed to the notheast, to the foot of the mountain "*El Ávila*", with new developments of dettached houses named *quintas*.

Meantime, from 1928, the venezuelan government implemented programs of labourers housing, promoting traditional models inside the central district. However, the low cost development "*Los Jardines del Valle*" to the south, near the colonial town "*El Valle*", promoted small plots, without giving up the kidness of landscaped neighborhood at northeast, becoming this way an exceptional development for the time.

Except for som remarkable developments around 1940, it was in 1960 when was made one of the most important processes in urban renewal programs in Venezuela and may be in Latin America. Large expropiations were implementd and also new high rise housing developments, influenced by the modern movement, were implanted at the new urban planned axis "*El Valle*", including renewal actions on the old "*Los Jardines*". Meantime, poor shanty towns grew in the city and "*Los Jardines*" were affected too.

"Los Jardines" represents this way a diverse urban paradigms laboratory. Wich are the results and perspectives of this historical process and the people view of that? This is the research that we propose to explore.

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The political representation of the protestants in Rio de Janeiro and the territorial implications of their legislative acting in Rio

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Despite the historical predominance of Catholicism, the demographic study held by IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) between 1991 and 2000 has registered in Brazil a fall off in the proportion of Catholics in opposite to an increase of Protestants, who rose from 9% of population up to 15,4% in year 2000. In absolute terms it means that Protestants mounted twelve million in 1991 and twenty-six million in 2000. From this total 68% are Pentecostals, corresponding to approximately seventeen million of Pentecostalism followers. If we observe the incidence of this religion in the large Brazilian regions we will notice that 48% of this total is concentrated in the Southern area of the country.

If Protestantism growth in Brazil happened mainly during the nineties,, the expression of their political representation only called attention in the year 2000, when several of their representatives were elected to different levels of government positions. This situation is reflected in the articles by political journalists published in the main communication means in the country. Although having different political affiliation, after election, the protestant politicians, without leaving their parties, form the "protestant bloc" and defend projects/proposals of interest to this religious group.

Seeking to focus the political representation of the Protestants in Rio de Janeiro and the urban territorial impacts caused by their legislative acting in the city, we will first draw a chart of their organizational and religious structure. Then we will introduce their representatives in the Senate, in the State Chamber of Deputies and in the City Council analyzing the areas of largest protestant representation in town. Finally, we will evidence, through examples, some territorial implications in Rio generated by the protestant bloc when voting modifications to the "Silence Law".

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Valley of Tecomán and its agricultural hinterland in Colima, Mexico

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This writing analyzes how is developed the agricultural hinterland of Tecomán in conditions sui géneris which makes a configured region departing of productive patterns that define the agro industry enterprises which allow them to be reproductive local and globally. This special pattern glosses with the degree of productive specialization that defines the region and its matrix of economic interaction among the communities that conform their hinterland, in terms of populated growth and occupied employments in the agricultural sector.

Conclusions.

It was analyzed how the agricultural activities developed in the Valley of Tecomán allow to identify an economic specialization in the region and how this agro industry by its own implications produces displacements of populations (agricultural workmen) the ones that are employed in the cultivations.

The spatial effects that are provoked is an occupation of semi urban land and/or rural that generate a dispersed, fragmented type of city which has its participation in the processes of suburbanization (dispersed city and "new peripheries)

For which the hinterland agricultural of the region, is identified with the process of a dispersed growth of poverty and social and economical marginality where is settled the populations of agriculture workmen .

Proximity and Differentiation: on the Application of the Category of Space in Urban Historiography

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En los últimos años, el análisis espacial ha asumido un crucial lugar en la historiografía. Lo que antes se asociaba con la esfera cibernética ahora sirve como una importante categoría en las interpretaciones históricas. Si en la década de los ochenta se pusieron de moda el género, la etnicidad y la raza, a partir de los noventa, por lo menos, ha sido el espacio la variable dominante. Se maneja 'espacio' tanto en un sentido físico y geográfico —fueron geógrafos los que impulsaron la "vuelta espacial" en la historia— como en un sentido abstracto donde el espacio es entendido como esfera comunicativa.

Tradicionalmente, las ciencias sociales estaban orientadas hacia narrativas temporales alrededor de "dramas" como la lucha de clases, la evolución social positivista, el amanecer de la modernidad, la formación del Estado y otros "motores de la civilización". En estas meta narrativas, el espacio tenía el limitado papel de fondo y fue entendido como la mera escenografía para los acontecimientos considerados dominantes. Como un escenario estático y atemporal, el espacio mismo se colocó del campo de la historia y de las ciencias sociales, en general.

Ello ocurrió incluso dentro de subdisciplinas, como la historia urbana, donde una aplicación sistemática de esta categoría parecería casi natural. La ciudad, a fin de cuentas, es un lugar, una conglomeración física de gente, edificios, calles, tuberías, etc., y por lo tanto constituye un fenómeno intrínsecamente espacial. Sin embargo, igual que en la historiografía en general, no se hacía un análisis sistemático del espacio en la historia urbana. Como demostraré más en adelante, sólo a partir de los años noventa se llega a incorpora, y a veces a conceptualizar, el factor del espacio en la investigación histórica urbana, lo cual ha resultado en una mayor riqueza y coherencia de esta subdisciplina.

Este artículo provee una revisión historiográfica del manejo del espacio en la historia urbana. Comienza con un diagnóstico de la historiografía urbana como se ha manejado tradicionalmente, es decir antes de la "vuelta espacial", y pondrá énfasis en la falta de una conceptualización coherente de su principal objeto de estudio: la ciudad. Posteriormente examinará cómo estas ideas y el análisis espacial han sido incorporados en la historia urbana contemporánea y se propondrá un modelo de cómo conceptualizar la dinámica espacial para el desarrollo histórico de las ciudades, con fines de generar una perspectiva integral y multidisciplinario de este fenómeno.

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Socio-political phenomena and the rennaissance of the public space in Caracas

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The Latin American City is today a melting pot of contrasting urban conditions, social inequality, political tension and financial de-regulation due to globalization factors. In recent history, the city of Caracas has been urban-shaped by much of these factors, including modernist-style revival in the 60s, massive implementation of road infrastructure due to the booming economy in the 70s; and explosion of informal settlements in and around the city until today. As a result, the city lost the traditional (European) public space in the form of squares and pedestrian-oriented streets, shaping itself around the use of the automobile. Additionally, recent changes in the political structure of the city, have delimited a 6 million inhabitants Metropolitan area, counting 4 Metropolitan Districts encompassing two different State jurisdictions, ruled by five Mayors, with 5 different Police forces and which contains the seat of the Central National Venezuelan Government. In others words, we see here a truly ungovernable city. However most recently, in a city where public space had been reduced to enclosed areas reachable by car, where the concept of 'street' had given way to the highway; and where the remaining street space has been invaded by the growing presence of the informal economy; an amazing phenomenon created by a political crisis has created an unprecedented way to re-occupy the city and validate its space as 'public', in the form of city-wide massive public demonstrations; which have transformed the highways in *impromptu* pedestrian boulevards, at the obvious absence of any other relevant-size public arena in the city.

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Evolving Urban Culture in Transforming Cities
The role of the configuration of the network of public spaces in urban life

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The concepts of *housing estate* and *street system* characterize two planning strategies involved in the formation and transformation of cities during the last century. This paper presents a comparative study which aims to explore the functional, social and cultural contents of the spatial configurations generated in cities through adoption of these concepts in planning. The Swedish city of Gothenburg is compared to the cities of Yazd and Abadan in Iran. The method of Space Syntax is applied in the analysis of the spatial systems of the studied cities.

The functional and structural position of the historic core in the cities of Gothenburg and Yazd reflects the original characteristics of these cities and their different courses of transformation. The urban structure in the old city of Gothenburg was based on a well integrated street network. The traditional city of Yazd, on the contrary, had a deep segregated spatial structure. In Gothenburg, in contrast to the city of Yazd, the historic core is now a well functioning city centre, a real public space. However, adopting two different planning models in the long course of urban development, Gothenburg has gained many of the global structural properties of Iranian traditional cities and Yazd has become more akin to the traditional city of Gothenburg.

In Abadan segregated self-contained housing estates determined the original structure of the city. Abadan is the first company town in Iran built almost a century ago. It was a product of the latest experimentation of advanced industrial capitalism of the day in social engineering. Nevertheless Abadan became a prominent example of emancipation from rigid modern paternalist urbanism. The later process of urban development in Abadan was managed by two parallel organizations, the Company and the Municipality. The result, however, was not a parallel but an integrating city. The control over the public space was strongly contested, leading to the appearance of a new human and democratic urban culture, a flourishing urban life with its street based spatial organisation. The analysis of urban structure in Abadan and Gothenburg displays interesting similarities though the processes of development of the two cities have been the reverse of each other.

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The Retreat from Public Planning in Melbourne

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As the focus of western politics shifted sharply to the right during the 1980s and 1990s, planning became one of the many casualties of the trend towards reducing the size and scope of government, privatisation and using economic efficiency criteria to determine public policy. As a result, the social and environmental dimensions of planning often became sidelined in favour of economic growth goals and market principles.

This paper examines the shift towards market-led urban policy and planning practice in Melbourne, Australia during the 1980s and 1990s. In the context of the emergence of neo-liberalism there has been a retreat from public planning and the pursuit of social and environmental goals in shaping the city.

An example of a Victorian State Government policy for the Melbourne metropolitan area known as the District Centre Policy will be examined to illustrate the shift towards market led planning over recent decades. The study shows how in Melbourne market driven goals became increasingly prioritised in urban policy and planning practice over non-market (social and environmental) goals. It is argued that the purpose and process of planning does not necessarily require the exclusion of social and environmental goals despite the pressure for governments to become more entrepreneurial.

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The Pattern Change - Structural Change of Multicultural Development Process of the Central-European Industrial City

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On the verge of the 19th century, with an arbitrary decision of the polish government under Russian rule, Lodz - a small, neglected medieval rural town started its career as one of the largest textile industry European centers. Three nations - Poles, Jews and Germans - gave its center the subdued, rigid street pattern and its periphery - the chaotic, unforeseeable structure. The basic urban structure of the city was formed between 1821 and 1914. After 1945 the area within city limits doubled and on the outskirts of the city the land use pattern changed dramatically.

From the beginning of the industrial growth Lodz integrated various planning schemas - from early, classical plan of the so called New Town to modernistic housing estates after I World War, from uninviting mass housing estates to contemporary secluded detached houses built by private developers, with the newer developments overlying (in cases of strong, clear planning models) or integrating (where the planning ideal diminish) the old medieval rural land patterns. The inhabitants numbers which increased during 19th century from few hundred to 600 000 dropped in the I World War to 350 000. In 20 years rose again to 650 000 to drop again under 300 000 in 1945 and in the postwar time rose to 850 000. Also the social and national structure changed. In last ten years with the decline of textile industry the inhabitants number started to drop slowly but continuously. The early nationality mix and then the constant change of the inhabitants has given the city quite large part of its unique atmosphere. Together with the specific, in the same time nearly unchanged, urban structure we got a town with overpowering textile factories mixed with housing and manufacturers' villas. A town without real city squares but with a market in form of over 4 km long main street. The town which industrial charm nearly everybody finds rather severe and which is nowadays plagued with enormous social and economical problems.

The paper tries to detect the underlying pattern of the change in the space of the now declining postindustrial city concentrating especially on the specific local multicultural reality of the city's environment and the needs of the future development.

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Roundtable

Two Eras of Suburban Development in the United States

Eugenie L. Birch, University of Pennsylvania (Chair)

David Schuyler

Christopher Silver

David Schuyler, Franklin & Marshall College

Park Forest, Illinois, and Levittown, Pennsylvania: Reconsidering Suburbanization in the 1950s

One of the most important developments that occurred in the United States after World War II was suburbanization on a vast, unprecedented scale. This was a conscious policy of the federal government, an attempt both to address the tremendous shortage of housing after seventeen years of depression and war and also to make homeownership a hallmark of middle-class life. Historian Kenneth T. Jackson has demonstrated that "suburbanization was not an historical inevitability created by geography, technology, and culture, but rather the conscious product of governmental policies." The most widely recognized and influential experiments in community building after World War II were the construction of Park Forest, Illinois, and the development of the three Levittowns, in Hempstead, Long Island, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and Willingboro, New Jersey. Journalist Harry Henderson, who studied six of the new postwar communities, described them as having "neither history, tradition, nor established structure—no inherited customs, institutions, 'socially important' families, or 'big houses.'" There he found a new generation's search for the American dream unfolding. The history of Levittown, Pennsylvania and Park Forest also demonstrates the impact of public policies on the physical shape of the community and also, alas, on their demographic complexion.

Christopher Silver, University of Illinois

The New Urbanism and Planning History: Back to the Future

"The New Urbanism and Planning History: Back to the Future" examines how New Urbanist practitioners and theorists have used planning history as a critique of contemporary urban and suburban patterns (especially sprawl), how they use planning history as precedents and precepts for New Urbanist approaches, and then how planning history contributes critical lessons for those who embrace New Urbanist approaches. In the process of examining the links between new urbanism and planning history and assessing the historical basis for many New Urbanist ideas, the paper explores possible new intervention strategies consistent with the intent, if not the current practice, of new urbanists.

Roundtable
Havana, Cuba and Camden New Jersey, USA; Building Partnerships for Effective Urban Revitalization and Historic Preservation Planning

Michael H. Lang (Chair)
Eusebio Leal Spengler
Mario Coyula
Roberto Segre
Gloria Bonilla-Santiago
Roger Dennis

Dr. Eusebio Leal Spengler, Historian of the City of Havana, Cuba and General Director, Master Plan for the Comprehensive revitalization of Old Havana

"The Preservation and Revitalization of Old Havana; Old Plans, New Processes"

Dr. Mario Coyula, Professor of Architecture and Urbanism, CUJAE, Havana, Cuba (Planner, Historian, City of Havana, Cuba)

"The 20th Century Havana, (Rest of Havana); Other Plans, Other Histories, Other Prospects"

Dr. Roberto Segre, Professor of Architecture and Urbanism, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

"Socialist Havana; Planning Dreams and Reality"

Dr. Gloria Bonilla-Santiago, Professor of Public Policy and Administration and Director, Center for Strategic Urban Leadership, Rutgers University, Camden, N.J. USA

"Urban Universities and Community Revitalization; The Case of Camden, New Jersey and Havana, Cuba"

Roger Dennis, J.D., Provost, Rutgers University-Camden, and Director of the Rutgers Fairview Neighborhood Partnership, Camden, N.J. USA.

"Town and Gown; New Partnership for the Revitalization of an Historic Planned Community"

Roundtable

The "culturalization" of planning and of the city: new models?

Lilian Fessler Vaz (Chair)[1]
Paola Berenstein Jacques[2]
Ana Clara Torres Ribeiro[1]
Antonio Colchete Ferreira Filho[3]
Marcia de Noronha Santos Ferran[4]
Carmen Beatriz Silveira[5]

This session discusses the urban plans, projects and politics which have been widely diffused in the last decades, and which use culture as their main strategy. The creation of new cultural equipments, the design of the public spaces, the use of public art and cultural animation are means used in plans for the preservation of historical sites, for the regeneration of dismissed central areas and for for the urban expansion. The results of the "cultural regeneration" have been discussed and criticized in the fields of architecture, urbanism, urban planning, and social sciences. Critics point out the well known processes of gentrification, as well as new processes named as aesthetization, musealization, mediatization, and spectacularization of the city. The name culturalization has been diffused refering not only to the requalified spaces, but also to the planning practices which creates them.

The objectives of this session are the discussion and the evaluation the observed tendences, their first spatial and temporal manifestations, their origins, their characteristics and the context in which they developed, arguing if this can be seen as a fashionable tendency or if it is possible to refer to as a new model of urban planning – an urban and cultural planning model.

1 UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil
2 UFBA, Salvador
3 UFJF, Juiz de Fora, Brasil
4 Sorbonne, Paris, França
5 UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil

Roundtable

The next 100 years of the Garden City Model

Stephen Ward (Chair)
Stuart Kenny,
Takahito Saiki,
Maurits van Rooijen

This session will confront *Letchworth*, the prototype Garden City that was founded just hundred years ago, at the very start of the 20th century, with one of the newest new towns of the 21st century, *Saito*, currently being developed on the other side of the globe. *Is the Garden City model capable of spanning so much time and space?*

Planning is not only about creating new cities and new communities, it is also about the recreation of concepts in established communities. Precisely 100 years after its foundation, Letchworth Garden City is a mature community, with a population number as originally intended. Yet still it would be incorrect to assume that the planning process for this prototype settlement is completed. Letchworth Garden City has had to reinvent many aspects of the original model in order to remain a vibrant and extra-ordinary place. At the same time, as the original Garden City, its historical mission is also to inspire the creation of new settlements – such as Saito – which try to reinterpret Ebenezer Howard's ideas.

The first speaker, Dr Maurits van Rooijen (Vice-President of the University of Westminster and of Leiden University) will focus on the metamorphoses of the Garden City conceptual model in time and place, seeking to identify timeless and universal elements within Howard's original thoughts.

The second speaker, professor Takahito Saiki (Kobe Design University), will confront the creation of Saito with Letchworth Garden City: what is the relevance of this 100 year old prototype for modern town planning, especially in an Asian context?

The third speaker, Stuart Kenny (director-general of Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation), will address the necessity and ability for the community of Letchworth Garden City to reinterpret Howard's original intentions. At the same time he will reflect on the historical duty the First Garden City has in regard to town planning in the 21st century, in the different regions of the globe.

This session is a follow up from the main themes of IPHS2002, in which attempts were made to bridge the gap between theory and practice and between past and future. The Garden City model functioned at the conference as an example, with Letchworth as the Garden City prototype literally revisited. At the conference the CEO of the Japanese Hankyu-Saito corporation, Mr Nakamura, presented a new town development, as being built north of Kobe, which seeks inspiration from the original Garden City. In October 2003 the speakers of this session will be involved in formal presentations at this new town 'in statu nascendi' Saito and resulting observations are expected to be integrated in this session.

The audience will be asked to reflect on how in different regions of the world historical planning concepts, in addition to the heritage rationale, still have a valuable contribution to make to 21st century town planning.

Roundtable
The Emergence of Professional Cultures and Milieus – The Example of Arab and Turkish Urban Planners

Michael Neuman (Chair)
Abderrahim Kassou
Joe Nasr
Taoufik Souami
Mercedes Volait

In trying to understand the logic of plan development and implementation, it is becoming increasingly evident that a recognition and comprehension is necessary of local professional cultures, of the particular history of the profession, of the specific qualifications that form the conditions for the elaboration and realization of plans, of the multiple paths taken by individuals involved, of the social dimensions that are characteristic of the groups of persons and communities engaged in urban interventions. This complex whole that we are labeling "urbanistic milieu" influences – just as the structures, regulations and processes in place do – the forms of cities and their social and economic organization. This highlights the pertinence of understanding local planning actors and their historical formation into a more or less well-defined body, within their social, economic, cultural... contexts.

A comprehension of local urbanistic milieus while considering their interaction with the transformations in doctrines prevalent on the international scene, combined with their role in changing modes of social legitimacy, is the objective of a research program that has been underway since the start of this decade. This program brought together eight francophone researchers working on a number of countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean, from Morocco to Turkey (including Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon). The proposed roundtable would explore, based on the knowledge gained from these accounts of Arab and Turkish urban planners, how such professional milieus emerge and how the development of a professional culture – to the extent that it takes clear form – may influence planning processes, plan conception and implementation, and the contents of the plans.

Roundtable
Transporting Planning: On Native Aspirations and the Diffusion and Transformation of Models

Joe Nasr (Chair)
Arturo Almandoz
Ray Bromley
Jeff Cody
Carola Hein
Maria Cristina da Silva Leme
Alicia Novick
Mercedes Volait
Stephen Ward

Planning historians have been increasingly interested in questions of diffusion and transformation of planning models, concepts, techniques, instruments... across regions around the globe for the past couple of centuries. Stephen Ward had recently developed a typology to try to make sense of the multiplicity of conditions in which these transfers take place. However, this typology may be developed further, particularly when one considers two additional dimensions. First, when the full range of conditions of power relations within the "less developed" world are placed in the center of the planning flows. Second, when local actors and their beliefs, needs, aspirations, connections, knowledge... are made the focus of the diffusion processes.

This challenge was behind the development of a research program that led this year to the publication of an edited book, *Urbanism: Imported or Exported?* This proposed roundtable would bring together several of the authors featured in this book, plus one or two scholars external to this project. They would present briefly some of the variety of ways in which planning has been transported and transformed, then open up a discussion of some of the questions that this raises about the identities of locals, the roles of diffusers, the relevant actors, the modes of diffusion, etc. Methodological implications for the planning historian will be emphasized: underrepresented actors, underused types of sources that clarify diffusion, new challenges issued by these new questions...

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